

RARE DOCUMENTS

Edited and Compiled by
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MUHAMMAD ALI ACADEMY
LAHORE

MAY, 1967

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To

My Father-in-law

The late Mr. Qutbuddin Siddiqi (Alig.)

(1890—1964)

He joined Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience Movements (1919). He was sentenced for six years' rigorous imprisonment. He was the right-hand man of Ali Brothers; was a good organiser, a good worker, a good fighter and his whole life was full of "sacrifices" in the national cause. He was also a good teacher. Dr. Zakir Hussain (now President of India) and Mr. Mohammad Shoaib, Deputy Executive Director, World Bank, are his pupils, and proud of that. He never came to Pakistan, but decided to live with his brethren in India to share bravely all troubles for which they were destined.

Rais Ahmad Jafri

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*Mr. Qutbuddin Siddiqi,
(1890—1964)*

MUHAMMAD ALI ACADEMY
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1. H. H. The Khan of Kalat.
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4. Mr. A. K. Soomar, Ex-Chairman, National Press Trust, Karachi.
5. Mr. Mumtaz Hassan, Managing Director, National Bank of Pakistan, Karachi.
6. Mr. Abdul Wahid Khan, Ex-Minister, Government of Pakistan, Lahore.
7. Seth Vali Bhy, Managing Director, Fateh Textile Mills, Hyderabad.
8. Mr. Justice Sardar Mohammad Iqbal, Judge, High Court, Lahore.
9. Mian Moghis A. Shaikh, Managing Director Colony Textile Mills, Multan.
10. Mian Mumtaz Mohammad Khan Daultana, Lahore.
11. Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, Lahore.
12. Hakim Nasiruddin Nadvi, Karachi.
13. Mr. Bashir Ahmad Syed, Multan.
14. Mir Khalilur Rahman, Managing Proprietor, The Daily "Jung," Karachi.
15. Mr. Z. A. Faruqui Nadvi, Lahore.

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LIFE MEMBERS**

1. Mr. Manzoor Qadir, Ex-Chief Justice, West Pakistan.
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3. Mr. A. K. Brohi, Advocate, Karachi.
4. Syed Wahid Husain, Karachi.
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6. Dr. Muhammad Ayub, Quetta.
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9. Habib Ahmad Nadvi, Karachi.
10. H. Sultan Ahmad, Advocate, Karachi.
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18. S. Fasih Iqbal, Proprietor, The Daily "Zamana", Quetta.
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20. Nawab Zahid Ali Khan, Hyderabad.
21. Haji Matin Ahmad, Lahore.
22. M. Mashkoor Ahmad, Proprietor, Shaheen Hotel, Lahore.

PROLOGUE

23. Aftab Begam Jafri.
24. Rana Zafrullah Khan.
25. Ghulam Ishaq, Finance Secretary, Govt. of Pakistan.
26. Abdul Hay Khan (Alig.), Quetta.
27. Begum Abdul Hay Khan, Quetta.
28. Nizamuddin Numani, Liaison Officer, Pakistan Western Railway, Lahore.
29. Seth Ahmad Jafar, Karachi.
30. Mr. Gul Hasan Manghy, Karachi.
31. Justice Awan, Karachi.
32. Ghulam Hasan, Sessions Judge, Sukkur.
33. Tafazzul Husain, Khairpur.
34. A. D. Ahmad, Director, Pan-Islamic Steamship Co., Karachi.
35. Justice Noorul Arfin?
36. S. Husain Ahmad Shah, Advocate, Hyderabad.
37. Aftab Ahmad Akhund, Advocate, Hyderabad.
38. Pir Ishaq Jan, Mirpur Khas.
39. S. Iqbal Shah Gilani, Quetta.
40. Mohammad Din, 6, Golf Road, Lahore.
41. Haji Fariduddin, Indus Glass Works, Hyderabad.
42. M. Akhtar, Advocate, Hyderabad.
43. M. Fazli-Karim Fazli, Proprietor, Dabistan Film Co., Karachi.
44. Mr. Imdad Ali, Grand Hotel, Quetta.
45. M. Saleem Malik, Chartered Accountant, Lahore.
46. Fazal A. Shaikh, Managing Director, Fazal Textile Mills, Multan.

Depending entirely upon Providence, the Muhammad Ali Academy was established with a view obscuring material on the political struggle of the Muslims of India, their acumen, ripeness of their thought and their hard endeavours, in the absence of many an important aspect of this phase of our history would remain hidden, thus disrupting the continuum, so essential for a full and authentic historical narration.

The Muslims made up their mind to establish their national individuality and communal entity from the very day the Simla Deputation, headed by the Aga Khan, returned victorious in their parleys with Lord Minto with the edict of separate electorates in their hands. The British Government, which had grabbed authority in India from the Muslims, had to yield to this demand. Who were other members of the Delegation? What was the text of the Address that they presented to the Viceroy and what reply did the Viceroy give? This information, indispensable for a historian, form part of this volume.

Similarly, what were the circumstances that moved Sayed Ahmad Khan to establish the Scientific Society? How and when did the Anglo-Oriental College (present Muslim University) come into being? What important function did this institution, which is a milestone in the history of Muslim India, perform? Maulana Hali did justice to the life and work of Syed Ahmad Khan by writing his *Hayat-e-Jawid*. But he did not treat of Syed Ahmad Khan's voyage to London, his stimulating and thought-provoking letters written from there, mental condition of his sons, Syed Mahmud and Syed Hamid in the English environment, his outspoken and bold review on Hunter's book *Our Indian Mussulmans*, his nomination to, and the great and marvellous achievements in the Viceroy's Executive Council, with such minute details and objectivity as did Syed Ahmad's friend and admirer, Colonel G. F. I. Graham in his work: *The life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan, C. S. I.*, long out of print. The present volume contains much from this rare book.

جاہ ز علم بے خبر ، علم ز جاہ بے نیاز
ہم محک تو زرندید ، ہم زر من محک نخواست

(غالب)

THE LIFE AND WORK

OF

SYED AHMED, KHAN

C. S. I.

BY

LIEUT COLONEL G. F. I. GRAHAM

B. S. C.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

M D C C C L X X V

1885

SIR SYED'S SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY
(1864 C.E.)

It was at this time, writes Graham, Syed Ahmed's biographer, that I first met Syed Ahmed, being then an Assistant District Superintendent of Police at Ghazipore. At the very first interview I felt greatly attracted to him—a feeling which has but deepened with time. The Translation Society, now known as the Scientific Society of Allygurh, was started by Syed Ahmed at Ghazipore on the 9th January 1864. There was a large assemblage of European and native gentlemen at Syed Ahmed's house, where the first meeting was held. In the course of a speech which I made on the occasion I said:

“For the first time in the annals of Hindustan has a Mohammedan gentleman, alone and unaided, thought over and commenced a Society in order to bring the knowledge and literature of the nations of the Western world within reach of the immense masses of the people of the Eastern. At present all the works on the arts and sciences are sealed to the people of Asia as a body; and when we recollect that it will be through the modern arts and sciences that this country is to advance with the age, I am sure that those interested in India's well-being will give their hearty aid to this Society. All the many works on the capabilities of this country are unknown to most of the people here. How many are there in India who know anything of the valuable contents of mother earth? How many are there who are acquainted with any of the modern improvements on the materials with which the soil is tilled, water is raised, cotton prepared—or in short, on almost everything which is at present done, only very superficially or clumsily, by the mass of the people of India? The many works on all the above will gradually be translated by this Society, and they will thus become generally known. But it will not do to sit still and listen. The people of India must all give assistance. Let those who are interested in this good work make the objects of this Society widely known in their several districts and divisions, and let the many wealthy men in native cities contribute but a very small portion of their yearly gains towards disseminating knowledge for the benefit of their descendants by means of this Society, and they will have one of the purest pleasures a man can have—viz. the thought that ‘I have done something, not only for myself but for others.’

“The object of the promoter of this Society, Syed Ahmed Khan, is not to obstruct the study of English, but by bringing the English literature within reach of his fellow-countrymen, to increase the civilisation, and therefore the wealth and well-being, of his country. English is gradually being more and more studied in India, but he knows well

she is at present), and, what is of far more importance, an enlightened country. Indeed I ought to put the latter adjective first, as increase of enlightenment is equivalent to increase of wealth. Look how England's wealth has increased with her education within the last century! She had great difficulties to contend with—difficulties greater far than even the many difficulties which we know only too well obstruct the spread of knowledge in this country. In those days she had no railways, no steam printing-presses, etc.,—little but her own innate genius and unconquerable energy. There is genius sufficient in India which, if its people will only put to it the shoulders of combination and perservance, will soon place this country amongst the first as regards civilisation, as she is at present amongst the last. All the many aids to enlightenment which it took England many, many years to invent, experimentalise upon, and finally to bring into general use, are all at hand now. Steam, with its many modes of application, is at the people's command, calling loudly for employment and patronage, as a railway, a steam-plough, a steam-pump or a steam-press, that universal disseminator of knowledge. A desire to benefit by all these can only be thoroughly kindled in the minds of the natives of this country by bringing them and many other things prominently to view, which is the object of this our Society. Natives of India, you have only to stretch out your hands, as it were, to grasp all the many and varied appliances for the promotion of your country's welfare; and to those who do grasp, a true pleasure, and I may also add, profit, not only in mind but in pocket, will be imparted by the touch. All those, therefore, English and natives, who only join heartily in this undertaking, shall have, I trust, the proud satisfaction of having not only set on foot, but also kept up, till it shall have accomplished its object, a Society the benefit of which to the people of India will be incalculable. I trust, gentlemen, that you will excuse my having kept you so long; and I would only add, in conclusion, how much I feel is due to the enlightened and persevering man, the instigator of this Society, who is doing his best, both in head and pocket, to bring his country out of centuries of sleep, and who in after-ages will, I am sure, be awarded a conspicuous place on the list of benefactors to his country—Syed Ahmed Khan."

Syed Ahmed, in his speech, said:

"I have now a few words to offer in connection with the business to be entered upon from today—the business of the Society. The most important and the most difficult subject which you gentlemen of the Directing Council will be requested to deliver your opinions on, is the selection of books to be translated and published as a commencement. Looking at the state of my fellow-countrymen's minds, I find that, from

that it will take long before the mass even of the higher classes will be sufficiently grounded in that language to benefit by the knowledge which it opens up. In order to show clearly his opinion on the necessity of studying English, I may here quote a part of the speech delivered by him last October before the Mohammedan Literary Society at Calcutta:

“The reason, gentlemen,” he said, “why we are all so backward nowadays, is that whilst we are learned in and benefited by the philosophy, sciences, and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times, which the youth of the present age seems so much to admire. Let us now consider how it is that this is the case. Many grand works have been written in the German, French and other languages. These, however, are all to be found translated into English. England had produced as many, if not more, grand works than other nations. Now, as we are not likely to become proficient in German, French, &c., as we have all their learned works in the English tongue and as Hindustan is now governed by the English, I think it is very clear that English is the language to which we ought to devote our attention. Is it any prejudice that prevents us from learning it? No; it cannot be so with us. Such is only said by those who do not know us. No religious prejudices interfere with our learning any language spoken by any of the many nations of the world. From remote antiquity have we studied Persian, and no prejudice has ever interfered with the study of that language. How, then, can any religious objection be raised against our learning and perfecting ourselves in English?”

“A writer has said, ‘Observe the society into which literature introduces us; we are brought by it into contact with minds of the loftiest order.’ And what does more to form and fashion us than our companionship? Insensibly we become assimilated to those with whom we associate. The higher intellect affects the weaker. Thus the study of an elevated literature will silently and little by little take effect on the man’s nature, and the various elements of character will grow in correspondence with the influences that act on them. The student will learn to appreciate the temper with which great minds approach the consideration of great questions; he will discover that truth is many-sided—that it is not identical or merely co-extensive with individual opinion, and that the world is a good deal wider than his own sect, or party, or class. This literature, then, is what this Society appeals to the support of the people of India for, this is the benefit,—benefit which will make the Hindustan of today scarcely recognisable fifty years hence, which literature—good, sound literature of any nation—will confer on those who choose to cultivate it. In commencing the business of this Society today, we have commenced a movement which, if the people of India will only give their hearty aid, is destined, in conjunction with many other measures working for its good, to make India a wealthy (far more wealthy than even

their ignorance of the past history of the world at large, they have nothing to guide them in their future career. From their ignorance of the events of the past, and also of the events of the present, from their not being acquainted with the manner and means by which infant nations have grown into powerful and flourishing ones, and by which the present most advanced ones have beaten their competitors in the race for position among the magnates of the world, they are unable to take lessons, and profit by their experiences. Through this ignorance, also, they are not aware of the causes which have undermined the foundations of those nations once the most wealthy, the most civilised, and the most powerful in the history of their time, and which have since gradually gone to decay or remained stationary instead of advancing with the age. If, in 1856, the natives of India had known anything of the mighty power which England possesses, a power which would have impressed the misguided men of the Bengal army with the knowledge how futile their efforts to subvert the empire of her Majesty in the East would be, there is little doubt but that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred. For the above reasons, I am strongly in favour of disseminating a knowledge of history ancient and modern, for the improvement of my fellow-countrymen. There are certainly several works on history extant, written by our own authors; but they do not contain that information which is necessary to improve the civilisation and morality of men. Their views of the age in which they wrote were entirely those of their rulers; and their works abounded in flattery of those same rulers, as writing the truth, in many cases, would have doomed them to death or torture. Thus, much that was evil and tyrannical in the governors of our country has never been transmitted to us. They never enlightened the people of this continent on those subjects of which, as I have stated above, they were ignorant. Sir Charles Trevelyan has offered a prize of 500 rupees for the best essay on a comparison of the influence of the Greek literature on the Arabs under the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, and the Ommayyad Caliphs of Cordova, with the subsequent influence of Arabic literature on Europe. This is a step in the right direction, and this country ought to be very grateful to Sir Charles Trevelyan for his liberality. Various small editions of works on history have been translated by the Department of Public Instruction for the use of schools; but these do not contain that copiousness of detail, that full description of the morals, virtues and vices of nations, which, in my opinion, are necessary in order to confer any real benefit on the native mind. The book which, I think, would be very suitable for our Society to commence with, is one written by Mr. Rollin on the ancient races, in which are admirably described their discovery of, and improvements on, the arts and sciences; as also their laws and systems of government, together with their virtues and vices. This book is

equally adapted to old and young, and is, I think, admirably adapted for the training of the native mind. This history is that of the ancient nations. At present the natives of India firmly believe that the arts and sciences were perfected by the Greeks. Now I do not mean to deny that nation's ability. I quite agree with M. Rollin that, whether we regard their splendid army, their wise laws, or their introduction of, and improvements on, various arts and sciences, we must allow that they brought all these to a very high pitch of perfection. We may with truth designate the Greeks as the school-masters of the world in their own and also in succeeding ages. But we in India know nothing of their former state of barbarism, of the means by which they raised themselves to the position which we know they attained, and we are also utterly ignorant of what conduced to bringing about the prosperity of Europe, which now so far excels the Greece of ancient days. The above-mentioned author has very fully and clearly explained the laws of Lycurgus, their good effects and bad, and in what essentials they are contrary to the nature of man; and thus, by reading and reflecting on the same, the native mind will be to a great extent enlightened. As our Society is in its infancy, I would not recommend the translating of the whole of the above work, but I would strongly recommend the translating of particular portions of it. One of these portions, on the ancient history of Egypt, consisting of only one hundred pages, in which the advancement of that race, the oldest in the history of the world in the cultivation of arts and sciences, is treated of, is one which I would strongly recommend to your notice.

"Again, gentlemen, with regard to works on natural philosophy. All those who have anything to do with the internal management of districts are well aware how the producing capabilities of the soil are gradually decreasing. One great reason for this evil, which, if not remedied, will some day seriously affect the finances of India, is that the natives have never even heard of the principles on which the cultivation of the soil ought to be conducted, or of the many new inventions for improving their acres. The basis of these principles is natural philosophy, by the study of which we acquire a knowledge of the various properties of bodies, and by which we learn how to make use of the same. Steam, which we thought of no use whatever, is revealed to us in all its usefulness by the above science. Those among us who have been to Roorkee will have observed how wonderful are the uses to which a solitary shaft set in motion by steam is turned—how by it many works are set in motion, and many and varied articles turned out, and at first you have doubtless thought that all this was done by something more than human. The works at Roorkee, great as they are, are small compared with the many wonderful ones in England. I would therefore strongly advocate the translation of small works on natural philosophy in separate

series. We might, for example, translate a small one on steam, one on the properties of water, or one on electricity.

"Another work which is most necessary for India to read is one on political economy. Political economy was formerly known to us, but none of the works on it of our ancient authors are now extant. Colonel Hamilton, after a great deal of research, got together a library, and an excellent one it is, of most of the works of our ancient authors. In the list of these works, which he kindly sent to me, I observed one or two small books on political economy; but which, from various leaves having been torn out or lost, and there being no other copies of them extant with which to compare them, were not printable. Besides, even if they were complete, Europe has so perfected this science as to have made them comparatively useless. From a want of knowledge of it, the natives of India are utterly in the dark as to the principles on which the government of their country is carried on. They do not know that the revenue is collected for their own benefit, and not for that of Government. Millions are under the idea that the rupees, as fast as they are collected, are hurried on board the ship, and carried off to England! Why is this? Only through their ignorance of political economy. Their own immediate prosperity is also seriously impaired by this ignorance. They do not know how to manage their affairs, how to so apply their present wealth that it may increase tenfold, and at the same time relieve other countries by letting loose their capital, and not burying it in their houses. I would therefore recommend the translating little by little, so as not to interfere with smaller works, of Mill's 'Political Economy.' There is this to be said against it, that it is very voluminous; but, gentlemen, this is also an argument in its favour, as unless a work be voluminous, this important science cannot be treated of as it deserves. Again, against it might be advanced that there are certain portions of it which are not applicable to this country, but only to England or Europe. But this is exactly what ought to be put clearly before us natives, in order that we may comprehend what Europe is doing. Fellow-countrymen, I would now exhort you to observe attentively what Government is doing for your benefit, and to profit by the sight. For your benefit was the agricultural meeting held the other day at Benares, and for your benefit is the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal going to hold a similar meeting at Calcutta in a few days. These are the first of their kind ever held in our country. Let us profit by them, and give them our hearty aid according to the best of our several abilities."

I had, in the previous year, translated and published at Syed Ahmed's private press two articles in the 'Edinburgh Review' on the administration of Lords Dalhousie and Canning, and on inquiry in London as to the author of these essays, I was informed that the writer was the

Duke of Argyll, and that he was much gratified at these having been translated. It struck me that it would be beneficial to our infant Society if we could get the assistance of the Duke's name as patron, and on writing to his Grace I received a letter from him giving his cordial assent. His Grace is therefore the first English duke who ever lent the encouragement of his name to a society founded by an Indian gentleman. India is grateful to him. By a curious and happy coincidence it was from the Duke's hands at the India Office that, six years later, Syed Ahmed received the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India, and lunched with him afterwards. This Society's headquarters were afterwards transferred to Allygurh, where, through Syed Ahmed's exertions and the liberality of the residents, its handsome institute, hall, and library were erected, and are now ornaments to the station. The following is a list of translations published by the Society since its foundation:

- Rollin's Ancient History of Egypt.
- Persian Translation of Exoos's History of China.
- Rollin's Ancient History of Greece.
- Scott Burn's Modern Farming.
- William Senior's Political Economy.
- Elphinston's History of India.
- Harris's Electricity.
- Wilkinson's Geography, compiled from various English works.
- Selections from Mill's Political Economy.
- Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.
- Todhunter's Mensuration.
- Todhunter's Trigonometry.
- Todhunter's Algebra for Beginners.
- Todhunter's Theory of Equations.
- Galbraith and Haughton's Scientific Manual Euclid.
- Galbraith and Haughton's Scientific Algebra.
- Todhunter's Euclid.
- Barnard Smith's Arithmetic for Schools.
- Barnard Smith's Algebra for Schools.
- Galbraith's Arithmetic.
- Galbraith's Plain Trigonometry.
- Todhunter's Algebra for Colleges and Schools.
- Todhunter's Plane Co-ordinate Geometry.
- Todhunter's Integral Calculus.
- Todhunter's Differential Calculus.

Syed Ahmed's counsel and example bore good fruit at Ghazipore, as within two months of the date of opening the Scientific Society he delivered a vigorous speech at the laying of the foundation of the New Ghazipore, now the Victoria, College, an institution built by the principal native gentlemen of the district. Mr Sapte, the Judge of Ghazipore, in

his speech said, "You will presently have the advantage of listening to an address from Syed Ahmed Khan, whose deep learning and liberal views are well known to you all, whose stay in this district has been of the greatest benefit to it." In the course of his address Syed Ahmed Khan said :

"This assembly, composed of English and native gentlemen of this district, the former of whom have attended here, not as your rulers but as well-wishers, at your own special invitation, is a brotherly association; and I have only to glance at the expression of the many faces around me to see that you fully appreciate their kindly fellow-feeling. Let us trust that He who rules on high may permit us to enjoy many such in our future lives, many such in which the natives of this country will be associated with those of the ruling race, for the purpose of compassing the improvement of the people of India. The English have the reputation of being the well-wishers of all mankind, without reference to race or creed. Although their method of carrying out their good intentions be sometimes open to criticism, still they generally come right in the end, and attain their objects. The natives of India, living far distant from England, and many of them, also, far distant from Englishmen, believe only when they have the bodily presence of the English that this reputation is a true one. This proof is today before their eyes; this brotherly interest in that which is intended to do good is, through your presence here this day, English gentlemen of Ghazipore, patent to all those now assembled. If meetings such as this were more frequent throughout India, the feeling of trust or attachment on the part of the governed towards the governors would be strengthened and enhanced, and be of the greatest benefit to both. . . . Native gentlemen, this your resolution of founding a college in this district is, indeed, a noble and praiseworthy one, and it is one which will, I trust, serve to incite the people of other districts to imitate your example; and thus we shall have colleges some day in every district. This admirable movement on your part proves that you are now alive to the necessity of education and enlightenment. Bear in mind, gentlemen, that her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria has had proclaimed in this country that her servants and subjects, European and native, are to be considered as being on an equal footing; and this assurance, gentlemen, is not a mere matter of form but a reality. Those amongst you here present who have visited Calcutta within the last few years, will have noticed that there is a countryman of your own judge of the High Court, possessing the same powers, enjoying the same dignities, and receiving the same pay as his brethren, the English judges of that Court. You are also aware that several of your fellow-countrymen are members of the Legislative Council of India, associated with the Viceroy and other high dignitaries in the formation

of laws for your well-being, and that they give their opinions on the same without fear or partiality.

"Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government that natives of India should be eligible for a seat in the Viceroy's Council both rejoiced and grieved me. It grieved me because I was afraid that the education of the natives was not sufficiently advanced to enable them to discharge the duties of their important office with credit to themselves and benefit to their country. Thanks be to the Almighty, this fear has proved groundless, and those of our fellow-countrymen who have been honoured with a seat in the highest council in India have discharged their duties manfully and right well. But, gentlemen, it is still requisite that we should increase our knowledge of things in general. The appointment of natives to the Supreme Council was a memorable incident in the history of India. The day is not far distant, I trust, and when it does come you will remember my words, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every division or district, and that thus the laws which it will pass will be laws enacted by the feelings of the entire country. You will, of course, see that this cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves thoroughly. I once had a conversation with one in high authority on this very subject, and he said that Government would be only too glad if a scheme such as I have sketched above were practicable; but he was doubtful if it were, and said that if there were qualified men in every district, Government would gladly avail itself of their knowledge, and give them seats in Council. I know this only too well, and felt ashamed that such was the case. What I have above stated is only to inculcate on your minds the great fact that her most gracious Majesty wishes all her subjects to be treated alike; and, let their religion, tribe, or colour be what it may, that the only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects, and to conform ourselves to the age."

SIR SYED IN ENGLAND
—
ESSAYS ON THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED
(1869 C.E.)

On the 10th April 1869, Syed Ahmed and his two sons, Syed Mahmud, who had obtained the first scholarship of the North-West Provinces, given to Indian youths to enable them to study in England, . . . of whom Mr Whitley Stokes years afterwards said in the Viceroy's Council that he was 'the distinguished son of a most distinguished father,' and Syed Hamed, . . . left Bombay, and on their arrival in England took up their quarters in a house in Mecklenburg Square, W.C.

I was at home on furlough at the time, says Graham, but was unable to meet them till the end of May 1869, when I ran up to town and had the pleasure of welcoming them to England. I took them to the Derby, which interested and amused them greatly. What appeared to astonish Syed Ahmed most of all was the moment when the horses came round the bend before Tottenham Corner. Up to this time the sea of hatless heads, which had all been turned from us (we were at the back of the Grand Stand), suddenly veered round as one man as the horses changed their direction, and the sudden flashing round of the multitude of white faces was a sight which Syed Ahmed was particularly struck with. The vast crowd was of much more interest to him than the racing. His stay in England was made pleasant to him by many people, particularly by Lord Lawrence, who was most kind to him, asking him to dinner, and calling on him once every month during his stay in the country. Lord Lawrence knew Syed Ahmed's family well. Another friend whom he often saw was Lord Stanley of Alderley, who, by his long residence at the English Embassy at Constantinople, had acquired a profound knowledge of the Mohammedan character and religion, both in its social and political aspects. He had an interview with Carlyle, and the Chelsea sage was unusually gracious to him. They talked long and earnestly over 'Heroes and Hero-Worship,' especially about Mohammed, of whom Carlyle expresses a very high opinion in that work; and also about Syed Ahmed's 'Essays on the Life of Mohammed,' then in the press. Sir John William Kaye was another whom he saw a good deal of and had correspondence with him this year. Syed Ahmed was present at the last reading given by Charles Dickens. He was very kindly received by the Duke of Argyll, then Secretary of State for India, who introduced him to Marquis of Lorne, and presented him with the insignia of the Companion of the Star of India.

Lord Lawrence, on the 4th June 1869, wrote to him as follows about this: "I am very glad to hear that you are to have the Third Class of the Star of India. It is an honour you well deserve. Indeed I may say that I recommended you for it before I left India," John Lawrence's

praise is worth having. The other recipients of the Companionship of the Star of India on the same day as Syed Ahmed were Messrs Harrison, Barlow, Boyle, and Captain Meadows Taylor. Here is Syed Ahmed's account of the ceremony :

"On Friday, the 6th of August 1869, I drove to the India Office to receive the insignia of the Companionship of the Star of India. The rest of the recipients were also present. We were received by Mr (afterwards Sir) John W. Kaye, secretary to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, who shook hands with us all, and spoke a few courteous and congratulatory words to each of us. After a short interval, Mr Benthall, private secretary to his Grace, entered the room where we were assembled, and shaking hands with me, asked me to accompany him into an adjoining room, where the Duke was waiting to receive me. The Duke was seated without any appearance or surrounding of ceremony, and rising, received me very graciously, shook me by the hand, and introduced me to his son, the Marquis of Lorne, who was present on the occasion. He conversed with me very kindly for some minutes, and inquired after my sons, especially about their education and the progress of their studies. He spoke in English, of course, and I answered him as well as I could in that language, and only regret that I could not speak as correctly and fluently as I could have wished. His Grace then presented me with the Star, together with the royal warrant bearing the signature of the Queen, appointing me a 'Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India,' and after congratulating me on the great distinction that had been conferred upon me, permitted me to retire. The other recipients having been similarly summoned and invested with the Star, we were all asked to lunch by the Duke, and sat down to a really splendid luncheon, the Duke taking the seat on his left. Many influential men, members of Parliament, and others, were present; amongst others, Sir Bartle Frere, whom I had already met before, and with whom I had a long conversation. After lunch the Duke retired, shaking hands with all present; but the rest of us continued at table over the dessert, and chatting for some time after."

Syed Ahmed was also present at the dinner given at Greenwich by the Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers, on the 13th July 1869, and made a speech on the effects of engineering works on the Indian public, which was translated and read out in English by Lord Lawrence. The following is an extract from the 'Daily News' of the 21st July on the above :

"*Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers.*—This Society made an excursion down the Thames, and afterwards had an entertainment at Greenwich, on Thursday the 13th instant. The party started from West-

minster in Mr Penn's steam-yacht, and visited, under special arrangements, his Engine Manufactory at Deptford, also Messrs Ziemen's Telegraph Cable Works at Charlton, and the Gun and Ammunition Manufactories at the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich. The inspections and the explanations given were of the greatest interest, and afforded much information and pleasure to the company. At the dinner there were nearly fifty gentlemen, the chair being taken by Mr Penn, the president for the year, and among those present were Lord Lawrence, Syed Ahmed and his two sons, Lord Alfred Churchill, Thaiszelek of Perth, Baron Joachunis, Honourable J. R. Howard, Mr. Reed (Admiralty); Messrs Hawkshaw, Whitworth, Sindley, Vignoles, Hemans, J. R. Maclean, M.P., R. Arkwright, M.P.; Dr Percy; Major-Generals Sir A. Waugh and Sir J. A. L. Simmons; Colonels Boxer, Campbell, and Murray; Captains Galton and Ruth; Aldermen J. S. Gibbons and Sir Sydney Waterlow, &c., &c. The Society dates from 1771, when Smeaton instituted a gathering of professional engineers and men of science for friendly intercourse and discussion. The usual ancients of the Society were given in the evening, and to that of the memory of their departed brethren, special notice was made of the name of James Watt by Mr J. Webster, Q.C., being the centenary of his first patent for a method of lessening the consumption of steam and fuel in fire-engines, on the 5th January 1769. For the visitors Lord A. Churchill and Mr Reed of the Admiralty replied, together with Lord Lawrence, and with a dignified and interesting speech from his friend the Judge Syed Ahmed. Thanks were accorded to the President and to Mr Mylne the Treasurer for the arrangements of the day, and several of the party returned to town in the evening by the steam-yacht."

On the 28th July 1869, Syed Ahmed addressed the following letter to the Duke of Argyll:

MY LORD DUKE, — In laying before your Grace the few following facts and the petition founded thereon, I do so with full confidence that your Grace will give them generous and liberal consideration.

I am, as no doubt your Grace is aware, one of her Majesty's subordinate Judges of India of the Uncovenanted Service, and have, as the accompanying papers will prove, spent the best years of my life in the service of the British Government, not without approval, and may I be pardoned for hoping, not without benefit to the Government and to my native land.

I have long felt that it was a great disadvantage to my country and people, and especially to Indian officials like myself, to have no personal knowledge of the land, or the rulers, or even the institutions of the kingdom to whom Providence has given the sway over India; that one of the

chief requisites to bind us close to England is, that there should be free and untrammelled intercourse between us; that we should be encouraged to come freely to this centre of power and civilisation, and to note for ourselves how true is the interest felt for India's good by our common sovereign, and by the councillors of that sovereign on the occasion of the Durbar held in Oudh in 1867 by Lord Lawrence, our late Governor-General, I availed myself of the opportunity to express these views to him, and was gratified by his seeming to concur fully in them.

Government Resolution of the 30th June 1868, founding nine scholarships to be given to Indian youths desirous of completing their education in England, was soon afterwards issued. This harmonised with my previous view; but knowing how many prejudices exist in the minds of the great mass of my countrymen against such a measure, involving as it does a sacrifice of the daily habits of a lifetime, I determined to be the first to avail myself of the opening given, and so applied for and obtained one of the scholarships for my son, who was then a student of the Calcutta University, and had passed the examination entitling him to a nomination. He is now with me in London, and has commenced his course of study at Lincoln's Inn. I also did the utmost in my power to induce others of my countrymen to follow my example, and avail themselves of the wise policy of the Government, by establishing an association for the encouragement of travel to England.

Previous, however, to the grant of the scholarships, wishing to get an example in my own person of seeking knowledge of England and its institutions and policy, I had applied for furlough for eighteen months for this purpose, petitioning, at the same time, that under the special circumstances of the case, I might have the special indulgence of drawing full pay during the time of my absence, and of counting the same towards pension. An unfavourable reply was given, it being stated that under the furlough rules for uncovenanted officers I was not entitled to the favour solicited. This much I knew before. It was the special indulgence I had applied for that I hoped would have been conceded to me, and, in a further application for the same, I asked that my request might be placed before the Secretary of State for India. Being now, however, in England, I take the liberty of a direct appeal to your Grace, praying your generous consideration of my case. . . .

In order to come to England I have been obliged to sell and mortgage my property, and the sum thus raised will, I fear, not cover the inevitable expenses of the coming and going and residing in England, and that, if not aided, I may have to return to India an indebted and impoverished man.

The following was the very satisfactory reply received by him :

INDIA OFFICE, S.W.

7th August 1869

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, requesting that you may be permitted to draw full pay during your present leave, and to reckon it as service towards pension, and to acquaint you in reply that the rules do not admit of a compliance with your request but that, under the circumstances stated in your letter, the Secretary of State of India in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant to you as a special case, in consideration of your services during the Mutiny, and of your general high character, of the sum of £250 per annum for two years, in addition to the furlough pay to which you are entitled under the rules. I am, sir, your obedient servant.

M. G. GRANT DUFF.

SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADOR, C.S.I.

Syed Ahmed Khan acknowledged this as follows:

TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 7th instant, informing me "the rules do not admit of a compliance with your request, but that, under the circumstances stated in your letter, the Secretary of State in Council has been pleased to sanction the grant to you as a special case," I beg to request that you will convey to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State in Council my sincere and grateful acknowledgments and thanks, not only for such compliance with my request, but still more for the very flattering terms in which such compliance has been notified. At the same time, I would further beg to request you to assure the Right Honourable Secretary of State in Council that, were it possible for anything to increase my fidelity and attachment to the British Government and to my most gracious Sovereign, it would be the honour and kindness thus conferred upon me.

On the 6th November he greatly enjoyed the sight of the opening of the Holburn Viaduct by the Queen—a special invitation being sent him by the committee of management.

During his stay in London, Syed Ahmed was made an honorary member of the Athenaeum Club. Whilst in England, he published a

"Godfrey Higgins writes on the subject as follows: 'Nothing is so common as to hear the Christian priests abuse the religion of Mohammed for its bigotry and intolerance. Wonderful assurance and hypocrisy! Who was it expelled the Moriscos from Spain because they would not turn Christians? Who was it murdered the millions of Mexico and Peru, and gave them all away as slaves, because they were not Christians? What a contrast have the Mohammedans exhibited in Greece! For many centuries the Christians have been permitted to live in the peaceable possession of their properties, their religion, their priests, bishops, patriarchs, and churches; and at the present moment the war between the Greeks and Turks is no more waged on account of religion than was the late war between the negroes in Demerara and the English. The Greeks and the negroes want to throw off the yoke of their conquerors, and they are both justified in so doing. Wherever the Caliphs conquered, if the inhabitants turned Mohammedans, they were instantly on a footing of perfect equality with the conquerors. An ingenious and learned dissenter, speaking of the Saracens, says, 'They persecuted nobody; Jews and Christians all lived happy among them.'

"But though we are told that the Moriscos were banished because they would not turn Christians, I suspect there was another cause. I suspect they, by their arguments, so gained upon the Christians, that the ignorant monks thought that the only way their arguments could be answered was by the Inquisition and the sword; and I have no doubt they were right, as far as their wretched powers of answering them extended. In the countries conquered by the Caliphs, the peaceable inhabitants, whether Greeks, Persians, Sabeans, or Hindus, were not put to the sword as the Christians have represented, but after the conquest was terminated, were left in the peaceable possession of their properties and religion, paying a tax for the enjoyment of this latter privilege, so trifling as to be an oppression to none. In all the history of the Caliphs, there cannot be shown anything half so infamous as the Inquisition, nor a single instance of an individual burnt for his religious opinion, nor, do I believe, put to death in a time of peace for simply not embracing the religion of Islam. No doubt the later Mohammedan conquerors, in their expeditions, have been guilty of the great cruelties, which these Christian authors have sedulously laid to the charge of their religion; but this is not just. Assuredly religious bigotry increased the evils of war, but in this the Mohammedan conquerors were not worse than the Christians. . . .

"John Davenport, in his 'Apology,' writes in the following strain: 'It was at the Council of Nicea that Constantine invested the priesthood with that power whence flowed the most disastrous consequences, as the following summary will show: the massacres and devastations of nine mad crusades of Christians against unoffending Turks, during nearly two hundred years, in which many millions of human beings perished; the

massacres of the Anabaptists; the massacres of the Lutherans and Papists from the Rhine to the extremities of the North; the massacres ordered by Henry VIII and his daughter Mary; the Massacre of St Bartholomew in France; and forty years more of other massacres, between the time of Francis I and the entry of Henry IV into Paris; the massacres of the Inquisition, which are more execrable still, as being judicially committed; to say nothing of the innumerable schisms, and twenty years of popes against popes, bishops against bishops; the poisonings, assassinations; the cruel rapines and insolent pretensions of more than a dozen popes, who far exceeded a Nero or a Caligula in every species of crime, vice, and wickedness; and lastly, to conclude this frightful list, the massacre of twelve millions of the inhabitants of the New World, executed crucifix in hand! It surely must be confessed that so hideous and almost uninterrupted a chain of religious wars, for fourteen centuries, never subsisted but among Christians, and that none of the numerous nations stigmatised as heathen ever spilled a drop of blood on the score of theological arguments.'

"The celebrated Mr. Gibbon, the greatest of modern historians, and whose authority cannot be doubted or questioned, writes as follows: 'The wars of the Mohammedans were sanctified by the Prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, the Caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelieving. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mohammed; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the other nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolaters who were ignorant of his name might be lawfully extirpated, but a wise policy supplied the obligations of justice, and, after some acts of intolerant zeal, the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindustan have spared the pagodas of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mohammed; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship.'

"The author of an article entitled 'Islam as a Political System,' inserted in the 'East and the West,' thus expresses himself on the subject under consideration: 'Mohammed was the only founder of a religion who was at the same time a temporal prince and a warrior. Their power lay exclusively in restraining violence and ambition; his temptation was ambition, and the sword was at his disposal. It is therefore to be expected that, making religion a means of temporal power, and having obtained that sway over the minds of his followers by which they accepted as law and right whatever he chose to promulgate, his code should be found at variance with all others, and even in opposition to those dictates of justice which are implanted in the breasts of all men. If, then, we find that it is not so—if we find him establishing maxims

of right in international dealings, of clemency in the use of victory, moderation in that of power, above all, of toleration in religion,—we must acknowledge that, amongst men who have run a distinguished course, he possesses peculiar claims to the admiration of his fellow-creatures.' Again he says: 'Islam has never interfered with the dogmas of any faith, never persecuted, never established an Inquisition, never aimed at proselytism. It offered its religion, but never enforced it; and the acceptance of that religion conferred coequal rights with the conquering body, and emancipated the vanquished States from the conditions which every conqueror, since the world existed up to the period of Mohammed, has invariably imposed. For its proselytes there was no obligation of denial and revilement of their former creed; the repetition of a single phrase was the only form required or pledge exacted. A spirit the very reverse of this' (intolerance), remarks the same author, 'is evinced in every page of the history of Islam, in every country to which it has extended; so that in Palestine a Christian poet (Lamartine) has exclaimed, twelve centuries after the events to which we are referring, 'The Mohammedans are the only tolerant people on the face of the earth'; and English traveller (Slade) reproaches them with being too tolerant.'

"What a contrast do these remarks of so many impartial and liberal Christian writers afford to the unsupported assertion of Sir William Muir—'Toleration is unknown in Islamism!'"

Copies of these Essays were sent by Syed Ahmed to the Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive of Egypt, with the following letters:

To His Imperial and Royal Majesty THE SULTAN OF TURKEY.

May it please your Imperial and Royal Majesty,—Actuated not less by a love and reverence for the founder of our holy religion than impelled by a strong sense of duty to demonstrate to the present age, as far as my humble powers permit, the truth and wisdom of our holy religion, and to show that the onward march of science and enlightenment is in every respect compatible with Islam, during my residence in this imperial metropolis, whither I have come from India to have the honour of beholding the beneficent countenance of her Britannic Majesty, under whose mild and gentle sway India is now blessed with so much liberty and happiness, I have, with the blessing of Allah and his holy apostle, completed the first volume of 'A Series of Essays upon the Life of Mohammed,' which volume, I humbly hope, may be permitted to be placed at your Majesty's imperial and royal feet, and that it may also be so fortunate as to be honoured by the approval and favour of so true and faithful a follower of our Prophet as is your Imperial and Royal Majesty.

That your Imperial and Royal Majesty may long continue to grace, defend, and strengthen the throne of the Caliphs is, and ever will be, the earnest and heartfelt prayer of the humble writer.

LONDON, *18th July 1870.*

To His Highness ISMAIL PASHA,
Khedive of Egypt, &c.

ILLUSTRIOUS HIGHNESS,—The highly laudable and successful endeavours of your Highness to give to Egypt the full benefit of the blessings derived from the diffusion of knowledge and the spread of education, have excited my unfeigned respect and admiration, but of which it is my misfortune not to be able to give your Highness a better proof than in requesting that your Highness will be pleased to accept the accompanying first volume of a work which I have completed while in this country, and which I hope will prove that the most liberal views and opinions upon the sciences and knowledge in general are perfectly consistent with the precepts and practice of our holy religion.—I have, Illustrious Highness, the distinguished honour to remain your Illustrious Highness's most obedient servant,

LONDON, *18th July 1870.*

SYED AHMED.

SIR SYED'S LETTERS FROM ENGLAND

Whilst in England, Syed Ahmed wrote a series of letters which appeared in the *Allygurh Institute Gazette* in Urdu, from which his biographer, Graham, gives translated extracts:

On the 1st April 1869, I left Benares with my two sons, and Chajju my servant. On the 2d we remained at Allahabad, having an interview there with Sir William Muir, and bidding farewell to numerous friends and well-wishers. We left by the night train for Jubbulpore, arriving there the next day, and put up at Mr Palmer's hotel. On asking for a *dak* (the railway was not then finished) to Nagpur, I found to my horror that I ought to have booked one long beforehand, and that not a single *dak* was available for seventeen days. How in all the world were we to arrive in Bombay by the 9th, the day on which our steamer was to sail? By Mr Palmer's advice, I hired bullocks and a carriage from Messrs Howard & Co., and we got off at 8 p.m. on the 3d. For three days and three nights we travelled without stopping, except for food, the stages for the bullocks being every five miles apart. At Damoh we found the *dak* bungalow full of gentlemen and ladies, so remained under a tree, sent for milk sweetened with sugar, got a fowl, which Chajju cooked, and some *chupattis*, and enjoyed our meal extremely.

Going from Jubbulpore to Nagpur, the traveller passes through three districts—viz., Seonce, Dewalapur, and Kampti. The road is an excellent one, but passes through many ravines and over rivers, and in some places the bullocks had difficulty in pulling us up, and had to be supplemented by additional ones. On our arrival at Nagpur we went to the railway station, which we found crammed with Englishmen, women, and children. We fortunately got a couple of small rooms in a 'go-down,' and were glad to rest ourselves after the fatigues of the road. Never having come south of Allahabad, I was struck by the differences in the aspect of the country, particularly by the black cotton soil, so different from that of the North-West Provinces, and the frequent ranges of hills.

On the 7th, at 9 a.m., we left Nagpur by train, and reached Bombay at midday on the 8th. I was greatly struck with the wonderful engineering works on the *ghats*—the tunnels especially seeming to me to be rather the work of Titans than of men. An amusing episode occurred to me at one of the stations. I sent a telegram to a friend which cost Rs. 3. The signaller shortly afterwards came to me and said, 'By omitting two words the message will cost only Rs. 2. Let me have 8 annas, and you will thus save 8 annas, and the company will not have been robbed!' I cut off the two words and presented the signaller with his

8 annas. At Bombay we stayed at the Byculla (Pallinjee) Hotel; and at 6 p.m. on the 10th, the Peninsular and Oriental Steamship, Baroda steamed out of the harbour with us on board.

One of my fellow-passengers was Major-General Babbington of the Madras Army, who was most kind to us all, and who promised that we should have no difficulty in getting from Marseilles to Calais, owing to our want of knowledge of French. Another was Miss Carpenter, so well known for her philanthropy and her efforts in the cause of female education in Calcutta and Bombay. I had long and interesting conversations with her upon female and general education, as well as upon other important matters. Her want of knowledge of Urdu and my want of knowledge of English was rather a drawback, but we got on very well by using Mahmud and Khudadad Beg (who joined our party at Bombay) as translators. Miss Carpenter is a native of Bristol, daughter of a Dr Carpenter, and she has made herself famous in her native town by her efforts in educating the children of the poor. Raja Ram Mohan Rai, the Unitarian, was a great friend of hers, and he died at her father's house whilst on a visit. It was his description of the sad state of Indian women that caused her voyage to India. She had a book with her containing opinions on the state of Indian women from many influential natives, and she asked me to contribute mine thereto. I wrote: '*En route* to London I have made the acquaintance of Miss Carpenter—an acquaintance which honours and gives me the highest pleasure. Since I first heard her name in connection with her efforts for the advancement of Indian women, I have been desirous of making her acquaintance. Thanks to God, that pleasure has now been vouchsafed to me.' Her lofty aims, keen insight, and goodness of heart are evidenced by her efforts in the cause of Indian women. To interest one's self in the education of woman, whom God hath made as a helpmate to man in good works, is worthy of every praise. To do good in every way is most laudable, as, if the foundation is good, good results must follow. Even if mistakes be made at the commencement, efforts thus made excite the emulation of others and the right results will ensue. Efforts for good are sometimes frustrated owing to their being contrary to the manners and customs of those for whose good they are intended. In such cases, it is like going contrary to the nature; and by doing so, weapons are forged to prevent any good resulting. God told Joshua to order the sun to stand still, although that was wrong, as the order should have been for the earth to stop; but God knew what was the general opinion on earth at that time, so gave His order in accordance with the same. If thus we do not strive after good in accordance with manners and customs, we shall not have done as God did, and evil will result. In any case, I trust and hope that Miss Carpenter's endeavours may be crowned with

success, and that the men and women of Hindustan, who are really one, will have their hearts enlightened by truth and culture.

There was an officer of Royal Artillery on board who one night came and sat beside me, and asked me if I was going to London. I answered in the affirmative.

He said, 'I am no missionary, but an officer of artillery from Madras, where I was told that there were only three true religions—the Hindu, Christian, and Mohammedan. I do not believe this, as there can only be one true religion.' I agreed with him, adding that different religions resting on different foundations could not all be true—that one religion, even although there might be many sects in it, must be the true one. He then said that, according to his belief, the Christian was the true one. I said that every one thought his own religion the true one. He replied that others were wrong. I asked him what proof he had of his being right and others wrong,—on which he asked me to contemplate what the Christian race had done; how the English had been blessed by God above all other nations; how they surpassed all other nations in the arts and sciences and philosophy; what a wonderful thing the ship we were in was, and how she speeded through the waters by the appliances of science. 'You have seen,' he said, 'the wonders of the railway and the telegraph. No other nation is so powerful in war as mine. If any other religion were the true one, God would have blessed it as He has mine.' I told him that all the things he had pointed out to me were worldly matters—they proved nothing as to the truth or otherwise of any religion; that he should remember that God did not give His dearly loved Job or Jesus Christ much in this world; that this world was not for good men, but that they should look forward to a future one. He remained silent for a short time, and I hoped that he had finished, as I am extremely averse to talking on religious subjects, seeing that by doing so friendships are often prevented. Unfortunately, he returned to the subject and said, 'I wish to tell you one thing which is undoubtedly true, and which I firmly believe in—i.e., that no one can enter heaven except through Jesus Christ.' I told him that I had already said that every one stands by his own religion, on which he asked me if I in like manner believed in Mohammed. As this question was slightly against my religious belief, as I do not lean on any man but trust entirely in God, I delayed a little before replying. Thinking over it, I thought that as Mohammed had taught me to trust in God alone, I might answer in the affirmative, and I did so. He said, 'Do I see, by your hesitation, that you have not that full trust in Mohammed?' I told him that there was something slightly wrong in his question, as Mohammed had taught us to believe in no other way of attaining to the delights of Paradise than by believing in and worshipping the true God, and that I believed in this as firmly as that I saw the bright star above

me. He remained silent, and shortly after left.

Although this religious discussion was distasteful to me, I was of opinion, with regard to him, that he was a true, humble, and loving Christian; but I am sorry to say that this did not prove to be the case, as after this he never came near me or spoke to me. If I met him and said 'Good morning,' he merely salaamed with his hand. I was several times on the point of going up to him and asking him to pardon anything that I had offended him by saying; but as I did not know him well enough, I did not like to do so, and refrained.

As regards food arrangements, there are long tables in the saloon, with benches and chairs sufficient to accommodate the whole of the passengers. There is a knife, fork, and spoon for each person. Every one sits where he likes, having first put his card at the place which he may prefer. This seat is not changed during the voyage. Tea and bread and butter are provided early in the morning; breakfast at 8 or 9; tiffin at midday; dinner at 4 p.m.; and tea and coffee, bread and butter and biscuit at 9 o'clock. There is always a plentiful supply of excellent fruit. The cook and the man who kills and cleans the animals for food are both Europeans. On inquiry, I found that such animals as sheep, goats, &c., are killed by having the principal vein in the neck severed—even Europeans thinking it proper to let out the blood of such animals. As regards fowls, Europeans merely wring their necks; and as this manner of killing them is lawful to Christians, in the same way that we Mohammedans deem the eating of fish and locusts lawful without cutting their throats, therefore, according to the tenets of Mohammed the Prophet, the eating of fowls killed in this manner is also lawful for Mohammedans. For these reasons, we ate freely of mutton, beef, chickens, and pigeons—all excellent of their kind. At our first meal sherry and claret glasses were alongside our plates, but we turned them upside down. The tumblers we kept for water. The steward who attended us, thinking that we drank wine, brought us a bottle of some kind; and thinking that I must be the great man of the party, having a long white beard, began pouring some out for me. I said, 'No, no!' and he stopped, but gave me the names of a number of other wines. I kept on saying, 'No, no! only cold water,' and he then removed the wine-glasses and brought us iced water, the liquor made by the Almighty for mankind. After this he never brought us liquor again. I think pork is never given till asked for. So it never came to us!

We were in high spirits when we started, and enjoyed the cool sea-breeze after the heat of the land. On sitting down to dinner and eating a little, I felt my brain shaking with the motion of the ship, which was tossing a little. The side of my head which was towards the side to which the ship pitched, felt as if a great weight were in it, and the other side felt correspondingly empty. The ship's motions were frequent and con-

tinuous, so also was the feeling in my brain. We became uneasy and went on deck, where, after a walk, we felt better. At bedtime we went to bed and slept well. In the morning I rose and repeated the morning prayers, feeling very well. Khudadad Beg was also all right, but Mahmud was silent, and lay down a good deal. Hamid was worst of us all—his head feeling heavy, his mind uneasy, and feeling inclined to be sick. About noon I became bad, and my head was so giddy that I was unable to rise. Mahmud was not so ill, but hid himself all day and night. Hamid got worse and worse, could not go into the cabin, and lay on deck for four days and nights without eating an atom, and loathing the very name of food. The smell of it made him sick. I was ill for a day and a half, when I became all right. Khudadad Beg kept all right, although he felt slightly ill at times. Chhajju was also well, but I have my suspicions that he had been sick. One of the ship's officers, seeing how ill Mahmud was, brought him some medicine in a glass, with a little spirit in it—not wine or brandy, etc., but some other spirit. Mahmud thanked him for so kindly taking the trouble of bringing it for him, but said he would not drink it if there was any spirit in it. The officer urged Mahmud, but he continued firm; so the kind-hearted man went off and brought some medicine in which there was no spirit, and it did Mahmud much good.

Sunday prayers are repeated the same as on shore. If there is no clergyman on board, the captain reads them. We had the Rev. Mr Taylor of Kampti on board. All the English assembled on deck and seated themselves on chairs and benches, and the clergyman read prayers. I stood silently and respectfully near (walking every now and then), as God's name should be respected in every way. I saw the way God was prayed to, and admired His catholicity. Some men bow down to idols; others address Him seated on chairs, with heads uncovered; some worship Him with heads covered and beads on, with hands clasped in profound respect; many abuse Him, but He cares nought for this. He is indeed the only one who is possessed of the attribute of catholicity.

I was thinking thus when the service concluded. One of the passengers, a learned friend, asked me why I did not attend the service, and I said that there was no necessity for my doing so. He said, 'Is there not one God?' I said, 'It is not so in your prayers.' The gentleman said no more.

There has been a sorrowful event in our ship. Captain—was brought on board at Bombay in a dying state—the only chance of saving him being a sea-voyage. He died during the night of the 11th. On the 12th, in the afternoon, his body was brought out on a board, covered with cloth; two cannon-balls were fastened to his legs, and the body was placed on the side of the ship. The chaplain repeated prayers; and the board being tilted up, the body fell into the sea as if jumping, and dis-

appeared. The event produced a singular effect upon me; and thinking over his death and his being thrown into the ocean, I repeated the following stanzas of Sadi :

'When a pure soul has to take leave of the body,
What matter if it happen on a plank or on land!'

When man dies, do what you like—burn him, commit him to the deep, bury him in the earth, what has been has been, and what is to be is to be.

On the way to Aden we passed many sailing-vessels and steamers on their way to Bombay, but always at a distance of one or two miles. Only two sailing-vessels came very close to us, which I shall treat of presently. On sighting a vessel by day, flags were run up; and as each nation has a different flag, nationality of the vessel was ascertained when she ran up hers. One night we met a steamer, and our captain sent for fireworks, which first emitted a red, and then, after a slight explosion, a white light. Another one which burned blue kept alight for several minutes. This conversation, kept up between vessels miles asunder, struck me as very curious and desirable. On the 12th April we met two English sailing-vessels with coal, &c., on board, one of which signalled to us, and flags were run up in reply. I inquired as to the question and answer, and was told that the sailing-vessel had asked the latitude and longitude, and we had replied, $17^{\circ}20'$ latitude, and $65^{\circ}5'$ longitude. The method in which the daily run is measured is very curious and simple. There is a rope with a piece of wood at the end—a quarter-circle,—which is frequently thrown over the stern, and is stopped when the sand in a sand-glass runs out at the end of a minute, which is the time the sand takes to empty itself in. The distance thus run in a minute gives the basis of the calculation for the hour. . . .

The passengers as far as Aden had only two games besides chess—viz., skittles and quoits. At night our ship, as she sped on her way, displaced many small insects, which gleamed and left a stream of light behind us. Many curious flying-fish were seen, shoals of them jumping out of the water on our approach, and flying for thirty or forty yards before falling into the sea. One of them flew into Major Fraser's cabin! . . .

Shortly after leaving Bombay we got out of sight of land—nothing but water being visible—the heavens rising on all sides out of the ocean like a gigantic lid. This went on for six days and nights; but early on Friday, the 16th April, the Arabian coast came in sight, greatly to my delight. As I gazed upon it, I thought of God having caused our blessed Prophet to be born in it. Major Dodd, Director of Public Instruction at Nagpur, my great friend, came up to me as I was gazing, and asked me if I had seen the land of the Prophet? I said 'Yes; this is Arabia the blest.' That evening the lofty mountain on which Aden is situated was visible the lighthouse to guide us in gleaming brightly from it.

Early next morning we arrived at Aden—the vessel casting anchor close to the shore. The journey so far across the ocean had been prosperous and smooth, and I praised God for permitting it to be so. I hoped that the Red Sea would prove the same. All four of us, with Chajju, got into a small boat, and were rowed to the land, where we found carriages and pairs, horses and donkeys, all ready. There is a Parsi's hotel here, and a number of shops close by. The fort and cantonment are a little over two miles off. We drove to the latter in a carriage and pair. The tanks for water here are wonderful—the date of their construction being unknown. We first of all visited them, and found them to be ten or twelve in number, built one above the other, and very deep. When rain falls, it fills the highest, and when it is full, the rest are filled in succession. People say that they were built so that if rain fell for only two hours or so, they would all be filled. Aden being situated on the sea, the water is very brackish—every well in the place being so. For this reason, therefore, some king of Arabia—prior to the advent of Mohammed—had these tanks excavated to catch the rainfall, and the residents of Aden get all their drinking-water from them. It is popularly supposed here that they were built by King Shaddad. The English have repaired them splendidly, iron railings and *pucka* roads running round them all. Pretty bridges are placed at intervals, and trees which can flourish at Aden, adorn the spaces between the tanks. There are benches for tired promenaders, and altogether this hell upon earth has been turned into a little paradise. The heat of Aden is beyond description—not a single blade of green grass or a green tree being visible. Water put out at night to drink is in the morning like hot water, and there is no ice to be got. Drinking-water is very dear, being three pice for a *serai* containing three glasses. Close to the tanks some Parsis and Arabs combined to dig a large one, which also gets filled in its turn. It is of great depth, and there was plenty of water in it at our visit. Horses and cattle drink from it, and I believe each animal's drink costs two annas. I hear that the income from this tank is reserved to the builders for seven years, after which the income will go to Government.

We afterwards visited the bazaars, where we came across a couple of shops which sold roasted Indian corn, of which we bought in memory of Hindustan. We also bought bread and meat, and *chupattis* cooked like those at the Kutab, near Delhi; and going to a *masjid*, had our food, and gave away what remained to the beggars.

There are many races in Aden, but Arabs and Egyptians preponderate. The Somalis are most numerous, but I have not been able to find out what race they are. They speak Arabic, but so badly that I could only understand four or five words. They also did not understand my Arabic well. I was greatly delighted to hear these Somalis talking a little Urdu, which they knew sufficient of to make it easy for a Hindustani

to get all necessary work done. The Somalis are also pretty well up in English and French—knowing the former, however, better than the latter. There are several *masjids* here, the largest being the 'Idris,'—the 'Jumma' being the largest convent. On leaving our mosque where we had eaten, I saw a Hindu, to whom I spoke, and found that he was a Marwari from Bombay, and was then a merchant at Aden. He had been here for a long time, having, however, constantly visited Bombay. He told me that there were three Hindu temples in Aden, those of Mahadeo, Hanuman, and another, the name of which I have forgotten, all of which had been built by contributions from Hindus visiting the place. I was delighted to find that Hindus could come so far across the ocean in steamers without losing their caste. God grant that the Hindus of my part of India will soon take this to heart. All the inhabitants, shopkeepers and others, were very dirty, the Somalis being just like savages. The English certainly are the cleanest of nations, although some of their customs are open to cavil.

Although the Cantonment at Aden is a small one—only, I believe, having some 300 or 400 English and native soldiers—there is apparently a vast amount of artillery. The Cantonment is well and prettily laid out, and is situated inside the fortress. The bazaars are all near at hand. The so-called fort is really a hill: hills are all around, and the Cantonment is in the valley within. The entrance road was made by the English cutting through a hill. Ten determined men could hold it against an army. Owing to the hills being well fortified, Aden is practically impregnable. The sight of it filled my heart with a sense of British power. It is the outlying sentry on the road to India, and the key to the Red Sea. If trouble were to break out in India, any amount of munitions of war could be poured into it in six days. If a quarrel broke out with the Egyptian Government, or the French made an attack on that country, an expedition could soon reach Egypt from Aden with food and arms for 50,000 men. I say that it is the key of the Red Sea, because the present force in it is sufficient, if necessary, to prevent a single vessel getting into or out of the Red Sea. It was formerly under the Turks, and was, I think, taken by the English about thirty years ago. Its affairs are now under the government of India. I am told that, prior to the advent of the English, it was in a wretched state, with only one miserable Somali village on the hills, which is still to be seen, I believe. The Turkish Wall was built after the arrival of the English, to separate their fortifications from the soil of Turkey. It is very high and strong, and is defended by guns and Europeans. In it is a gate through which people go to and fro—all incomers, however, having to deposit any arms they may be carrying before being allowed to enter. I am sorry that I was unable to visit it. On the beach is a machine which changes sea-water into good drinking-water, used by the residents. We were greatly amused by numerous Somali boys swimming and diving round the ship like frogs,

and calling for *backhsheesh*. Any coin thrown into the sea is at once dived after and brought up by them. I counted twenty-one boys in the water, all of them remaining from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. without ever getting out, and constantly diving for two-anna bits.

At 5 p.m. on the 17th April we weighed anchor and started for Suez. An Arabian pilot called Mutwalli came on board at Aden who did not know of what race he was (the Adenites call them 'Arkatis'), whose pronunciation of Arabic was similar to that of the Somali, and who was illiterate, and said that he was a native of 'Bari-i-Arab'. He was filthily dirty, but knew a good deal of English and French. I was told that we should pass through the Straits of Babel Mandeb during the night; and as I had always heard that the passage was dangerous, I was very anxious to see it. On nearing it I was awoke by a man whom I had asked to do so, and saw hills—but not very lofty ones—on both sides. The pass appeared to be about three miles broad, and not in the least dangerous; but it may be so from sunken rocks. Perhaps for sailing-vessels or other nations' vessels besides the English it may be dangerous, but our vessel glided through it in perfect safety, although in the night-time. Europeans have certainly brought the science of sailing to the utmost perfection, and can take their vessels to the uttermost parts of the earth in one straight line for hundreds and thousands of miles. If they wish their vessel to describe a circle, she obeys like a well-trained circus-horse! During the night I saw a very small island called Perim, situated at the very entrance to the Red Sea. It is about three miles long by one broad. The lighthouse is the only building upon it, and some few sepoy are there to signal with flags. A few years ago it was uninhabited, and did not belong to any nationality. Perhaps, according to European international law, any nation that wanted it might take it. Louis Napoleon, Emperor of France, sent a vessel out to take it, which vessel came by a long roundabout way to Aden, where she anchored, intending to take possession of Perim the next morning. The English commanding officer at Aden went on board at night to pay the captain a visit, dined there, and was told by the French officer of the object for which he had come. The English officer took a bit of paper and pencil out of his pocket, and wrote—under the table—a note to the captain of the English steamer then at Aden, telling him to light the fires and get up steam at once. The writer remained chatting with his host, and after a little bade him good night—went straight on board his ship, and steaming out of the harbour, reached Perim during the night, and planted the British flag on it. In the morning the French officer arrived, and found to his astonishment the English flag flying. He went back much mortified. It is said that Napoleon was greatly incensed when he heard of this, and made numerous representations

on the subject in London, but without avail. His object was to get a coaling-station for French steamers.

On the morning of the 18th April we were in the Red Sea, and a couple of days later fine lofty hills were in sight. On the one side we could see Arabia, on the other Africa. The hills on both sides were barren to a degree—not a sign of a tree or of water was to be seen.

On the night of the 22d we were roused out of our sleep by the sea pouring in through the port-hole and drenching our beds. We got rather frightened, and took refuge in the saloon, and found that all the cabins on our side had fared similarly—their occupants all running into the saloon! The stewards were called, the port-holes were shut, and the drenched bed-linen carried away. We passed the night as best we could. Mahmud, against my advice, persisted in sleeping on the wet bed-clothes, and got rheumatism in his arm in consequence. It only lasted a day, however. The wind became very high, right in our teeth, and the vessel pitched violently, and I was very ill—my head aching dreadfully, but I was not actually sick. The English were astonished at my being unwell on such a lovely sea and said, 'None of us are ill.' I noticed, however, that some were—a few very ill indeed! Mirza Khudadad Beg was very ill also; Hamid ditto. On the wind and sea falling, most of us were all right again. A lady said to me, 'Don't drink liquor to get intoxicated—I never touch it myself—but take a small quantity of brandy as a medicine; I will call the steward and tell him to bring you some. You will get well at once.' I thanked her warmly, but said I was unable to touch it.

On this day we overtook the steamer Ganges, which had left Bombay three days before us. Both vessels saluted with flags, and then had a conversation by means of the same. On the first occasion of this being done, I was under the idea that they could only speak on nautical matters; but I found that I was mistaken, and that a conversation could be kept up on anything under the sun. On this occasion the Ganges asked us to pitch her a rope and tow her, to which we laughingly replied, 'Come along behind us.' This art of talking by means of flags is confined only to the Americans and Europeans. There is a locked signal-book kept on board, in which everything necessary to work the ship is entered in the most simple manner possible,—so much so, that even men who cannot read well can understand and do their work. This is entirely owing to the fact that all the arts and sciences are treated of in the language that they know. If all the arts and sciences were not given in English, but in Latin, Greek, Persian, or Arabic, the English would be in the same state of ignorance as, I am sorry to say, the masses of Hindustan are buried. Until we assimilate these arts and sciences into our own language, we shall remain in this wretched state.

On this day I saw Sinai, the mountain of the prophet Moses, and examined it through a telescope. I heard that a Roman Catholic church has existed on its summit for many years. At night we passed the island of Shirwan, which belongs to Africa; but I was unable to see it well owing to the darkness. I was told that there was a station of the Overland Telegraph Company on it. It is but a small island, about eight or ten miles in length, and two or three in breadth.

On Friday the 23d April, at 7 a.m., we arrived all right at Suez, where we disembarked, and went to the Suez Hotel. We were now in the territory of the Viceroy of Egypt. On entering the hotel, I saw the first signs of being in Turkish territory in the following words, in Arabic, written on the belts of the hotel servants: 'Suez Hotel.' This hotel is an excellent one—is two-storeyed all round, with good accommodation for travellers. In the centre is a square with a *shamiana*, all decorated with flowers in pots or tubs, laid out tastefully, lining the walls. In the centre of all are tables and chairs for the occupants. Large numbers of donkeys are always at hand to make the tour of the town. A number of the English said they would go and see the Canal, five miles off; and I also intended going, but on hearing that the earth was merely being excavated, I did not care to go. My friend Major Dodd, and some ladies and gentlemen, went off to see it in a three-horse chaise; and I would have gone too if I could have got a carriage, but could not. Many Englishmen went off to it on donkeys, and one English lady also I saw get on a donkey and ride off in splendid style! On an Englishman requiring a donkey, there was a grand *tamasha*—dozens of donkey-boys rushing up to him, elbowing each other out of the way, and entreating him to take their donkeys, crying out, 'Donkey, sir! Very good, sir!' There was such a row, and such a number of quadrupeds enveloped the would-be rider, that he felt rather uncomfortable, till at length he got on somebody's donkey.

I walked on the sea-shore, and then to the town, where I saw a very small and narrow bazaar filled with Egyptian, Turkish, German, and Greek merchants, many of the people talking Arabic. A novel feature to me was that the whole bazaar was paved with wood, which facilitated the carrying off of rain, which apparently does not often fall. There was no sun in the bazaar. I talked a long time with those who talked Arabic, and the three youngsters bought Turkish fezzes and knives. I bought some Arabian bread, which I found to be of excellent flavour. We then went on to see the railway station, where I saw a Turkish officer, who, with the exception of a red cap, was dressed exactly like an Englishman. He had, however, a string of beads in his hand. I saluted him, and he me, but said nothing. Returning to the bazaar, I found a well-to-do man standing with a turban on, and I saluted him, and commenced talking to him in Arabic. His name was

Shaikh Ismail, and he was a native of Surabaya in Java. He had his son, Shaikh Usman, about eighteen years old, with him. He was a traveller—was formerly a Syrian, but had been in Java for twenty-five years, and had been in China, Australia, and India. He was in Egypt, he said, merely for pleasure. He spoke a little Urdu. In the Suez Hotel I made the acquaintance of Mohammed Takir, who is a writer in the service of the Nawab Nazim of Murshedabad, and who had been summoned to his master in London. He was going *via* Southampton.

“From Aden to Suez there are lighthouses at all dangerous parts, such as where there is little water or sunken rocks. These are worked by men, a brilliant light being thrown on the water from evening till morning, which can be seen from long distances. Those that I saw were at Perim, Abul Khissan, and Asharfi. The second, that at Abul Khissan, is entirely in the water. The lighters have a solitary life of it, being only relieved every two or three months: I pity their loneliness. That at Asharfi is a very fine one, and is close to Suez. It is 140 feet in height, of iron, and well worth seeing. From Suez to Alexandria the journey is by Egyptian railway, all the officials of which are Egyptians—Turks, or Greeks.

“On the afternoon of Friday, the 23d April, we left Suez by rail. I was under the impression that the country between Suez and Alexandria was a desert, and that we should get no water *en route*. I therefore laid in a supply of three *seraisful* of water. We slept during the night; but I woke up before daylight, and found that we were at a handsome station, well lit up with lamps, just like those in use in India—the name of the station being Tautana. The night being dark, I could not see the town of this name, which is said to be a large one. In the morning a populous and handsome city came in view, the houses of which looked just like English ones. There were numerous minarets of mosques also. In Egypt the custom is not followed of having two minarets to each mosque, but one is built at any part of the inner square for the calling out of the *azan* (call to prayer). There is a similar single minaret near Delhi, near the Kutab Saheb Dargah, in the mosque of Kuwat-ul-Islam, called the ‘Lat of the Kutab Saheb.’ I was very pleased at seeing this city *en route* and on inquiry found that its name was Kafar-uz-Ziat, and that some renowned Bedouin chief is buried there. Soon after daybreak I got out at a station near the Nile, where there is a capital hotel, at which we had coffee and bread and butter. The arrangements in this hotel were exactly the same as at an English one—the attendants only being Turks, dressed in English style, with fezzes on their heads. English and Mohammedans mingled together at the same tables. I never tasted such splendid coffee, dashed with cow’s milk, as I tasted here. Soon after leaving, the Nile came in sight, crossed by an excellent though ugly iron bridge,

which we went over. The ugliness of this bridge struck me, as in India our iron bridges are so graceful. We soon reached Damanhour station, which is the last before Alexandria, and arrived at the latter alongside our vessel, getting into her at once. We made ourselves comfortable in the Poona. I was sorry not to have had a look at Alexandria, except the few buildings visible from the sea. The port was crowded with steamers, sailing-vessels and *budgerows*,—one of the former being a French man-of-war, which was then on some business or other. I observed the Viceroy's steamer—a very handsome one, built in England—close by. There were one or two batteries on shore. There was a large house built on purpose for the Viceroy's landing or embarking, but it did not seem to be a beautiful one. Close to it was the lighthouse.

From the cursory view of Egypt which I got I was astonished. I have seen Malwa, which is thought to be the richest country as regards crops in India; but Egypt beats it into a cocked-hat. Its land seems to be splendidly manured, and the canals, with their branches, are innumerable. As far as I could see, there was not a single field unwatered by a canal. The science of canal-making is hereditary in the Egyptians. On all sides were sluices for regulating the water-supply. Where the land to be irrigated is higher than the canal, a wheel with buckets is made, which, driven by a donkey, pony, or bullock, carries the water up and throws it into a channel. In India our practice is to throw the water up in baskets worked by two men—and the Egyptian method would certainly be an improvement on it. At one place I saw a well being worked—the water being raised by a Persian-wheel similar to but lighter and less expensive than, those in use in Karnal and Panipat districts. I saw ploughing going on like ours in India—two horses or ponies, or bullocks or buffaloes, drawing the plough.

The special train that took us across Egypt consisted of first and second class only, built at Birmingham—the second class, in which my servant Chajju sat, being superior to those in use in India, they having leather cushions. The first-class carriages are exceedingly good and comfortable. In both classes there is room for eight persons—four on one side and four on the other. There are no arrangements for sleeping—each sleeping as in an arm-chair. There are no lavatories, &c., except at stations. I am told that these are the carriages in general use throughout Europe. The engine-drivers, guards, and attendants are all Egyptians or Turks, and are well up to their work, and very careful. What struck me was that all the carriages, pumps, pillars, rails, and all the various machines in use on this railway, even down to the iron rivets, were of English or French manufacture: not one of them had been made in Egypt or Turkey. There is certainly one thing in favour of the Egyptians, contrasted with natives of India—i.e. that they can use the above materials, which my unfortunate fellow-countrymen cannot.

The reason why the Egyptians can do this is, that all the scientific words necessary have been brought into use in their language, and this must be the case with us before we can rise to their level. One matter which grieved me was the dirty state of the railway and stations—the lanterns looking as if they had not been cleaned for months, and the beautiful iron pillars for giving water to the engine being inches deep in dirt. The same applies to the canals, the banks of which were perfectly untrimmed—being just as they were when the earth was shovelled up and thrown on them. There is no doubt that the European sucks in a love of cleanliness and beauty in all things with his mother's milk. The people of other lands have it not.

About noon on the 24th April we left Alexandria for Marseilles, and I found myself for the first time on the Mediterranean. Our pilot was Alhaj Ahmed Baggri, a native of Alexandria, a very lovable and fine-looking man, and very well dressed, having on a long cloth coat similar to an English one, with trousers of the Egyptian pattern—baggy above and tight below—a shirt beneath the coat, a shawl round his waist, and a red fez on his head, with a very small turban. He was a well-read man in Arabic, talking that language fluently and well, as also English and French. He and I saw a good deal of each other, conversing in Arabic whenever there was an opportunity. He praised the Government of Egypt, of Cairo, and of Alexandria. When he found out that I was descended from the Bani Hashim Syed Rizwi, he became most friendly and respectful. Not a word of Urdu did he know—nor any geography, not even having heard of Delhi! He asked me how large was English rule in Hindustan, and whether there were any other rulers, and I told him all about the country—its cities, &c., and the English Government system. The Poona was a larger, better, and faster vessel than the Baroda. She was built in 1862, and is 307 feet long, 41 feet wide, and 31 feet deep. The engines are 600-horsepower, and are of a new sort, the whole being open to view. The Poona is a vessel of 2200 tons, and has a crew of 121—all Europeans. The captain, who has been at Bombay, knows Urdu slightly and French well. Some of my former fellow-travellers had left us for Southampton or Trieste, and we had received some new passengers, so that altogether we were now 100 on board. I was glad that Major Dodd, Miss Carpenter, and other friends were amongst us. A new thing on this ship was the arrangements of the bath-room. On the other side there was no use for hot water, but on this side Europe commences and the cold is felt. In the bath-rooms, therefore, there are the following excellent arrangements: The bath is the same as on the Suez except being of iron; there are two pipes and three taps, by turning one of which cold water rushes in—by turning another, steam rushes in and warms the water in five minutes—the third empties the bath.

The day we left, Major Dodd said to me after dinner, 'Now you are in Europe.' I was delighted at my first day in it, and told him so. Major Dodd then said, 'You have left the land of the Prophet and come into that of the Kaffirs.' Although what he said was not what I could say was bad, and what he said harshly was with reference to his fellow-countrymen, I did not like it at all, and was displeased. I thought to myself how uncivil and impolite such a saying was, and wondered how it should have been said by a mild and just Director of Public Instruction. I waited a little, but thought I would not say this; I said, 'Do not say that; say rather that I have come to the land of the "people of the Book,"' For hours after, however, I could not forget this saying of his, and wondered what sort of disposition his was. At last I came to the conclusion that he had not said it from bigotry, but that it had escaped him by chance, and I therefore erased from my mind all feeling of displeasure.

Amicrgst the new passengers whose acquaintance I made was that of Mr Fitzpatrick, formerly Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, who was most kind to *me*. One day we were talking of the good and the evil of the Panjabi administration, and I said, 'Yes, it is a despotic Government, and undoubtedly a thousand times better than that of the Sikhs. Perhaps the Panjabis are happy and contented, as they have been taken out of the fire and put in the sun; but *we* are not pleased with it. If you want to know the opinions of those who were formerly in the regulation provinces, ask the inhabitants of Delhi, Panipat, Rohtak, Hissar, Sirsa, &c., as to the goodness or otherwise of the non-regulation system. As far as I know, these people believe that one of the punishments meted out to Delhi, &c., was the making them over to the Panjab non-regulation Government. The truth is, that in these days people do not like a despotic rule, nor are there now the benefits which, amongst a thousand blots, were to be found in former despotic Governments. It is impossible that these benefits can exist now in any despotic Government; and those who suppose that a despotic Government would now be far better than a constitutional one are entirely wrong. It is just as if a man who only saw a grove of trees in the autumn, could give a correct opinion as to how it would look in spring.

One great pleasure to me on board the Poona was meeting M. de Lesseps, who, as all the world knows, is the maker of the Suez Canal, and who, although many of the first engineers of the age asserted the impossibility of its being made, stuck to his firm belief in its constructibility, and said he would do it himself. He did it, and has now united two oceans. M. de Lesseps was with the Prince of Wales on his Royal Highness's visit to the Canal, and came with him from Suez in the Poona to see it. It was on the second day of our

tanis are not friends. Hindustanis have queer ideas about the English, and the English have other ideas about the Hindustanis. There are no doubt errors on both sides.

Nasiban, *ayah* to Mrs Couper, the wife of the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, was on board, and she was as wonderful a person in her way as the Suez Canal is a work. She is a Pathani of Cawnpore and she told me this was her twenty-first trip to Europe, being always employed in attendance on children. She knew English well, and had been to England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Portugal, &c. I thought to myself that she was better than most men. I was once standing talking with her, Major Dodd, my good friend, being by, and I asked her what her religion was. She said, 'I am a Mohammedan.' Major Dodd, either in fun or sincerely, said, 'Of *your* religion.' I most cordially and pleasantly agreed with him, and said that all men are my lineal brothers, being born of our common ancestor; and all Mohammedans are my brethren in religion, being believers in one God.

On the voyage to Marseilles there were many interesting sights. For three days nothing was visible but water; but on the 27th, about 4 p.m., the coast of Italy and Sicily came in sight, and the farther we went, the more wonderful became the sights—cities following one upon the other in numbers. On our right was Italy, on the left Sicily; and on entering the Straits of Messina, these countries were so near that it almost seemed that I could put one hand on the one and the other hand on the other.

I wanted very much to see Mount Etna, but was unsuccessful in the Straits; but the moment we got out of them, it stood in front of us, and was quite plainly seen through binoculars. It was not in action. I was disappointed that we passed Capria and the Straits of Bonifacio at night—the former the residence of Garibaldi. Corsica, the birthplace of the great Napoleon, was also missed by us. I had a great desire to view the cottage of Garibaldi, the generous and the brave—that cottage which is more honoured and revered than the palaces of powerful rulers—and I regret extremely that owing to the darkness this pleasure was denied me. Stromboli, the crater on the island of Sardinia, was visible to the naked eye, and I saw it very well through the binoculars. It is 3000 feet high, and when active the flames are seen from long distances. It was not active when we passed. I cannot describe the beauties of the towns which I saw on the shores of Italy and Sicily. English towns are in themselves beautiful, but the sight of these lovely towns, nestling at the foot of and on the mountains made by nature, made a powerful impression upon me. There were many lovely churches built on lofty spurs on the mountains. Railways run along the shores and hills of Italy—long iron bridges spanning the creeks and rivers—and stations being dotted along the line. All these add to the beauty of the scenery,

voynage that I heard about him. He does not know English; but the captain, who knows French, introduced me to him, and M. de Lesseps was most kind to me, and shook me warmly by the hand. I was delighted to find that he spoke a little Arabic, and conversed with him to some extent in that language. From that day he always met me cordially, and we sat for hours daily at the same table writing. One day he told, before a lot of people, the story of the Suez Canal, and mentioned several old traces of the time of Moses found in its neighbourhood. He told me that when I returned from England, he hoped the vessel that I would be in would pass through the Canal, as he thought that six months would not elapse before it was open to vessels of all sizes. It was a very great pleasure and honour to me to meet a man whose determination and pluck were equal to his science, and who has not his equal in the whole world.

The day before reaching Marseilles, all the English in the ship agreed to present M. de Lesseps with an address, congratulating him on his success with the Canal; and the address was presented to him after dinner on the 28th April. Captain Methven first of all made a long speech, then Mr Ousely, then General Japp, then Mr Bartlett, then Mr Saunders, and then the address signed by all the passengers on board was presented. He stood up to receive it, and made a lengthy speech of thanks in French. The best part of the speeches which are worth remembering are: 'It is undoubtedly but proper,' said General Japp, 'that the Canal, instead of being called that of Suez, should be known as "the Lesseps Canal."' I perfectly agree with him that a man like him should have every possible honour—an honour, especially, which would hand his name down to posterity—shown him. In the course of his speech M. de Lesseps said that 'I shall feel more grateful and honoured if, instead of the Canal being called by my name, it be called by that of "France."' When I was told by a friend of this, my heart was filled with gladness; and I applauded the generosity of the brave man who desired his country's fame rather than his own pleasure and honour. I lamented the degeneracy of my own race, who are, as a rule, steeped in envy and all uncharitableness, and saw only too plainly that by such bad habits they are dishonoured and unfortunate. It must be noted here that in Egypt the Canal is known from highest to lowest as the 'French' Canal. This great work of the French constitutes a new epoch.

I was astonished, by the by, by what my friend Major-General Babbington wrote in Miss Carpenter's book, on being requested to write something. He wrote that 'the natives of India are heartless and ungrateful.' These words showed me that, in spite of his apparent pleasure in mixing with us Indians, in his heart he had but a poor estimation of us, and the consequence is that Englishmen and Hindus-

and must be seen to be appreciated. Messina, the capital of Sicily, is a large and splendid city, and we passed quite close to it, seeing it all very plainly. The walls of the citadel come down to the sea, and picturesque batteries line the shore. At one time Sicily was for long in the hands of the Mohammedans, but I could not see any buildings built by our race. That there must be some traces of our occupation is, I think, certain.

The next morning, on emerging from the Straits of Bonifacio, Toulon, a French city, came in sight, and I saw for the first time in my life, although I had heard of it, a wonderful picture—viz., twelve line-of-battle ships, all manœuvring together, and firing shotted guns. Like soldiers the vessels paraded, sometimes being in twos, &c., and then forming line—sometimes steaming away, and then returning like leaves blown about from the tree. When the numerous shells struck the water, pillars of water like fountains were thrown up, and it was where these rose up that we knew the shells had fallen. It was a wonderful sight, seen by me for the first time in my life.

I had been told that the waves in the Mediterranean were very big, and that vessels were much damaged by them; also, that hurricanes were frequent. As I had suffered whenever the weather was rough, I was much afraid on this point; but, for a wonder, the sea was perfectly calm, like water in a cup. The passengers said that this was very unusual. Several whales were sighted, and showed themselves freely before diving down again. Sometimes two or three could be seen playing about together, just like kittens. Those that I saw were the size of Ganges boats.

On the 29th April, at night, we reached Marseilles all safe. The docks here are very fine, large ships being able to lie alongside of them. Our vessel was moored to one, and we walked ashore. Prior to arriving, all the luggage was brought up from the hold, and piled on deck and ticketed. On the arrival of the vessel, the French Customs officers came on board, and the whole of the baggage was made over to them. In the large Custom-house the boxes were ranged on tables according to the letters of the alphabet, and we all assembled in an adjoining room, which was comfortably furnished with tables and chairs. In a short time a narrow door opened into the large room, and the travellers all crowded to get in. An official, however, allowed only a certain number in, who opened their baggage for the inspection of the officials. The search was conducted very quickly and easily, the officials sometimes merely asking gentlemen if they had anything dutiable; and on their replying in the negative, the boxes would be shut up. Others again, when told that there was a certain amount of dutiable articles, took the traveller's word for it, and assessed him accordingly. We had ten boxes with us, and amongst other things in them were a

pair of new shawls wrapped up in a separate parcel. Some of my friends told me that, although they were not subject to duty, being for wear, it would be as well not to keep them separate. I accordingly opened the parcel, and put the shawls with my other clothes. On my boxes being opened, Khudadad Beg, Hamid, and Chajju went into the room, and were asked if they had only wearing apparel and nothing liable to duty. Khudadad Beg said they had nothing. He was asked if he had any tobacco, and replied in the negative. He was told he might take his boxes away, and porters carried them outside, and marked them as having been examined. The same procedure went on at other tables, and the whole examination did not probably last longer than an hour and a half.

With regard to the Peninsular and Oriental Company, which had so far brought us on our way to England, I think that the arrangements for the comfort of travellers on board their vessels are excellent. I made over all luggage to their agent in Bombay, and they were responsible for its transit through Egypt. The names of the passengers who were to occupy the different railway carriages were affixed by an agent of the Company to each carriage. Some of the English passengers complained of the food from Bombay to Suez; but I thought that rather unreasonable, as it is impossible to have meat very good in a warm climate. The meat on the Europe side was such as I have never before tasted, and altogether the passengers should be very grateful to the Company.

On landing at Marseilles I saw numerous cabs and omnibuses, and a number of very gentlemanly men standing about. There were the hotel commissionaires, who at once asked me what hotel I was going to. I said, 'The Hotel de Louvre,' as we had beforehand arranged to go there. The hotel commissionaire at once brought up his omnibus, and put all our luggage on it, we having no trouble with it whatever. Other passengers joined us, and we drove off to the hotel. It was night as we drove through the first European city that I had ever been in, and I felt almost off my head as I gazed from one side of the streets—all splendidly lit up—to the other, and saw the rows of such brilliant shops as I had never seen before. The Dewali illuminations in India were nothing to them. The shop-fronts were brilliant with goods, and their glass doors and windows were often ten feet long by as many feet broad. The wares were all visible from the outside, and were so beautifully arranged that they resembled a garden. They were lighted up with lamps and candelabra. The street-lamps were also extremely well lit up with gas. As I had never before seen any city so brilliant, nay, not even the residences of Indian nobles are so, I was completely overcome, and wondered how it all was done. In one street there were a couple of shops which were particularly brilliant, their roofs also being of glass;

whilst inside were various plants and creepers, including cypress-trees in china pots—beautiful chairs all about, and many people sitting in them, some few of them women—the whole lit up with gas. I thought that there must be a marriage going on in them, and that they were on this account so well got up; but I found out afterwards that they were merely public refreshment-houses or cafes, and that there were great numbers of them. How good God is, that He enables even workmen to refresh themselves in such paradises as could never have been conceived by Jamshed!

The Hotel de Louvre is a wonderfully good one. The open space inside is oval, with a glass roof to keep out rain and snow, and is surrounded with rooms. There are seven storeys, and the whole are brilliantly lighted with gas. Our rooms were on the fifth storey, as all those below were occupied. We ascended 120 steps before reaching our rooms, which we found beautifully furnished. I felt inclined for some tea, but the servant who showed us up having left, I was at a loss how to call a servant, and as to who should go down all that distance to call one. It struck me that European hotels had electric bells, by touching which one summons the servants. I looked about for one, when all of a sudden I saw on the wall a lovely ivory flower, and thinking this must be one, I touched it gently, and to my delight it acted. In a couple of minutes a servant appeared, and I got my tea. I was curious to know how he knew the room to come to when the bell rang; so the next morning I went to the servants' room, where I found a bell, with a board beneath it with a number of pigeon-holes in it. When the bell rang, the number of the room showed itself in one of the pigeon-holes and then, after a minute or so, disappeared gradually. This was to enable the servant, should he have been absent when the bell rang, to have time to see the number of the room.

Marseilles is not one of the largest cities in France, as it has only lately become populous. At present, according to the census, it has 300,131 inhabitants. The engineering firms have 7000 labourers. There are fifty-two steam soap factories, which turn out 1,880,000 maunds of soap yearly. There are twenty-eight steam oil-presses, which make 112 maunds of oil yearly. Fifty thousand red fezzes are made every year. There are many churches, a museum, public libraries, picture-galleries, theatres, and a zoological garden.

We remained here Friday the 30th of April, in order to see this lovely city by day. We hired a two-horse carriage, and went round most of it. I cannot describe its beauties, cleanliness, and the splendour of its shops. The men and women were well clad and good-looking. The museum is a splendid building, which was being added to when we saw it. I was greatly pleased with the beauty of the Zoological Garden,

which is filled with curious animals. In one enclosure giraffes were walking about. During the winter they have a warm house, on the walls of which appear the Mohammedan flag and the following words in Arabic: 'Wondrous are the animals created by the Almighty.' There is an elephant also, which is the wonder of the crowd. It is of medium size, but very thin, and is shut up in a house. There is a skeleton of a huge fish which is supported on iron posts about the height of a man. This fish is twenty-one paces long, and is well worth seeing. One of the finest of the new buildings in Marseilles is the new cathedral, which is built on a small hill, and is made of beautifully white stone. I went inside and admired the exquisite workmanship. Where the bishop preaches there is a life-size bust in marble of Mary, who is represented as having Christ in her lap. The church was thronged with visitors when I was there, and outside on the hill there were a number of shops as at a fair, many of them being coffee and drinking shops. From this hill we had a lovely view of the city, looking down upon all its loftiest buildings. There were many conveyances driving about on the hill. The cathedral is reached by several hundred steps. I was astonished at seeing the manner in which the carriages drove up the steep and slippery roads. Going down-hill, the drag is put on the two hind-wheels, and by descending slowly there is no danger. At night we went out again to see the city and again saw the fairy scenes of the previous night. There was a very handsome building, which the hotel commissionaire told me was a *casino* used for concerts. I went in and found it beautifully fitted up; like a garden—full of lamps and glass-work—with hundreds of chairs and tables at which people were drinking wine or coffee. Waiters were in attendance to provide anything that one might want, and the stage was beautifully got up, and was occupied by players and singers. Anyone could get in for about six annas. I remained watching the performance and the people, and soon after left. Not even in fables have I ever heard what we saw that night.

On Saturday, the 30th April, we left Marseilles. We drove to the station in the same hotel omnibus which had brought us there, our baggage being put on by the servants, and were accompanied by the hotel commissionaire, who took our tickets for us and saw us off. We had not the slightest bother about our tickets, as is, alas! so often the case in India. When we left Marseilles the train carried us swiftly and smoothly through plains and fields, and past many villages—a different spectacle, with its quiet beauties, to the town of Marseilles, with its places and things made by man. The beauty, freshness, and verdure of the country, the hills and dales, the cypress-like and wide-spreading trees, verdancy and beauty which gladdened the heart, had their beauty doubled by the skill of man. As far as the eye could see, the land was beautifully parcelled out in fields and enclosures—the former

of grass, green and verdant. Canals were frequent. Red flowers were numerous in the green fields, and glittered like stars in the night. Thousands of acres were planted with vines, in the same way as thousands of acres in Fatchgarh and Meerut potatoes, or in Ghazipur roses, are grown. It was wonderful to see the hills covered on all sides from top to bottom with these vines, seeming as if they had been put on oval towers. The trees were not high, and were branching out in green twigs, which added to their beauty. I recited Sadi's lines—

'The earth looked as if covered with pieces of lace;
The grapes hung on the trees like stars in the sky.'

On reaching Lyons, we all got out and had some refreshment in the rooms. We also bought some food and fruit, and took away two bottles of water, and enjoyed them all, with laughter and talk when night came on. At 7-30 a.m. on the 2d May we reached Paris, and remained there for a couple of days. Hotel commissionaires were present, as at Marseilles; and on mentioning the Hotel Meurice, at which I wanted to stay, owing to having heard that Englishmen frequented it, and that therefore English was spoken there, the commissionaires brought up two carriages, and we drove to the hotel. The coachman asked me some questions in French, which, of course, was Greek to me; and it was just the same with him. I was not much struck with the architectural beauty of Meurice's Hotel. The dining-room and appearance of the servants and their dress were nothing like those of the Marseilles hotel, which was still vividly impressed on my mind's eye. After dinner we did not get out to look about us, as it was Sunday. We were wrong, as in Paris all the shops and public places are open on Sunday. In front of the hotel was a broad square, seemingly miles in extent, with a fine entrance, and splendid iron railings all round. Inside were canals, ponds, and fountains, life-size sculptures, beds of flowers, lovely walks, handsome trees, and lovely green grass. The whole was a mass of green. Thousands of chairs were scattered about, and the place crowded daily with well-dressed men, women, and children. Refreshments were procurable. I walked all over it, blessed my good fortune, and told the commissionaire to take me to some other beauties. He said, 'Let us go to Versailles, which is open to-day, this being the first Sunday of the month. It is well worth a visit.' We walked with him; but as I had done a lot of walking, I was tired. As I passed through streets and bazaars, however, my wonder increased, and I felt no fatigue at times. I do not know how far we walked, but saying, 'O God, O God!' we passed into the door of an enormous building. There was a great crowd, which all made for another door. The commissionaire stopped us, and said he would go

and take tickets, which he did at once, and said, 'Come on.' I thought that the door we were going through led into Versailles, when I found myself in a splendid railway station, with a train ready to start! I felt quite angry, as I had been travelling the whole of the previous night on the railway, and was tired by the long walk. I cannot tell how angry I was, and how disinclined to enter the train. The stupid commissionaire had, without my permission, taken second-class tickets. There are two classes: the first, in which you sit inside; and the second, in which you sit outside. When I found that I should have to sit outside, I was still further enraged; and when I heard that our destination was thirty miles off, I was so angry that I nearly got out of the train. Before I could do so, however, the engine whistled, and we were off! Helpless and annoyed I was; but I soon forgot all my troubles when I saw, from the elevation at which I was, the beauties of the landscape, &c. I said that the commissionaire had done very wisely in seating us on the top. I was so delighted that I was prepared to travel any distance.

On arriving at Versailles we descended, and after going a short distance from the station, we found a locked iron gate, through which I saw houses, lovely gardens laid out with flowers, canals, ponds, and fountains. I knew then that this was the famous palace in which former kings of France used to reside, and which is still kept up as it was in olden days. It is opened on the first Sunday of every month, to afford the public an opportunity of seeing its beauties and wonders, and enjoying an outing and a share in the tastes of a king. The site of this royal palace was once a great open plain. King Louis XIII one day was hunting, and came alone here. With difficulty he got a roof to cover him. The air of the plain pleased him greatly; so he built a hunting box on it, buying the ground from an archbishop. In 1632 A. D. he built a small palace, the architect being the famous Lemercier. Louis XIV commenced in 1682 another palace; although in this year he held receptions in it, it was not quite finished. Mansard and Gabriel were the architects, and the palace remains to this day a monument of their skill. There were a number of well-dressed people congregated at the still shut gate, and we took up our station there also. Very soon the orders came to open, and we all entered. I thought we were in some heavenly, not earthly, palace. I was astounded at the lovely lakes, canals, and fountains; animals' heads from which water was spouting; the trees and shrubs exquisitely trimmed in some places, in others natural; pieces of sculpture representing men with their hands on each other's necks, with hands joined, &c.; and wondrous gardens filled with flowers. The famous canal in the Delhi Fort, which flowed from the private audience chamber to the picture-chamber, and in whose waters I used in former days to play; the Mehtab Bagh pond, from the banks of which 360 fountains played

of old; the palace and fountains of Deeg, in Bharatpore,—are undoubtedly as far inferior to those of Versailles, as an ugly is different from a handsome man. India's royal buildings differ from those of France, owing to the climate. The houses in France are well adapted to its climate. Ours in India require to be amended in order to be beautiful, to be adapted to the climate, and to be healthy. At the same time, our buildings in India are much more strongly built than those here; and there is nothing to match the lovely Taj and its minarets—that monument of grace and honour to our ancient architecture.

After walking about the gardens we entered the palace, and were struck with the splendour and size of the rooms. I shall dilate presently on the paintings, which struck me dumb with amazement. I rubbed my eyes to see if it was not a dream, and the figures on the canvas not living ones. My heart told me they were only pictures, but on looking at them carefully I could not believe it. We saw the audience-hall of Louis XIV, where he used to receive his *grandses* and courtiers; also the room in which he put on his robes, the walls of which were covered with pictures; and the bedroom of the same sovereign, in which, in 1715, he breathed his last. The bed on which he died is still exactly as he left it, and is a warning of the instability of this world, and calls out, as it were, with a loud voice, 'O Louis, where art thou, that thy bed is vacant?' This audience-hall is 340 feet long and broad, and 42 feet high, with seven arches, and was built by Lebrun, who was both architect and painter. In 1738, Louis XV made it into his bedroom. Close by is a billiard-room, splendidly decorated by this monarch; and there is a life-size picture of his daughter over the door, with one of the king opposite it, taken when he was young. Next to this picture is one taken of him when he ascended the throne. He died in this room in 1774. There is also an opera or concert room, with thirty-eight columns, which was begun in 1753 and finished in 1770, or eighteen years afterwards. There is also a chapel with sixteen columns, which was commenced by Mansard the architect in 1699, and was finished in 1710. Throughout the palace the paintings are simply matchless—the work of the famous Lebrun and other celebrated painters. The king's picture-gallery, containing thirteen rooms, is a splendid work of art. It contains 130 full-length pictures. There are pictures representing the victories of Napoleon the Great, the figures in them being all life-size. In the gallery called the 'Crusade,' there are pictures of all the battles fought in the Crusades. Above it is another gallery, in which are all the Algiers battle-pictures. In a huge chamber, 373 feet long, 42 feet broad, and the same height, all the various French battles are depicted. I really cannot describe their beauties, and the lifelike fidelity with which the figures of the soldiers and of the wounded, with their bleeding wounds, are vividly drawn. It is not merely a picture-gallery but a means of increasing the courage, boldness, and

valour of the nation. There is no doubt that the sight of them by the French race must double their valour when they see thus before them the evidence of their ancestors' bravery, and of their contempt of death or wounds on the battle-field. There was only one thing which militated against French valour and civilisation; and when I observed it, I was extremely astonished that such a brave and gallant race, elevated, as they are, by the arts and sciences, should have been guilty of it. In the Algiers battle-picture-gallery, there is one depicting the capture of the women of Abdul Kadir's family. The women are shown on camels, with the French soldiers throwing them off. The bodies of the women are partially naked, and the French have bayonets in their hands as if they were going to kill them. Was it right or proper of the French to hang up in their palace a picture of women being taken prisoners? Was the drawing of bayonets on helpless women, or throwing them down from the camels, worthy of being thus handed down to posterity? Was it according to French civilisation to depict naked women, even although they may have actually been so? Imam Abdul Kadir is a valiant and true soldier, and is as much honoured now as he was when he was ruler of his country. Alone and unaided, he fought for twenty years with the greatest bravery and truthfulness, with no breath of intrigue or cunning upon his name. At last he was conquered; but that does not lessen his valour or his world-known honour. The painting of such a picture, instead of lessening that bravery and honour, increases them. Alongside this picture there is one which illustrates the generosity, the wisdom, the valour, and all the good qualities of the French nation, and particularly of the present Emperor Napoleon III. When he ascended the throne he set Imam Abdul Kadir at liberty; and the picture shows the Emperor life-size, with Abdul Kadir beside him, and Abdul Kadir's mother in the foreground, clothed to go out. The Emperor is shaking hands with her, and giving the order for Abdul Kadir's release. This picture adds honour to Napoleon's crown, and to the honour of the French nation.

After seeing all the wonders of Versailles, we returned by rail to Paris, and by omnibus to the hotel. Chajju was in great tribulation at our long absence, and had commenced to cry, and we found him in tears! On asking what was the matter, he said, 'Oh, where have you been?' After dinner, we went out for a walk in the streets with the comissionaire, and the beauties of Marseilles were speedily eclipsed to those of Paris. The beauty of the buildings, the arrangements of the shops, the brilliancy of the lamps, the number of well-dressed, good-looking men and women that we saw, are quite indescribable. The light was so brilliant, that if a needle were dropped it could have been picked up. Any place that I saw was well worth looking at.

The next day we again sallied out on foot to see the shops in

one feels inclined never to move on. I saw a large marble gateway with the Emperor's victories carved on it. National valour, bravery, and honour are well worth being fostered. What Frenchman, on seeing them, but would not wish to behave as is depicted on these marbles?

We drove out of the city proper, but the same splendid houses still continued. The present Emperor Napoleon built a wall, a moat, and forts round the city proper; but owing to the great increase in the population, the people overflowed into the suburbs, and there are as many inhabitants in them as in the city. After driving some miles we came upon a park, which was really a bit of heaven, miles in length, with lovely roads and flowers, and unbrageous trees trimmed so as to be all of one size, handsome iron benches and seats, and several large lakes which looked as natural as possible, although they are artificial. Wherever we looked we saw a wide expanse of green covered with flowers. Thousands of people come here daily, the wealthy in well-appointed equipages, and the carriages are drawn up in a drive specially made for this. The people walk about. There are feeding-places for the horses, which are rubbed down and fed; carriages are cleaned; and when the owner has finished his walk, he finds a clean carriage, and sleek, well-groomed, and well-fed horses, ready for him. From seeing this assembly, and from living in French hotels, I have come to the conclusion that the French are the best-dressed and the best-fed people in the world. At one part of this park we came upon a natural lake, with the same arrangements for watering horses as just described. Close to it is a very fine building in which pedestrians can sit and call for anything to eat or drink, sit at their ease, eat and drink, pay the waiter, and leave. This house, built at a cost of lakhs of rupees, is the property of a company. When our carriage drew up at it, a splendid liveried servant came forward, bowed, opened the door, and we got down. I thanked the waiter with the only French words I knew, which I had picked up at the Marseilles hotel—viz. 'S'il vous plait!' We walked round the water. In the middle of the plain there is an artificial hill in which a cavern has been excavated, and it is impossible to tell whether it is natural or the reverse. In it are cascades and a waterfall and on the hill are large trees. There are paths, up it close to the cavern, and thousands of shady trees, and chairs, I was enchanted with all that I saw, and cannot describe its beauties. We stayed there a long while, and remembered the Almighty God. Wonderful are the things made by Him.

Not far off was a very fine race-course, which we visited, as also the grand stands, which are of wood. A pump was at work close by driven by a windmill, and attended to by a man and his wife, who lived in a small cottage near by. Their manners made me blush for those of my countrymen. Wishing to see the stand, I asked by signs

Richelieu, Rivoli, St Honore, and other streets. After lunch, we went in a carriage and pair, and told the commissionaire that we did not want to get out anywhere, and that he was to take us round to see the sights. I cannot remember the French names of the various places we drove past—every street, every shop, and every building was like a picture. Their cleanliness was such that not even a bit of straw was to be seen. Doubtless people will think that such praise is exaggerated, but I assure my readers it is not. Thousands—sometimes hundreds of thousands—throng the streets, which are also full of buggies, chariots, cabs, omnibuses, carts, &c., and notwithstanding this, not a trace of dirt is to be seen. Horse-refuse or other dirt was swept up immediately. We saw a sweeping-machine at work in the streets drawn by two horses, the brush being two or three yards long, and all the filth being swept into an inner and hidden receptacle in the machine. Besides this, there were numbers of men stationed to sweep the streets. There were numerous handsome gas-lamps on the streets, at short distances from each other, whilst the shop-lights were simply innumerable. There is no difference in Paris as regards light between the day and night. The police arrangements seemed admirable—well-dressed, silent, and good-looking constables being stationed every 200 yards. They looked quietly and civilly about, and seemed to say, 'We are here to look after all these people's comfort and convenience.' People who did not know their way to shops and houses applied to them, and they invariably replied most kindly and politely, and were always thanked by their questioners. I cannot describe the number of the military that I saw in Paris. Every two hours or so a detachment of troops of some branch of the service or other would pass by, well dressed, and neat and clean. I hear that the Emperor Napoleon is very fond of his army, and that his men reciprocate the feelings. The streets of Paris are extremely broad. The Chandni Chowk at Delhi, which is divided into two streets by the canal running down its middle, is altogether—roads, canal, and all—about as broad as many of the streets here. Their beauties are indescribable. The Boulevards Sebastopol and du Temple are broader than usual, and are bordered by shady trees and seats, and are always crowded with people. The municipal arrangements are so excellent that municipal commissioners be required in heaven, the Paris commissioners are undoubtedly the best fitted for the posts! Notre Dame Cathedral is well worth a visit. I saw it from the carriage, and it certainly is a splendid and beautiful pile. Its interior is probably still more beautiful. The Elysee Palace, which is the residence of the Emperor Napoleon, I saw from a distance. Its pillars, fountains, andvely lakes—pictures of which I saw and wondered at in the hall of our Scientific Society at Allygurh—I now saw before me. The fountains play day and night, and are indescribably exquisite. Looking at them,

two and a half or three hours' trip—has a peculiar motion, which, whenever the steamer begins to move, makes people sick. The captain of the steamer showed us into the first-class cabin, and on entering we saw a strange sight—viz., that places for lying down were ready for each passenger, with pillow and a china dish for the sea-sick alongside.

Those ladies who had come on board before us were all lying down, and with eyes closed were trying to go to sleep, in order to cross whilst asleep. I wondered what sort of a motion it would be. We all sat down, and Khudadad, in a bragging manner, removed the basin to a distance. The vessel started, and before we had gone a hundred yards we were sick, lay down, closed our eyes, and became slightly unconscious. Soon after, Khudadad got up very alarmed, wanted to be sick, and began to search for his basin. A lady who was lying close by him, thinking that he would be sick over her, got up in a hurry and most kindly gave him her basin. He had just got out the word 'Thank,' when he was sick, and the 'you' was never said! He then lay down again. Many of the English of both sexes were also ill, and lay down. Mahmud was sick. Hamid was not actually so, though very near it; and I was the same. Almost senseless, and calling on God, we got to the end of our sea-journey. We got out at Dover, and travelling by rail we reached Charing Cross at 7 p.m. From Paris to Calais the country was not so vine-cultivated as between Marseilles and Paris. High mountains were frequent, so were tunnels, very much longer than those we passed through on the Bombay line. Pumps worked by windmills were numerous, and they are no doubt valuable and cheap, and would be well adapted for Hindustan. My agents, Messrs Henry King & Co., had sent Mr Storr to meet us at the station, and to take us comfortably to our hotel. Mr Storr met us, and took us into the Charing Cross Hotel. Thus closed our journey to London."

On the 15th October 1869, Syed Ahmed addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Scientific Society at Aligarh, which appeared in Urdu in the 'Allygurh Institute Gazette':

I have received your esteemed letter of the 9th ultimo, and I regret that you should have been put out by the non-arrival of more letters from me, describing my travels; but the reason for my silence was, what I heard that many members of our Society were angry with me for the freedom of my remarks in my former letters. As I could only write what I thought and believed to be true, I could not, through fear of these members, conceal what I thought to be the truth. Whatever failings of our Hindustani people I have been guilty of denouncing, I, being a native of India, am guilty of myself. I thought it as well to desist from writing altogether. If you are of opinion that the publication of my free criticisms

his leave to walk up, and he at once—seeing that I was a traveller—most politely accompanied me and showed me everything. I thanked him, and we drove back late in the afternoon to our hotel. I hear that the Parisians call their city not Paris, but Paradise, and I quite agree with them that it is the Paradise of this world.

'If there be a paradise on earth,
It is this, it is this, it is this !

In the evening we again visited the streets. Wishing to buy some gloves, we went into a glove-shop, and on our entering, a very pretty and well-dressed young woman stood up from the chair that she was sitting on behind the counter, and by her countenance asked us what we wanted. She evidently did not know what language we talked. Some one of use said 'gloves' in English, and she began talking English like a nightingale, took the measure of our hands, brought gloves to suit us, and put them on with her own hands, talking all the time in the most polite manner. When we had been suited we asked the prices. She said, 'Do you want one pair each?' showing her hope that we would take several pairs. She then went on to praise Paris fashions, which she said were the best in the world; that Paris gloves were ditto; that we would require gloves for dinner, to meet ladies, and to be presented to the Emperor and Empress; that she, the shopkeeper, did not want us to have any bother, and that therefore we should take several pairs of gloves of sorts. I thanked her for her kindness, but said that I did not require them—that I was merely looking at the shops, and bought a few things here and there. This woman knew four languages—French, English, Italian, and German, and knew them well, too. She had learnt them in order to be able to talk with the foreigners who might patronise her shop. I paid her, and returned through several streets of shops to our hotel.

At midnight we again visited the shops, and bought a warm coat for Khudadad Beg at a tailor's shop, which was beautifully got up, and in which cloth of every description was numbered from one upwards. He asked me what cloth I wanted, took Khudadad Beg's measure, and told an assistant to bring a coat and trousers of such and such a number. They were brought, and Khudadad Beg was shown into a beautifully furnished room, changed his clothes, brushed his hair, and came out quite a handsome young man! At this hour the whole of the shops were still open, and everything was just as it was in the day-time—numbers of people being about, &c., &c.

At 8 a.m. of the 4th May—a Tuesday—we left Paris and arrived by rail at Calais on the Channel, where a steamer was awaiting us. We went on board. The English Channel, though not very broad—only a

will not be injurious to our Society, and if you fear only the Almighty, and not our Society's members, I shall have no objection to send you full accounts of events and of the wonders of this land, and with words of monition and warning. If you publish this letter, with independent remarks thereon, I shall write you a letter as usual. I will not give you the results of the last six months of my trip. It is nearly six months since I arrived in London; and although, owing to want of means, I have been unable to see many things that I should have liked to see, I have still been able to see a good deal, and have been in the society of lords and dukes at dinners and even parties. I have also mixed a good deal in that middle-class society to which I myself belong. I have seen many ladies of high family and first-rate education. I have also observed the habits and customs and ways of living of high and low, and seen the warehouses of great merchants, the shops of the smaller ones, the method of their storing and selling their wares, and the manner in which they treat their customers. Artisans and the common working-man I have seen in numbers, I have visited famous and spacious mansions, museums, engineering works, shipbuilding establishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraph companies which connect continents, vessels of war—in one of which I walked for miles, the Great Eastern steamship—have been present at the meetings of several societies and have dined at clubs and private houses. The result of all this is, that although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy, and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they are not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. Do you look upon an animal as a thing to be honoured? Do you think it necessary to treat an animal courteously or the reverse? You do not! We have no right to courteous treatment. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes. Although my countrymen will consider this opinion of mine an extremely harsh one, and will wonder what they are deficient in and, in what the English excel, to cause me to write as I do, I maintain that they have no cause for wonder, as they are ignorant of everything here, which is really beyond imagination and conception. What I have seen and see daily, is utterly beyond the imagination of a native of India. If any of my countrymen do not believe what I say, you may certainly put them down as frogs and fishes. Can a man who has been born blind imagine the appearance of the sunlight or the glorious light of the moon? There was once a living fish that fell from a fisherman into a well in which were a number of frogs. When they saw a new traveller, white in

colour, and glittering like silver, they behaved very kindly to him, and asked where he came from. The fish said that he was a native of the Ganges. The frogs asked the fish if his watery country was similar to theirs; to which the fish answered in the affirmative, adding that it was a bright, good country, swept by a fine wind, which raised waves in which fishes were rocked as in a swing, and disported themselves, and that it was very broad and long. On hearing this a frog came out a foot from the side of the well, and said, "What! as long and as broad as the distance I have come from the wall?" The fish said, "Much greater." The frog came another foot out, and again put his question to the fish, which said, "Much greater." The frog went on, getting the same answer the farther he went, until he got to the opposite side of the well. Again asking his question, the fish gave the same reply. The frog said, "You lie; it cannot be larger than this." Just at this moment a man let down a bucket and drew water, thus causing waves on the surface. The frog asked the fish if his country's waves were as large, on which the fish laughed, saying, "Those things that you have never seen, and which it is impossible for you to imagine, cannot be thought of by you without seeing. Why, therefore, do you ask about them?" I am not thinking about those things in which, owing to the specialities of our respective countries, we and the English differ. I only remark on politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workmanship, accomplishments, and thoroughness, which are the results of education and civilisation. All good things, spiritual and worldly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England. By spiritual good things I mean that the English carry out all the details of the religion which they believe to be the true one, with a beauty and excellence which no other nation can compare with. This is entirely due to the education of the men and women, and to their being united in aspiring after this beauty and excellence. If Hindustanis can only attain to civilisation, it will probably, owing to its many excellent natural powers, become, if not the superior, at least the equal of England.

If you will agree to the request that I have made in this letter (i.e., of publishing it), I shall give you further details of my journey. Meanwhile, I shall tell you something of the private life which I am living, which will probably please you, and either astonish my fellow-countrymen or make them laugh at me.

When I arrived in London, we stayed for three or four days at the Charing Cross Hotel, as I had not sufficient money to take a house and furnish it. I therefore was compelled to rent one, or rather a portion of one, in which beds, bedding, &c., are provided by the owner of the house, who is called the "landlord," his wife being called "landlady." They also provide food and servants, and the bills are sent in weekly.

We found living like this extremely comfortable. From this you will conclude that those who let out a portion of their houses in London are poor; and so they are, but they are, at the same time, of respectable family. The house that I was in is owned by Mr J. Ludlam, with his wife, the latter having two sisters, Miss Ellen West and Miss Fanny West, who often visit their sister for a couple of weeks or so at a time. Mr Ludlam is as able as he is respectable and well educated, and is a constant attendant at night at lectures on chemistry, geology, zoology, &c. These and hundreds of other lectures are got up by the general public—people attending them paying a few pence each nightly. The incomes from this source are so large that all the expenses—including the salaries of the givers of the lectures, rent of houses, &c.—are defrayed from money taken at the doors. The people profit by them more than by the highest philosophy that has ever been taught in Hindustan. Although I have been here in this house now for six months, and have met Mr Ludlam, occasionally speaking to him, his voice has never once reached my room. Such politeness in thinking of those who live with him, and seeing that they are not disturbed, is politeness indeed. However, I do not wish to dilate on the many good qualities of my landlord Mr Ludlam, and which may exceed those of any other; I only wish, from this description, to show to my fellow-countrymen a picture of the general knowledge of the people amongst whom I am at present living. Mrs Ludlam is a very able, well-educated, accomplished, and a very good woman, and I cannot do sufficient justice to all her good qualities. Courtesy, politeness, and humanity are included in them. All her house and other work is done by her with the greatest ability, and her husband is thus at leisure to go to his office or to his lectures. Her two sisters are also well educated—one of them, Miss Ellen West, being extremely fond of reading.

I am at present engaged in writing a book on the Mohammedan religion, and have got together many English works for and against the same, as well as others which are against all religions. Some days ago Miss Ellen West became very ill, but the next day became better. Although very weak and scarcely able to leave her bed, she sent a message to me asking me to send her some of the above-mentioned works, to add, as she said, to her knowledge. I replied that I had only religious works, which were also extremely disputatious; but she asked for some, nevertheless, and I therefore sent her a book. In two days she had read it, and on her getting well she gave me some excellent opinions on it. This gives rise to the reflection how good the education of women slightly below the middle-class must be here. Is it not a matter for astonishment that a woman, when ill, should read with the object of improving her mind? Have you ever seen such a custom in India in the family of any noble, nawab, raja, or man of high family? If our women

in India were to frequent the bazaars with their faces, how astonished and alarmed would not their husbands be? It is undoubtedly a fact that the women here, when they hear that the women of India are unable to read or write, are ignorant of education or instruction, are equally astonished, and are displeased with and despise them. You may be certain that those Englishmen in India who meet and mix with us, and behave well to us, do so out of policy. If the two nations were together in a free country, and if the customs, ways of living, and private life of Hindustanis and Englishmen remained as they are at present, the Englishmen would never stop to speak to them, and would look on them as equal to animals. I undoubtedly maintain that the general behaviour of Englishmen towards the natives is the reverse of polite, and that this should certainly cease; but I do not urge this point on account of the nation's being entitled to politeness on the score of ability. I urge it for this reason, that Englishmen, by treating them badly, detract from their own high character, and place obstacles in the way of the spread of civilisation.

In the India Office is a book in which the races of all India are depicted both in pictures and in letterpress, giving the manners and customs of each race. Their photographs show that the pictures of the different manners and customs were taken on the spot, and the sight of them shows how savage they are—the equals of animals. The young Englishmen who, after passing the preliminary Civil Service examination, have to pass examinations on special subjects for two years afterwards, come to the India Office preparatory to starting for India, and, desirous of knowing something of the land to which they are going, also look over this work. What can they think, after perusing this book and looking at its pictures, of the power or honour of the natives of India? One day Hamid, Mahmud, and I went to the India Office, and Mahmud commenced looking at the work. A young Englishman, probably a passed civilian, came up, and after a short time asked Mahmud if he was a Hindustani? Mahmud replied in the affirmative, but blushed as he did so, and hastened to explain that he was not one of the aborigines, but that his ancestors were formerly of another country. Reflect, therefore, that until Hindustanis remove this blot they shall never be held in honour by any civilised race.

I am extremely pleased that my Bengal and Parsi brethren have begun to some extent to promote civilisation but their pace is so fast that there is danger of their falling. The mass of my fellow-countrymen, the Hindus, and my unfortunate coreligionists, are still lying at the bottom of the path of ignorance, and apparently will long remain there so long that their elevation to civilisation shall be impossible, and their present mental malady shall become incurable. The fatal shroud of complacent self-esteem is wrapt around the Mohammedan community:

they remember the old tales of their ancestors, and think that there are none like themselves. The fatal shroud which is around them has blinded them to the beautifully flowered garden which now lies before them. I see, however, with great joy that, although my Hindustani coreligionists are in this state, my brethren in other countries have commenced the work of civilisation. The Mohammedans of Egypt and Turkey are daily becoming more civilised, and it is a matter for congratulation that the bigotry of the Turks—bigotry which is the cause of foolishness, barbarism, and decay—is daily decreasing; nay, in fact, be said to have disappeared. I have seen the Khedive of Egypt in England, the representative of a race which formerly was no friend to Englishmen, mixing in the most friendly manner in English society. The Sultan of Turkey is also daily becoming more friendly with the neighbouring countries and their peoples. Some time ago the Sultan came to France and London to pay them a friendly visit, and dined at the same table with their inhabitants; and this is a powerful proof that the days of bigotry and barbarism are gone. Another proof is the fact that the Empress of France and the Emperor of Austria are going to Constantinople as the Sultan's guests, and just now great preparations are being made to receive them. The Sultan will himself go out to meet the Empress of France, and the three sovereigns will remain in friendly and brotherly friendship for the space of a week, dining and going to parties together, travelling together, and the Sultan will escort them to the "Bait-ul-Mokaddis." A short time ago the Prince of Wales was the Sultan's guest, and on every one's lips was the verse, "Thy coming hath peopled the country; speaking of thee is our song of gladness." In short, the sight of mankind growing daily in brotherly love and friendship, and the decrease of barbarism and savagery, the growth and decrease of which is nature's intention, is indescribably joyful. In Turkey and Egypt the women are daily becoming better educated. I heard of an Egyptian girl who, in addition to a thorough knowledge of her native language, Arabic, knew French very well and Latin very fairly. Her brother was educated in France; and on his return, his sister, who had learnt Arabic from her relatives, studied French and Latin with him.

I am at present living in a comfortable house. I shall hereafter describe the houses of London. I have rooms, four of them bedrooms—one for each of us—the others being rather larger and better furnished than mine, as Hamid, Mahmud, and Khudadad Beg sit reading and writing in them at night. In my bedroom there is only bedroom furniture—better, however, than any I have ever seen in India. Perhaps there may be better in Bombay and Calcutta. One of the other rooms I use for reading and writing books—we all eating and drinking also in it. The sixth room is a large one, and serves as our

sitting-room, in which we all meet occasionally, and get pleasure by doing so. Visitors are received in this room. My kind landlady has taken on two servants especially for my service, one being called Anne Smith, and the other Elizabeth Matthews, the latter very young and modest, being maid-of-all-work. The first is very clever and well-educated, a good writer, and thoroughly good servant. She reads the papers and enjoys them, and does her work like a watch or a machine. After dressing, I go to my study about half-past 8 a.m. daily, that and the sitting-room having by this time been cleaned by Anne Smith—chairs, tables, *almiras*, pictures, inkstand, books, &c., all being beautifully arranged. When it is cold, she lights the fire. She receives all letters and sorts them, putting those for each person on the table opposite his chair. Newspapers she puts anywhere on the table, to be read by whoever wants to. At about 9 o'clock she knocks at the door, and on being told to enter, comes in and lays the table for breakfast. Her language is clear and respectful, her manners being good and polite—she calls us all "sir" when speaking to us. Khudadad Beg she calls Mr Beg, and on hearing that that was not his full name, said, "Sir, please pardon me, but your full name is very difficult." There was great fun over this, and we have all taken to calling Khudadad Beg Mr Beg. Dinner and supper are also laid out by her with same careful attention as breakfast. It is a fact that if this woman, who is poor, and compelled to work as a maid-servant in attendance night and day upon me, were to go to India and mix with ladies of the higher classes, she would look upon them as mere animals, and regard them with contempt. This is simply the effect of education. Look at this young girl Elizabeth Matthews, who, in spite of her poverty, invariably buys a halfpenny paper called the 'Echo,' and reads it when at leisure. If she comes across a 'Punch,' in which there are pictures of women's manners and customs, she looks at them, and enjoys the editor's remarks thereon. All the shops have the names of their occupants written in front in splendid golden letters, and servants requiring anything have only to read and enter. Cabmen and coachmen keep a paper or a book under their seats, and after finding a job, they take them out and commence reading. Remember that the rank of a cabman corresponds to that of *ekhawallahs* of Benares.

Until the education of the masses is pushed on as it is here, it is impossible for a native to become civilised and honoured. The cause of England's civilisation is that all the arts and sciences are in the language of the country. Although in some parts of England the dialects are such as to make it difficult to understand their English, still, on the whole, English in England corresponds to the Urdu of the North-West Province and Behar, which every one understands. Those who are really bent on improving and bettering India must remember that the

only way of compassing this is by having the whole of the arts and sciences translated into their own language. I should like to have this written in gigantic letters on the Himalayas, for the remembrance of future generations. If they be not translated, Indians can never be civilised. This is truth, this is the truth, this is the truth! Government has a difficult task. When the governing tongue is not that of the country, the people do not care to study their own language, because up to the present no one studies for the sake of science, but only to get service. O well-wishers of Hindustan, do not place your dependence on any one! Spread abroad, relying on yourselves and your subscriptions, translations of the arts and sciences; and when you have mastered these and attained to civilisation, you will think very little of going into Government service. I hope and trust that such a day may soon come.

I am delighted to hear that the Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces, and the Director of Public Instruction, North-West Provinces, have given our Society great assistance; and I have thanked God for it. But, my dear Raja, do not part with the freedom of your Society and its paper. The life and death of India depend on the goodness or otherwise of the Department of Public Instruction. Always reflect on this deeply, but with a just mind, and make truth and the national welfare "your only friends."

SIR SYED'S REVIEW
ON
W. W. HUNTER'S "INDIAN MUSSULMANS"

The attention of the public has been lately turned to the state of Mohammedan feeling in India, owing to three causes—viz., the Wahabi trials, Dr Hunter's book on the 'Indian Mussulmans,' and the murder of the late lamented Chief Justice Norman. Dr Hunter's work has made a great sensation in India, and has been read with avidity by all classes of the community. I commenced its perusal hoping that a light would be shed upon what, to the general public, has been hitherto an obscure subject; and as I had heard that the author was a warm friend of Mohammedans, my interest in the work was great. No man, and especially no Mohammedan, can have perused this, the accomplished author's last celebrated work, without being impressed with his extreme literary skill, his Macaulay-like talent of vivifying everything that his pen treats of. Literary skill is not, however, everything, and an author writing for the Indian as well as for the English public, should be careful not to so colour the subject which he treats of as to make it mischievous and of small value as an historical work. I am aware that many of the ruling race in India are under the impression that English literature, both books and newspapers, seldom, if ever, permeates the strata of native society. As regards general literature, this impression is correct as far as the millions are concerned; but on particular subjects, such as the state of feeling of the English to the natives, religious questions, or matters affecting taxation, it is a mistaken one.

Natives anxiously con all articles bearing upon the feelings with which their rulers regard them. Articles sneering at them, or misrepresenting their thoughts and feelings, sink deep into their soul, and work much harm. Although all cannot read, they manage to hear the contents of this and that article or work from those who can, and the subject usually receives a good deal of embellishment as it is passed from one to the other. Articles or books on religious and fiscal questions are also eagerly commented on by a large proportion of the population.

What books and newspapers enunciate is, by the general native public, believed to be the opinion of the whole English community official or non-official—from the veriest clerk to the Governor-General-in-Council—ay, even to the Queen herself! Such being the case, writers should be careful of their facts when treating of any important subject, and having got their facts, ought to avoid all exaggeration or misrepresentation. Now, when we find an official, high in office and in favour with Government, giving utterance to assertions and assumptions such as those contained in Dr Hunter's work, it is but natural

that we Mohammedans should come to the conclusion that the author's opinions are shared in more or less by the whole English community. . . . I had expected great things from Dr Hunter's book. Alas that I should add one more to the long list of disappointed men ! Friend to the Mohammedans as Dr Hunter no doubt is, his friendship, as represented by this his last work, has worked us great harm. "God save me from my friends !" was the exclamation which rose to my lips as I perused the author's pages. I perfectly admit the kindly feeling towards Mohammedans which pervades the whole book, and for this I heartily thank the talented author. At the same time, I regret deeply that his good intentions should have been so grievously frustrated by the manner in which he has written, and that he has used his "power of the pen" in a way calculated still more to embitter the minds of Englishmen against the already little-loved Moslems.

Dr Hunter expressly states that it is only the Bengal Mohammedans to whom he applies the subject-matter of the book, and that it is only them whom he knows intimately. The book, however, abounds in passages which lead the reader to believe that it is not merely the Bengal Mohammedans that the author treats of, but the Mohammedans throughout India. The title of the work itself proves this—"Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" Again, at page 11 there occurs the following passage: "Discussions which disclose the Mohammedan masses eagerly drinking in the poisoned teachings of the apostles of insurrection, and a small minority anxiously seeking to get rid of the duty to rebel by ingenious interpretations of their sacred law." Again, on the same page—"The Mussulmans of India are, and have been for many years, a source of chronic danger to the British power in India." With a knowledge, therefore, only of Bengal Mohammedans, the author gives us the general feeling of Mohammedans throughout India. As a cosmopolitan Mohammedan of India, I must raise my voice in opposition to Dr Hunter in defence of my fellow-countrymen. I know full well the arduousness of the task which I have undertaken—the difficulty which encompasses every advocate of a cause which has been pre- and mis-judged by men of a different race. I only ask for an impartial hearing in the words of the Bishop of Manchester, spoken at Nottingham last month: "All things are possible to him that believeth, and where there is true faith there is certain to be no obliquity of conduct." Being firm in my belief in what I am about to write, I hope that it may be possible for me to convince the public that all is not gold that glitters, and that all is not exactly as Dr Hunter would have it believed.

As Dr Hunter's work represents Wahabiism and rebellion against

the British Government as synonymous, I will first proceed to review the light in which the former is presented to the Indian public by the learned Doctor, and I will then pass on to the consideration of the latter question. Wahabiism has withal been little understood by the world at large, and it is rather difficult to put it in a comprehensive light before the public. In my opinion, what the Protestant is to Roman Catholic, so is the Wahabi to the other Mohammedan creeds. A work on Wahabiism was translated into English and published in the 13th volume of the 'Royal Asiatic Journal' in 1852. In it the doctrines of the faith are pretty accurately defined, and Dr Hunter has reduced them to the following seven doctrines: "First, absolute reliance upon one God; second, absolute renunciation of any mediatory agent between man and his Maker, including the rejection of the prayers of the saints, and even of the semi-divine mediation of Mohammed himself; third, the right of private interpretation of the Mohammedan Scriptures, and the rejection of all priestly glosses of the Holy Writ; fourth, absolute rejection of all the forms, ceremonies, and outward observances with which the medieval and modern Mohammedans have overlaid the pure faith; fifth, constant looking for the Prophet (Imam), who will lead the true believers to victory over the infidels; sixth, constant recognition, both in theory and practice, of the obligation to wage war upon all infidels; seventh, implicit obedience to the spiritual guide."

Now there are several errors here. The latter part of the second doctrine is so ambiguously worded that the meaning does not stand out very clear: it ought to stand thus: "And to recognise Mohammed as nothing more than an inspired man, and to disbelieve in any power of mediation by saints or prophets, including Mohammed himself, before the holy tribunal." The third doctrine is also ambiguous, and I would amend it thus—"Right of every individual to interpret the Koran according to his lights, and not to be bound to follow implicitly the interpretation put upon the same by any former priest." The fifth doctrine is quite obscure, and its true meaning is much altered. It bears a great affinity to the belief of the Jews and Christians—in the advent of the Messiah of the former, and of the second coming of Christ of the latter. Mohammedans believe that before the end of the world, and before the second advent of Christ, an Imam will descend on the earth to lead true believers to victory over the infidels. Many Mohammedans disbelieve in this, and regard it as a story invented by the Jews, and which has crept into their religion. However this may be, it will be observed that Dr Hunter has perverted its meaning, and has represented the present generation of Wahabis as expecting the Imam to lead them to victory against the English. The sixth doctrine has also suffered at the author's hands. Had he added the words "provided

that the Mussulmans leading the *jihad* be not the subjects of those infidels, living under them in peace, and without any oppression being exercised towards them, provided that they have not left their property and families under the protection of such infidels—provided that there exists no treaty between them and the infidels—and provided that the Mussulmans be powerful enough to be certain of success,"—had, I say, all these provisions been added by our author, his rendering of this doctrine would have been correct. His object, being to present the Wahabi doctrines in their most terrifying form, he wisely omitted all those provisions. I do not understand what the author means by the words "spiritual guide" in the seventh doctrine. If by it he implies a guide of faith, he is in error, as by the third doctrine Wahabis are not bound to follow any priest blindly. If, however, he means a Mohammedan ruler, he is right. One thing, however, he has omitted to tell us—viz., that Muhammedans are bound to obey an infidel ruler as long as he does not interfere with their religion. I would particularly urge on my readers to bear these doctrines in mind as now interpreted by me—Dr Hunter's rendering of them being ambiguous and calculated to mislead. . . .

Wahabiism is a system which reduces the religion of Mohammed to a pure theism—i.e., to what Mohammedanism was in the days of Mohammed, before it was encrusted with its present forms and ceremonies by medieval and modern Mohammedans. In the second century of the Hegira it was divided into four Churches—Hanafi, Shafai, Maliki, and Humbali; and it was for some time after optional for Mohammedans to follow any doctrine of any of these four Churches. The kings Bani Umanja and Bani Abcco, however, issued an edict that all Mohammedans were to embrace the whole doctrines of any one Church of the above four; and by this unjust order, free opinion was summarily suppressed, and religious intolerance gained supremacy. A few, however, clung to the former, the true faith, and they were called Ahal-i-Hadis—i.e., believers in the sayings of the Prophet. They were hated and held up to the execration of the faithful, and this continued till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Abdul Wahab of Nejd then ascended a throne of his own making, and spread the doctrine of the Shah-i-Hadis. His successor being denied leave to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, marched on and conquered both Mecca and Medina, abolished all the forms and ceremonies with which pure Mohammedanism had become encumbered, and destroyed the tombs of saints which are worshipped as idols. He was defeated by the Turks, and compelled to retire; and the Mohammedan world being deeply grieved at the,—in their opinion,—sacrileges perpetrated by the Ahal-i-Hadis, a bitter enmity sprang up between the Turks and them, and they were then called Wahabis. In India, Wahabis could only worship and preach with great

danger to themselves; but on the advent of the English rule they came to the front and preached openly and fearlessly. The Indian Mohammedans, however, hated them as cordially as the Turks did, and also called them Wahabis.

Such is the history of Wahabiism, the bugbear of Dr Hunter. . . .

I shall now endeavour to explain the faith and persuasion of the frontier tribes amongst whom Dr Hunter establishes the rebel camp.

The mountain tribes on our north-west frontier are Sunnis. They belong to the Hanafi sect, and are stricter in the observance of their religion than their coreligionists of the plains. The latter bear no enmity towards the other three Mohammedan sects; whilst the hostility of the mountain tribes to all other sects is bitter in the extreme. An outsider has no security for his life or property whilst in their country, unless he change his tenets, and adapt them to those of the Hanafis amongst whom his lot is cast. . . . These wild denizens of the hills generally take, as their text-books, commentaries on the Hanafi Church, of which *Dur-i-Mukhtar* is one. This was written in the year 1071 Hegira, or A.D. 1660, and is the religious work most venerated by them. It contains some Arabic verses upholding the Hanafi doctrines in preference to all others. A translation of one of these, showing the hatred borne by the Hanafis to the followers of the other Churches, is as follows: "May the curses of our God, innumerable as the sands of the sea, fall upon him who followest not the doctrines of Abu-Hanifa." These hill tribes lay great stress upon the worship of tombs of saints and monasteries, especially those of Peer Baba in Bonair, and Kaka Saheb in Kotah. I have never yet met any Pathan of any other faith than the Hanafi, or any inclined to Wahabiism. In the *Hayat Afgani*, however, an Urdu history published at Lahore in 1867, and written by a loyal Mohammedan in the service of Government, I find the following passage: "But of late the followers of Mulla Syed Meer of Kotah are looked upon as Wahabis, and are held in contempt by the people of Swat, subjects of the Akhoond of Swat and staunch Hanafis. Most of the Atmanzais and the descendants of Nasir-ul-lab of Garhi Ismail are the partisans of Mulla Syed Meer, whilst all the other mountain tribes follow the Akhoond of Swat." From the foregoing it is evident how utterly antagonistic Wahabiism is to the faith of the frontier tribes and, as far as religion is concerned, how impracticable it is to form a coalition between the Pathans and the Wahabis. The latter, who in 1824 settled themselves in the hills, determined to wage war to the death against the hated Sikhs, could never persuade the hill tribes to look with favour on their religious tenets. Hating each other as they did, however, they smarting under the oppressions and severities of the Sikhs, made common cause against them. It was these very Pathans, however, who betrayed the Wahabis to the Sikhs, and it was owing to

them that Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail Saheb were afterwards slain. These facts must be borne in mind, as they are absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the Wahabi history, represented by Dr Hunter as a great coalition of the mountain tribes.

In the first chapter of his work Dr Hunter has given us an account of the establishment of the Wahabi rebel camp. I demur, however, to many of his statements, and will now proceed to give a short account of the Indian Wahabis, without which it is impossible to show in what points our author has been misled, and how greatly he has exaggerated the facts of the case.

The history of the Indian Wahabis is divided into five periods. The first extends from 1823 to 1830,—i.e., from the year Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail preached and inaugurated the holy war against the Sikhs, the oppressors of their Mohammedan subjects, to the time when Peshawar was recaptured from the hands of their followers. The second extends from 1830 to 1831,—i.e., from the reconquest of Peshawar to the death of Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail. The third embraces the period from the death of these leaders to the time when, after the annexation of the Panjab by the British, the Wahabis, and amongst them Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, were sent from the frontier to their homes in Hindustan—viz., from 1831 to 1847. The fourth extends from 1847 to the second expedition of Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali to the frontier, and to their death. The fifth is the present period, which Dr Hunter erroneously calls the period of Wahabi insurrection. The first period of the Wahabi history was its golden age. Everything that the Wahabis of that age did was known to Government, and they were not at that time in any way suspected of disloyalty to the British. Mohammedans at that time openly preached a holy war against the Sikhs, in order to relieve their fellow-countrymen from the tyranny of that race. The leader of the *jihadis* was Syed Ahmed, but he was no preacher. Moulavi Ismail was the man whose preaching worked marvels on the feelings of Mohammedans. Throughout the whole of his career, not a word was uttered by this preacher calculated to incite the feelings of his coreligionists against the English. Once at Calcutta whilst preaching the *jihad* against the Sikhs, he was interrogated as to his reasons for not proclaiming a religious war against the British, who were also infidels. In reply he said that under the English rule Mohammedans were not persecuted, and as they were the subjects of that Government, they were bound by their religion not to join in a *jihad* against it. At this time thousands of armed men and large stores of munitions of war were collected in India for the *jihad* against the Sikhs. Commissioners and magistrates were aware of this, and they reported the facts to Government. They were directed not to interfere, as the Government was of opinion that their object was not

inimical to the British. In 1824 these *jihadis* against the Sikhs reached the frontier, and they were afterwards continually strengthened by recruits and money from India. This was well known to Government, and in proof of this I will cite the following cases: A Hindu banker of Delhi, intrusted with money for the Wahabi cause on the frontier, embezzled the same, and a suit was brought against him before Mr William Fraser, late Commissioner of Delhi. The suit was decided in favour of the plaintiff, Moulavi Ishak, and the money paid in by the defendant was forwarded to the frontier by other means. The case was afterwards appealed to the Sudder Court at Allahabad, but the decision of the lower Court was upheld. At this time the Wahabi cause prospered. With the aid of the frontier tribes, Peshawur was conquered, and was made over to Sultan Mohammad Khan, brother of the late Dost Mohammad Khan of Cabul. It was, however, soon after treacherously sold by him to Ranjeet Singh.

During the second period the Wahabi cause waned. When Peshawur again fell into the hands of the Sikhs, numbers of the learned men amongst the followers of Syed Ahmed and Moulavi Ismail lost heart completely. They saw that the Pathan tribes on the frontier hated them on account of their faith—that no help was therefore to be expected from them; and they saw that their own number was too small to cope successfully with the Sikhs. They therefore declared that they were no longer bound by their religion to continue the contest. A difference of opinion had also arisen amongst them as to the fitness of Syed Ahmed to be their leader, most of them declaring that he was unfit, whilst others maintained the contrary. Moulavi Ismail exerted himself to the utmost to allay these dissensions. He wrote a work entitled 'Mansab-i-Imamat,' which was published in Calcutta in the year 1265 (A.D. 1849). All his efforts were, however, unavailing, and the band was broken up. Thousands returned to their homes in India, of whom the most noted were Moulavi Mahbub Ali, who died in 1804, and Moulavi Haji Mohammad. The latter was a resident of Lower Bengal, but he married at Delhi, and resided there for many years. He died at Alwar in 1870. It may interest my readers to learn that the above-named Mahbub Ali was the same man who in 1857 was summoned by the rebel leader, Bukht Khan, and requested by him to sign the proclamation for a religious war against the English. He refused, and told Bukht Khan that the Mohammedan subjects of the British Government could not, according to the precepts of their religion, rise up in arms against their rulers. He, moreover, reproached him and his followers for the inhuman cruelties perpetrated by them towards the European ladies and children.

After this secession, Syed Ahmed's following was much reduced; and in 1831 he, with most of his adherents, was, through the treachery of Khadi Khan, slain in action against Shere Sinha [? Singh]. On their leader's

death, the desertions from the cause were numerous. In order to prevent these, it was falsely given out that Syed Ahmed was alive, and had miraculously disappeared and hidden himself in a cave. This deception was, however, soon exposed, and the followers of Syed Ahmed returned to their homes. After this period the supplies of men and money, &c., in aid of the *jihad*, ceased entirely from the North-West Provinces. What occurred during the third period is not very interesting. I would here mention that Syed Ahmed, after the recapture of Peshawur by the Sikhs, asked those of his followers who were resolved to die with him for the cause, to make a solemn promise (*bayat fil jihad*) to this effect. Several hundreds complied; and it is almost certain that only the few of those who survived the battle fought against Shere Sinha, remained in the hills after the fall of their leader, Syed Ahmed. The majority of them were from Patna and other parts of Bengal. Moulavis Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali of Patna now became their leaders, but did nothing towards the furtherance of *jihad*. On the annexation of the Panjab by the British, they and most of their followers were despatched to their homes in 1847. Now we have seen how recruits and money were forwarded from Patna and other parts of Bengal, and India generally, during the three first periods of frontier Wahabi history; but I think it is very evident that not a man of these was intended or used for an attack on British India, nor was there the slightest ground for supposing, during these three periods, that there was a rebellious spirit growing up amongst the general Mohammedan public in India. And yet Dr Hunter maintains (page 79) that "about thirty years ago one of the Caliphs came on a missionary tour to Bengal, settled there, became trusted by all the neighbouring landed proprietors, and preached rebellion with great force and unction." He also, says our author, "forwarded yearly supplies of men and money to the propaganda at Patna, for transmission to the frontier camp." Now this brings us back to the year 1841 or so, when several years had still to elapse before the Panjab was annexed by the British. Does Dr Hunter really believe that men and money were forwarded at that time to enable the frontier people to attack the English? I think he will admit that a holy war against the Sikhs had been going on for many years before the year 1841, and that it is but probable that the "men and money supplies" were intended for the defeat of the subjects of the Panjab rulers. I will now proceed to show that in the fourth period also there is no foundation for any suspicion whatever against my coreligionists in India. The English, who are unacquainted with the general run of Mohammedan opinion, will probably deem me an interested partisan, and will pay small attention to, or place little reliance upon, what I think and write. This, however, must not deter me from speaking what I know to be the truth. After the return to India of Moulavis Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali in 1847, there still remained a small remnant

of Syed Ahmed's followers on the frontier. It is true that these two never slackened their efforts to induce men of Patna and the vicinity to join in the *jihad*, and to collect money for the purpose. They were indefatigable, and in 1851 they showed what was still their leading idea by again leaving India for the frontier. Now Dr Hunter has made out that it was with the intention of waging war with the British that they again resorted to the frontier, and that they thus transferred the *jihad* from the Sikhs to the British. Was this likely when they had no cause of complaint against the latter? We have already seen, in the oppression of Mohammedans by the Sikhs, what reason the former had for attacking the latter; but no reason has yet been shown, either by Dr Hunter or by any one else, for this sudden hatred to the British. No; it was against the Sikhs in Jammoo that their arms were directed. I have this from one who met these two Moulavis on their way to the frontier, and I have no doubt of its truth. It must be borne in mind how very strict in their religion these Wahabis are. Stern fanatics, they never swerve aside from the principles of that faith. Now those of whom I am writing had left their families and property in the care of the British Government, and their faith expressly forbids them taking up arms against the protectors of their families. Had they fought and died in battle against the English, they would have been deprived of the joys of Paradise and martyrdom, and would have been deemed sinners against their own religion. We have seen how small were the remnants of the Wahabi band on the frontier, and it has been shown how hated they were by the hill tribes on account of their religious tenets. One feels inclined to smile when we read sentences like this in Dr Hunter's book: "The second minute of Lord Dalhousie had to deal with a proposition for a frontier war against the border tribes, whose superstitious hatred to the infidel the Hindustani fanatics, had again fanned to a red heat" (page 23). Our author forgets the very important fact that these mountain tribes have been turbulent from time immemorial; that they have never allowed any peace to any nation living on their frontiers whether so-called infidels or Mussulmans; that they fought indiscriminately with the Mohammedan emperors of Delhi and with the Sikhs in the Panjab. Like the Irishmen at a fair, it mattered little to them who it was, as long as it was some one to fight with. Even the great tyrant Nadir Shah, whose name was feared throughout India, was never able to keep them in subjection. With regard to Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, and their small following, nothing has ever transpired to show that they ever conspired against the British power in India. On their death, which happened a few years after 1851, their followers all dispersed.

It is quite true that men and money were transmitted, during the stay of these Moulavis on the frontier, from Patna and other parts of Bengal; but no one believed that they were to be used against the

British. It is not likely that a force so feeble could aspire to overturn the strong British empire.

The fifth period of Indian Wahabiism has also, in my humble opinion, no connection whatever with *jihad*. I cannot believe that after the death of Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, men or money were forwarded to the frontier from Bengal in furtherance of a religious war. Since 1857, however, a band of desperate men, composed of mutineers and others—who, through the severe punishments meted out during the Mutiny, fled for their lives to those remote tracts—have taken up their abode at Mulka, Sittana, in the Nepal Terai, and in the deserts of Bikaner and Rajputana. Those who fled to the North-West Frontier were Hindus of all castes, as well as Mohammedans of different denominations; and they instinctively collected together, fleeing, as they were, from a common danger. It was they, as mentioned above, who occupied Mulka and other places; and to assert, as Dr Hunter does, that they were there for the purpose of making a religious war against Government—composed, as their band was, of Hindus and Mussulmans of all castes and denominations—is too absurd for belief. It is not unlikely, however, that many of these refugees were in communication with their homes in different parts of India, and it is very probable that they were assisted with sums of money by their relatives. A man, because he becomes an outlaw, does not necessarily forfeit the love of his relatives, nor do they feel it the less incumbent upon them to assist him by any means in their power. This has probably formed one of the bases upon which Dr Hunter has constructed his edifice of a "regularly organised system of contributions of men and money in aid of a religious war against Government." Another was probably the fact of money having found its way from India to the Akhoond of Swat. Now my readers are probably all aware that every Mohammedan is bound, according to the precepts of his faith, to set apart at the end of each year, for the purpose of charity, one-fortieth part of his capital. This is termed *zakat*. Many, of course, do not act up to their religion, and decline to put their hands into their pockets to benefit others; but all good Wahabis, and also all Mohammedans who have Wahabi proclivities, discharge this duty faithfully. The money thus set apart is paid by them to the poor of the neighbourhood, to travellers passing through their towns and villages, to Moulavis famed for their learning, to convents where pious men live in retirement, and to pupils residing in mosques, for their education. In distributing these alms, they can scarcely be required to find out all the recipients' antecedents; and so frightened have Mohammedans now become of being accused of aiding and abetting sedition, that in many cases men have abstained altogether from assisting travellers or any one else. Apparently no Mohammedan can now dispense his *zakat* without laying himself open to the charge of aiding a *jihad* against the English. As regards the

Akhoond of Swat, I have no doubt that he may have received portions of *zabat* from wealthy Mohammedans. He is, however, no Wahabi, and I can confidently assert that any sums which he may have received had no connection whatever with a *jihad* against the Indian Government. The school kept by Shah Abdul Azeez and the convent of Ghulam Ali at Delhi received pecuniary aid from all parts of the world besides India; and one might just as well assert that they were aided for the purpose of waging *jihad*, as maintain that the Akhoond of Swat was subsidised for this purpose from India. Having thus given a *resume* of the history of Indian Wahabiism, I would request my readers to bear the same in mind whilst accompanying me through the pages of Dr Hunter's work. I think I have proved that the Indian Wahabi *jihad*—represented by our author to have been one against the British—was intended solely for the conquest of the Sikhs; and that, even although the hand of mutineers at Mulka and Sittana may have given trouble to Government after 1857, the frontier colony, composed as it was of Hindus as well as Mohammedans, was scarcely one which could be designated as a *jihadi* community. On opening Dr Hunter's book, in the very first page occurs the following sentence: "For years a rebel colony has threatened our frontier, from time to time sending forth fanatic swarms, who have attacked our camps, burned our villages, murdered our subjects, and involved our troops in three costly wars." This is very pretty writing, enriched as the sentence is by the phrases "rebel colony" and "fanatic swarms"; but the unprejudiced reader will at once ask, "To whom does the author refer?" If he refers to the Wahabis who settled there to wage *jihad* against the Sikhs, I have shown how unfounded such an assertion would be; and if he means the band of mutineers—Hindus and Mohammedans—who fled from Hindustan during the Mutiny, what earthly connection have their raids with Dr Hunter's question, "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?"

Our author states (page 1): "Successive State trials prove that a network of conspiracy has spread itself over our provinces, and that the bleak mountains which rise beyond the Panjab are united by an unbroken chain of treason-depots with the tropical swamps through which the Ganges merges into the sea. They disclose an organisation which systematically levies money and men in the Delta, and forwards them by regular stages along our highroads to the rebel camp two thousand miles off. Men of keen intelligence and ample fortune have embarked in the plot, and a skilful system of remittances has reduced one of the most perilous enterprises of treason to a safe operation of banking." This, taken in conjunction with his opening sentence, leads the reader to believe that this conspiracy was hatched by the Bengal Mohammedans with the more or less open concurrence of the whole Mohammedan

community, with the object of subverting the English rule in India. Now I think Dr Hunter will allow that an organisation can exist for other purposes than that of rebellion; and I think both Dr Hunter and myself have shown that an organisation existed in India for the purpose of attacking the Sikhs. It is most unfair of him to insinuate that the organisation in question was one inimical to our Indian Government, and thus to prejudice the minds of his readers against the whole of the Indian Mussulmans. Again, at page 10, he writes: "While the more fanatical of the Mussulmans have thus engaged in overt sedition, the whole Mohammedan community has been openly deliberating on their obligation to rebel. . . . From some months the Anglo-Indian press was inclined to smile at the pains which the more loyal sort of the Mussulmans were taking to ascertain whether they could abstain from rebellion without perdition to their souls." Now I have no hesitation in saying that this is one of the most unjust, illiberal, and insulting sentences ever penned against my coreligionists. It is very evident that Dr Hunter could have had but a most superficial knowledge of the state of Mohammedan feeling, and it shows how weak was the foundation upon which he built his so-called facts.

The causes which led to the Mohammedan deliberation and discussion were not those which Dr Hunter asserts them to have been. The followers of Islam in India required no fresh teaching of the doctrines and obligations enjoined on them by their religion. They were well aware of them; but the statements of ignorant men, and the injury which the prospects of the Indian Mussulmans, by biassing the minds of the English public against them, compelled them to come forward publicly to rectify their mistakes. At first they were rather amused at the interpretations put upon their faith by some newspaper editors; but when they found that matters were taking a serious turn—that their tenets were being perverted and that accusations of disloyalty, and statements of the obligation of Mohammedans to be disloyal, were becoming more and more frequent—they deemed it necessary to issue the *fatwas* alluded to. These are of no modern date. They have been in existence for hundreds of years, and have always been relied upon by Mussulmans. At page 12 our author commences an account of Syed Ahmed's career. Like those opposed to Wahabiism, who jocularly called Syed Ahmed "the prophet," and said that he appointed four spiritual vicegerents (caliphs), Dr Hunter also styles him by this name, and states that he appointed four caliphs (page 13). He also states, but has no authority for the statement, that "he appointed regular agents to go forth and collect a tax from the profits of trade in all the large towns which had lain on his route." At page 14 we find him writing the following sentences: "Their avarice was enlisted by splendid promises of plunder; their religion by the assurance that he was divinely commissioned to extirpate

the whole infidel world, from the Sikhs even unto *the Chinese*." Comparing this, however, with the Syed's exhortation to the Mussulmans to join in a holy war against the Sikhs, we find no mention made of the Chinese. Perhaps Dr Hunter will favour us with his authority for this assertion about the Chinese. At page 15 our author writes that "troops from every discontented prince of Northern India flocked to the camp." It would have been better had Dr Hunter been a little more explicit in his meaning, as, from the foregoing, no one can tell who the princes were, nor why and with whom they were discontented. Having drawn on his imagination largely in his description of what took place in the Himalayas, our author treats us to a still greater flight of fancy in the following sentence: "Two of the caliphs or vicegerents whom he appointed at Patna in 1821 made a pilgrimage to the frontier, and ascertained that their leader's disappearance was a miracle, but that he was still alive, and would manifest himself in due time at the head of a holy army, with which he would expel the English infidels from India." This assertion is utterly wrong, and Dr Hunter probably only thought it necessary to insert it as corroborative of his interpretation of the seventh doctrine of the Wahabi faith. He must have heard it from some one inimical to, and only too ready to bring a false charge against, Wahabiism. It is unfortunate for Dr Hunter that he has, throughout his work, relied upon very weak authorities when treating of Mohammedan creeds. This learned Doctor has shown little discretion in not sifting more carefully the chaff from the wheat. We come now to a sentence which no Englishman desirous of bridging over the gulf which separate our rulers from us ought ever to have penned. He says: "Every Mohammedan religionist, too zealous to live quietly under a Christian Government, girded up his loins and made for the Sittana camp." What an aspersion is this upon the whole Mohammedan community which remained quietly in India! He does not seem to know what the Mohammedan, and still more the Wahabi, precepts enjoin on this subject; or, knowing the same, he wilfully perverts their meaning. Wahabis act strictly up to the commands of the Prophet; and it is a well-known fact that during Mohammedan persecution at Mecca, Mohammed himself ordered his staunchest followers to take refuge in the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia. To say, therefore, that zealous Mohammedans could not remain quietly in British territory, and that they felt themselves bound to repair to the frontier, is as untrue as it is uncalled for. Does Dr Hunter mean to maintain that none of us Mohammedans who remained in India are good and zealous Mussulmans?

At page 23 Dr Hunter corroborates my assertion that the arms of the frontier *jihadis* were not directed against the British. He says: "In the same year (1852) they attacked our ally, the chief of the Amb State, and necessitated the despatch of a British force." He then goes on to say:

"I do not propose to trace in detail the insults, inroads, and murders which led to the frontier war of 1858. During the whole period the fanatics kept the border tribes in a state of chronic hostility to the British power." I should like to know what authority Dr Hunter has for maintaining that the "chronic hostility" to the British was the work of "the fanatics." Strange that he should saddle this on them, considering that for centuries the border tribes had been fighting with the dwellers in the adjacent plains. I should say that they had quite sufficient inherent fighting proclivities to render any such instigation unnecessary. Our author then states: "During this time (1852-1857) the Sittana colony, although stirring up a perpetual spirit of fanaticism along the frontier, had wisely avoided direct collision with our troops." This carries out my assertion that the holy war against the Sikhs was not transferred to the British. Had it been so, I think my readers will allow that ten years would not have elapsed without a blow struck against the British by the earnest men who, inflamed with holy zeal, so often fought hand to hand with the Sikhs. Dr Hunter, however, quietly ignores this patent fact in order to make his tale sensational—to lend might to his title, "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?" We now come to the years 1857-58, 1861, and 1863. In 1857, Dr Hunter states, the "Sittana colony" tried to form a general coalition against us, and had the audacity to insist upon the British authorities aiding them in collecting their "blackmail." In a footnote he particularly notices the Yusafzai and Panjtar tribes as having been included in this coalition. I have no doubt but that the latter two tribes may in 1857 have been very strongly tempted to attack British India, inasmuch as the Mutiny was going on, and the opportunity for a profitable raid was very tempting. Doubtless many other tribes had also a hankering after the flesh-pots of British India, and required no prompting from the Sittana colony. It strikes one as rather strange that in 1858, only one year afterwards, the Sittana colony should be on such bad terms with the whole of the frontier tribes as to be attacked by them, and to have their "fanatic leader" (Syed Umar Shah, *vide* footnote page 25) slain. This shows, I think, that their influence amongst the mountain tribes could scarcely have been very great. As regards Dr Hunter's statement that they were in the habit of levying tithes from the adjoining highland class (page 24), my opinion is that, after the death of Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, the few that remained of the old band were far too weak and divided amongst themselves to attempt anything of the kind. During and after 1857, as has already been shown, the Sittana colony became the rendezvous of the sepoy and others, Hindus and Mohammedans, who were expelled from India during the Mutiny. Now we have seen, according to our author himself (page 24), that from 1850 to 1857 not a single collision occurred between Dr Hunter's "fanatics" and the

British troops.

After 1857, however, the collisions are frequent. What is the inference to be drawn from this? I think there can be but one—viz., that it was the Company's mutinous sepoy who were the instigators and actors in much that has occurred since that year. The Wahabis—i.e., the remnants of Syed Ahmed's band—had no hand in the raids; nor is there the slightest foundation for Dr Hunter's sweeping assertion, that the flames then kindled were nursed by the Mohammedan community in India. The border tribes had also a great deal to do with the many raids and cases of kidnapping, burning and plundering of British villages; but to lay all these atrocities at the door of Syed Ahmed's followers, and through them to implicate the whole of the Indian Mussulmans, is monstrous in the extreme.

The remainder of Dr Hunter's first chapter describes at length the Ambeyla campaign and the raid of 1868. As regards the opposition made by the hill clans in the former, I have only to remark—and this is borne out by British officers themselves on the spot—that they were not influenced by any love for the Mulka host, but were justly incensed at the invasion of their territories without their permission. Had they had notice of our intention of advancing by the Ambeyla Pass, they would almost all have been on the side of the British. No intimation, however, of our plans was given them, and the suspicion engendered in their minds by such conduct made them range themselves on the side of the Sittana colonists. Had the British been in the place of the border tribes, would they not have done likewise? . . .

Dr Hunter gives *in extenso* the history of Syed Ahmed and Abdool Wahab, and at page 61 says: Whatever was dreamy in his nature, now gave place to fiery ecstasy, in which he beheld himself planting the Crescent throughout every district of India, and the Cross buried beneath the carcasses of the English infidels.' Syed Ahmed, or properly speaking, Moulavi Ismail, certainly devoted all his energies to the reform of his faith in India—encrusted, as it had become, with formulas foreign to the original true faith. In this sense, therefore, Dr Hunter is correct in his assertion as to his desire to have the Crescent planted in every district throughout India. The latter part of the sentence, however, is given by Dr Hunter without quoting his authority, and is more than I can believe to be true. The summons issued by Syed Ahmed to the Mohammedans, in favour of a *jihad* against the Sikhs, completely refutes it. No Wahabi could have enunciated any such opinion, contrary, as it would have been, to the tenets of their faith; and I cannot but believe that here again has Dr. Hunter been misled by some person or persons inimical to Wahabiism.

In treating of the Wahabi literature, Dr Hunter states that "throughout the whole literature of the sect, this obligation (*jihad*) shines

forth as the first duty of regenerate man." And again, on page 66: "But any attempt at even the briefest epitome of the Wahabi treatises, in prose and verse, on the duty to wage war against the English, would fill a volume." He also gives the prophecies on the downfall of the British banner, with a list of fourteen books, and quotes several passages from the same. These shall be referred to presently, and Dr Hunter's glaring blunders exposed.

[Syed Ahmed then goes on to prove, book by book, Dr Hunter's many errors. The best knock-down blow which the unlucky Doctor received was with reference to the 'Asaar-i-Mahsar,' a work written by Moulvi Mohamed Ali. Syed Ahmed says:]

With reference to this work our author says: "It foretells a war in the *Khyber hills on the Punjab frontier*, where the English will first vanquish the faithful, whereupon the Mohammedans will make search for their true Imam. Then there will be a battle lasting four days, ending in the complete overthrow of the English, 'even the very smell of Government being driven out of their heads and brains.' Thereafter the Imam Mahdi will appear, and the Mohammedans, being now the rulers of India, will flock to meet him at Mecca. These events will be heralded in by an eclipse both of the sun and moon in the month of Ramzan." Now I frankly confess that I am at a loss what to think of Dr Hunter. I can scarcely believe that he intended to deceive or mislead his readers; but at the same time, I can hardly credit him with such gross ignorance as is here evinced. Either one or the other supposition is the correct one, so that Dr Hunter stands convicted either of intentionally misleading the public, or of "ignorance profound." I will now give a summary of the work, merely begging my readers to bear in mind the fact that the "*Khyber hills on our Punjab frontier*" of Dr Hunter are hills of the same name situated near Medina! . . .

We now come to the third part of the fourfold organisation—viz., local Wahabi missionaries—treated of by Dr Hunter (pages 71-75). I leave my readers to judge from the following two sentences what dependence is to be placed on Dr Hunter's opinion: "And I should be very sorry if I were supposed to use the term Wahabi as a synonym for traitor" (page 72). "It is one of the misfortunes attendant on the British rule in India, that this reformation should be inseparably linked with hatred against the infidel conquerors. But everywhere any attempt by the Mohammedans to return to the first principles of their faith involves a revolt against the ruling power" (page 75). Our author cannot be consistent for even five pages. More than this, however, he brings a charge against the religion of Islam, which, from all that I have proved, is totally unfounded. His mind is so full of his fancied Wahabi conspiracy of

jihād, that he turns and twists everything connected with Mohammedanism in support of his cherished theories. Whilst, however, maintaining that Wahabiism is quite opposed to the doctrine laid down in Dr Hunter's last-quoted sentence, I grant that there are some bigoted and superstitious Wahabis, who look with hatred and contempt not only on infidels but also on all Mohammedans who do not profess the same faith as themselves. Mohammedans of other Churches, even the *Ahal-i-Sunnat* and *Jamat*, to which Church these Wahabis themselves belong, and also those who are not in their eyes orthodox Wahabis, are all equally reckoned without the pale. To visit such, to sit in their company, to join in their feasts, to sympathise with them in their joys and sorrows—nay, even to read prayers along with them—are alike distasteful to these bigots. They are, in fact, the *ne plus ultra* of Dissenters. Their opinions are, however, infallible; their acts and thoughts are their own; they represent no principle of Wahabiism. Dr Hunter is not apparently aware of the existence of many earnest Wahabis, as also men who, though not Wahabis, have Wahabi tendencies, who are desirous that as the Wahabi is pure as regards God, so it may be as regards men; that mutual love may reign throughout the earth; and that as their faith inculcates the unity of God, it may also be the means of promoting brotherhood amongst the human race. That there are such men, and that their example will be powerful for good, is undoubted. Having admitted, then, that there are certain Wahabis whose faults are great, and whose ways are opposed to the ordinances of God and his Prophet, I cannot admit that Dr Hunter's assertion, that the reformation of the Mussulman faith is inseparably linked with hatred against the infidel conquerors, is in the slightest degree correct. I am perfectly certain in my own mind that the purification of our faith, and our loyalty to the Government under whom we live and serve, are perfectly compatible. At page 78, Dr Hunter treats us to a description of the fourth part of the Wahabi organisation, and mentions the existence of traitor settlements or district centres for the levying of men and money for treasonable purposes, and for the appropriation of all offerings to caliphs in furtherance of a holy war. The following sentence occurs at page 82: He commanded every head of a family to put aside a handful of rice for each member of his household at every meal." I cannot help thinking that Dr Hunter is describing an ideal race, whose standard of civilisation and whose patriotism have never yet been equalled in this world. Strength and firmness of mind, forethought, unity of purpose, reticence and secrecy, extraordinary skill in governing the minds of the masses, without which an organisation such as Dr Hunter ascribes to the Indian Wahabis could never have existed a week, have long been forgotten by the people of India. Even in the histories of Greece and Rome, whose patriots were numerous as the sands of the sea, we fail to find such rare patriotism and unity of

purpose as are here described. The real facts of the matter are, that an organisation, clumsy and perfectly known to Government, existed long ago (*vide* Dr Hunter's page 79) not for rebellion, as Dr Hunter makes out, but for the *jihad* against the Sikhs; and out of this Dr Hunter has built up the edifice which fortunately, owing to the good sense and fairness of the English race, has now fallen to the ground. . . .

In the commencement of the third chapter we find little more than a triumph of our author's literary skill, and sentence after sentence of masterly composition. The subject-matter is scarcely worthy the trouble bestowed upon it by Dr Hunter. Further on, he treats of the *fatwas* relating to *jihad* against the Queen which have been published in India during the past few years, and describes the motives of the Mohammedans in issuing them, in his usual imaginative manner. As I have already given the true motives which actuated the Mohammedan community in this important matter, I will say no more about it here. Dr Hunter then proceeds to a consideration of the Shia sect; and although he afterwards qualifies (page 119) the panegyric which he passes upon them, I am glad to see that the learned Doctor approves of a portion at least of one of the sects of the Indian Mohammedan community. Let us be thankful for small mercies. He then goes on to prove, with great acumen and ability, that India has now lapsed into *Dar-ul-Harb*, refuting at the same time with equal skill the decision arrived at by the Calcutta Mohammedan Literary Society—*viz.*, that Hindustan is still a *Dar-ul-Islam*. If the Calcutta Mohammedan Literary Society mean that India is *Dar-ul-Islam* in the primary signification of the word, I concur with Dr Hunter in the arguments he has given to disprove the decision of that learned Society; but if the Society call India *Dar-ul-Islam* in the secondary meaning of the word, I am at one with them in their decision. It is a great mistake to suppose that a country can only be either a *Dar-ul-Islam* or a *Dar-ul-Harb* in the primary signification of the words, and that there is no intermediate position. A true *Dar-ul-Islam* is a country which under no circumstances can be termed a *Dar-ul-Harb*, and *vice versa*. There are, however, certain countries which, with reference to certain circumstances, can be termed *Dar-ul-Islam*, and with reference to others *Dar-ul-Harb*. Such a country is India at the present moment. My first article on *jihad* was published in a pamphlet, entitled 'An Account of the Loyal Mohammedans of India, No. II,' printed at Meerut in 1860; the second and third articles on the same subject appearing in the 'Pioneer' of the 4th and 14th April 1871, and the fourth in the 'Allypore Institute Gazette' of 12th May 1871. A most able article on Dr Hunter's work, which appeared in the 'Pioneer' of the 23d November 1871, has wellnigh exhausted the subject of *jihad*; but as there are one or two serious errors committed by Dr Hunter

which have still to be refuted, I will now refer to them as briefly as possible. At page 128 he says: "The Wahabis start with the declaration that India has become a country of the enemy, and from this they deduce the obligation of holy war against its rulers"; and again, at page 140, he repeats the same assertion in the following words: "The Wahabis, whose zeal is greater than their knowledge, deduce from the fact of India being technically a country of the enemy, the obligation to wage war upon its rulers." This is a perfectly groundless charge against the sect who, from the very fact of India having become *Dar-ul-Harb*, deemed *jihad* against Government unlawful. They therefore never waged war against it, not even during the great Mutiny of 1857. If Dr Hunter still maintains that he is right in the foregoing assertions, I would ask him to give us any authority showing that the Wahabis have ever declared *jihad* against the British in India to be lawful. The Mohammedan doctors of Mecca are the next to whom our author applies the rod. At page 123 he writes: "Still more significantly, the two most important decisions, that of the Mecca doctors and of Moulavi Abdul Hai, confine themselves to affirming that India is a country of Islam, and *most carefully avoid drawing the inference that rebellion is therefore unlawful*"; and again at page 130, he says: "I therefore view with extreme suspicion the decision of the doctors at Mecca—that stronghold of fanaticism and intolerant zeal—when they declare that India is a country of Islam; but who, instead of deducing therefrom, as the Calcutta Mohammedan Literary Society infer, that rebellion is therefore unlawful, leave it to their Indian coreligionists to draw the opposite conclusion—namely, that rebellion is therefore incumbent." I cannot see how this accusation can hold; as, if we refer to the question asked them, as given in Dr Hunter's appendix, we find that they were never consulted as to the lawfulness or otherwise of *jihad* in India. Why should they give a reply to what they were never asked? The inference drawn by Dr Hunter is very unfair.

Towards the end of the third chapter, Dr Hunter says that he has no hope of enthusiastic loyalty and friendship from the Mohammedans of India; the utmost he can expect from them is a cold acquiescence in British rule. If our author is so hopeless on account of our faith being that of Islam, let me commend to his attention the 85th verse, chapter v., of the Holy Koran (George Sale's translation): "Thou shalt surely find the most violent of all men in enmity against the true believers to be the Jews and the idolaters; and thou shalt surely find those among them to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for true believers who say we are Christians. This cometh to pass because they are not elated with pride." Like begets like; and if cold acquiescence is all that Mohammedans receive at the hands of the ruling race,

Dr Hunter must not be surprised at the cold acquiescence of the Mohammedan community. Let us both—Christians and Mohammedans—remember and act up to the words of Jesus Christ: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt. vii. 12). . . .

It is evident that as long as Mussulmans can preach the unity of God in perfect peace, no Mussulman can, according to his religion, wage war against the rulers of that country, of whatever creed they be. Next to the Holy Koran, the most authoritative and favourite works of the Wahbis are 'Bokhari' and 'Muslim,' and both of them say: "When our Prophet Mohammed marched against any infidel people to wage holy war upon them, he stopped the commencement of hostilities till morning, in order to find out whether the *azan* (call for prayer) was being called in the adjacent country. If so, he never fought with its inhabitants." His motive for this was, that from hearing the *azan* he (the Prophet) could at once ascertain whether the Moslems of the place could discharge their religious duties and ceremonies openly and without molestation. Now we Mohammedans of India live in this country with every sort of religious liberty; we discharge the duties of our faith with perfect freedom; we read our *azans* as loud as we wish; we can preach our faith on the public roads and thoroughfares as Christian missionaries preach theirs; we fearlessly write and publish our answers to the charges laid against Islam by the Christian clergy, and even publish works against the Christian faith; and last, though not least, we make converts of Christians to Islam without fear or prohibition.

My reply to Dr Hunter's question is, therefore, that in no case would it be the *religious* duty of any Mohammedan to renounce the *aman* of the English, and render help to the invader. Should they do so, they would be regarded as sinners against their faith, as they would then break that holy covenant which binds subjects to their rulers, and which it is the duty of the former to keep sacred to the last. I cannot, however, predict what the actual conduct of the Mussulmans would be in the event of an invasion of India by a Mohammedan or any other Power. He would be a bold man, indeed, who would answer for more than his intimate friends and relations, perhaps not even for them. The civil wars in England saw fathers fighting against sons, and brothers against brothers; and no one can tell what the conduct of a whole community would be in any great political convulsion. I have no doubt but that the Mussulmans would do what their political status—favourable or the contrary—would prompt them to do. I think Dr Hunter's crucial question might be put to the Hindu as well as to the Mohammedan community. It would be but fair to both parties. . . .

Dr Hunter then describes at length the causes which have im-

impoverished the Mohammedan community, and accuses Government of neglecting to educate that portion of its Indian subjects. I cannot hold Government wholly responsible for this. He says (page 174) that Mohammedans do not avail themselves of the Government system of education, because "the truth is, that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Mussulmans." There is a good deal of truth in this sentence; and I only join issue with Dr Hunter on the last clause—viz., that the system is regarded as "hateful to the religion of the Mussulmans." Dr Hunter connects, this with disaffection and disloyalty to Government; but as this is only his own opinion, I meet it with mine, and maintain that he is mistaken. As regards the present system of education, so eagerly embraced by the Hindus, but so repugnant to the ideas of Mohammedans, it must be borne in mind how wide is the difference between the two races. There are numerous classes of Hindus who are never in the habit of discussing the doctrines of their faith. They therefore had no objection to be educated in that which was even opposed to it. Mohammedans are, however, bound to know all the tenets of their faith, to discuss them, and to regulate their lives accordingly. It is on this account that they have hitherto refrained from availing themselves of an education taught through the medium of a foreign tongue, and which they therefore deem opposed to their belief. All history proves that the introduction of new theories, opposed to any established belief, was invariably regarded with suspicion and contempt. Socrates was condemned by his idolatrous fellow-countrymen to die for his belief in one God. The Copernican system was once hateful to many Christians, and those who embraced its doctrines were sometimes visited with capital punishment. Luther's was not a bed of roses. When Mohammedans adopted the Greek system of philosophy, many were the anathemas of the faithful. The theory of geologists, of the earth being older than it is stated to be in the Bible, raised a storm of indignation amongst orthodox Christians. The present age is one of progress, but Rome was not built in a day. It is not to be expected that Mohammedans, who are made of much sterner material than Hindus, will adapt themselves so readily to the various phases of this changing age. Let us have time—let us live, work, and wait. There are many reformers now at work, a fact which Dr Hunter does not, however, appear to be aware of. The system which Dr Hunter recommends for the education of Mohammedans does not commend itself to me, nor do I think it to be practicable. The object which he aims at will never be obtained by Government interference, but will certainly come to pass by our own exertion. At page 210, Dr Hunter writes: "We should thus at length have the

Mohammedan youth educated upon our own plan. Without interfering in any way with their religion, and in the very process of enabling them to learn their religious duties, we should render that religion perhaps less sincere, but certainly less fanatical. The rising generation of Mohammedans would tread the steps which have conducted the Hindus, not long ago the most bigoted nation upon earth, into their present state of easy tolerance. Such a tolerance implies a less earnest belief than their fathers had ; but it has freed them, as it would liberate the Mussulmans, from the cruelties which they inflicted, the crimes which they perpetrated, and the miseries which they endured, in the name of a mistaken religion. I do not permit myself here to touch upon the means by which, through a state of indifference, the Hindus and Mussulmans alike may yet reach a higher level of belief. But I firmly believe that day will come; and that our system of education, which has hitherto produced only negative virtues, is the first, although distant, stage towards it. Hitherto the English in India have been but poor iconoclasts after all." I cannot compliment our author upon a straightforward system of education. If Government do not deal openly and fairly with its Mohammedan subjects, if it deals with them in the underhand way recommended by Dr Hunter, I foresee much trouble both in our days and hereafter. Let it openly declare, in Macaulay's words, that "the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors ; that it gives an artificial encouragement to absurd history, to absurd metaphysics, forces a breed of scholars who find their scholarships an encumbrance and a blemish." These words still apply to the present system of education, though written as long ago as in 1853. Had Lord Macaulay's able minute been fully acted up to, we should have had a very different story to tell of education in this country. This is not, however, the place for a dissertation on the education of the people of India. I shall, at some future time, publish my views in their entirety on this important subject. The evils that now exist, however, owe their origin greatly to the want of union and sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, and ideas like Dr Hunter's only tend to widen the gap. I admit that owing to the difference in the mode of life, there is but a limited number of native gentlemen with whom European gentlemen can have cordial intercourse; but this number will, I trust, increase largely every year. Let sympathy and confidence be instilled into the minds of the native community, and this desirable consummation is not far off. Let Government also try to remove the impression now prevalent amongst Mohammedans, that it is inimical to them and desires their degradation. In conclusion, although cordially thanking Dr Hunter for the good feeling which he at times evinces towards my fellow-countrymen, I cannot but regret the style in which he

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OPENING OF THE ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE AT ALIGARH
(8 JANUARY 1877)

Ever since his return from England, says Graham, Syed Ahmed had been canvassing all parts of the country for funds for the establishment of his college, which was to be independent of Government, and which would provide religious instruction for scholars, not only Mohammedans but of all denominations. He had formed some of the more enlightened of the Mohammedan community into "a Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India"; and the endeavours of this Committee were directed, as Syed Ahmed said in a small pamphlet which he published, to the investigation of the causes which prevented the Mohammedan community from availing themselves adequately of Government educational institutions, and to provide means by which they might be reconciled to the study of Western arts and sciences. The Committee offered three prizes for the best essays on the subject, and no less than thirty-two essays were sent in. 'The Pioneer,' in an article written some years later (1877), gave the following opinion on them :

Thirty-two essays were sent in, and the honorary secretary of the Committee, in a long report now before us, has given an abstract of the arguments advanced by the essayists. The reasons why Mussulmans object to the education imparted by the State are classified in the secretary's report under the following heads :

1. *Absence of religious education.*
2. *Effect of English education in producing disbelief in faith.*
3. *Corruption of morals, politeness, and courtesy.*
4. *Prejudices, which are thus enumerated:*

That to read English is unlawful, and forbidden by the law laws of Islam. That in Government colleges and schools Mohammedans are not allowed time to attend to their religious duties and to go to their Friday prayers. That there are no Mohammedan masters in Government colleges and schools. That the Hindu and Christian masters pay no attention to Mohammedan pupils, and that they treat them with severity. That the masters in Government colleges schools are not generally well behaved, that their manners are generally depraved, and that they do not perfectly explain the lessons to their pupils. That the Mohammedans regard the sciences contained in works in foreign languages as of little value in comparison with those in their own, and the professors of these sciences are men of little learning and ability. That the Government system of education is opposed to their national habits and customs.

5. *The faults of the Government system of education, which are re-*

presented as exhibited chiefly in the following circumstances.

That the entire management of education is in the hands of one director, who does not consult the feelings of the Mussulmans. That superfluous subjects are taught, which distract the attention of the students from important subjects. That a sufficient number of teachers is not provided, and instruction is given to the boys without any reference to their natural inclinations and capacities. That sciences are taught through the medium of English, which enhances the difficulty of the subject to beginners. That the method of examination does not secure a thorough knowledge on the subject, and encourages cramming. That oriental languages are not properly taught, and books containing matter hostile to Islam have been introduced in the Government colleges and schools.

6. *Habits and manners of the Mussalman population.*

These are thus stated:

- (a) That the richer classes educate their children at home, and think it below their position to send them away from home to Government educational institutions, where children of all classes are allowed to associate with each other.
- (b) That they, moreover, having ample means of livelihood, owing to a foolish fondness for their children, consider education unnecessary for them.
- (c) That the higher classes of Mussulmans are dissipated, and that even the middle classes are naturally indolent, indifferent to education, and improvident.
- (d) That the Mussulmans not being generally on terms of friendly intercourse with Englishmen, there is no influence that can make English education, popular amongst them.
- (e) That the Mussulmans having a hereditary liking for the military profession, have no great desire to acquire learning.

The "Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among Mohammedans" decided, at a meeting held at Benares, that they were not bound to "consider and determine upon such means only which might suit the present age, and which might now be practicable"; but that they had also to consider "the means which, quite irrespective of the existing circumstances, might be of real use to Mohammedans in the future." They had "to look forward to and inaugurate an educational system for future generations, although such a system could not possibly be brought into working order all at once; they could consider the fabric as a whole, and commence such portions of it as are at present feasible." It was then agreed that "the times and spirits of the age, the sciences, and the results of these sciences, have all been altered. The old Mohammedan book and the tone of their writers do not teach the followers of Islam independence

of thought, perspicuity, and simplicity; nor do they enable them to arrive at the truth of matters in general. On the contrary, they deceive and teach men to veil their meaning to embellish their speech with fine words, to describe things wrongly and in irrelevant terms, to flatter with false praise, to live in a state of bondage, to puff themselves up with pride, haughtiness, vanity, and self-conceit to their fellow-creatures, to have no sympathy with them, to speak with exaggeration, to leave the history of the past uncertain, and to relate facts like tales and stories."

With sentiments so antagonistic to the old system of Mohammedan education, it was not to be expected that the bulk of the Mohammedan population would have much sympathy. The endeavours of the Committee, therefore, met with great opposition at first, and it is only owing to the firmness and patience with which the Committee entered upon their labours that we hear of a Mohammedan college actually in existence at this moment. The principles upon which the institution is based resemble those on which public schools in England are organised. One main feature of the college which distinguishes it from other educational institutions in India is, that most of the students are obliged to live within its precincts, thus removed from the injurious influences which in an Indian home prejudice the growth of a young mind. To Europeans, a rule of this kind would not appear to be very rigorous; but those who are acquainted with the inner life of the natives of this country will easily understand the difficulties which the promoters of the college have to encounter in inducing parents to send their children to a place of education where such a rule is compulsory. "The Committee for the diffusion and advancement of learning amongst Mohammedans" subsequently assumed the name of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee, and directed its efforts towards raising funds for a college to be conducted upon principles of English education, and at the same time to impart instruction in oriental languages and Mohammedan religion. The main object of the institution is to impart liberal instruction to the children of the better classes of the Mussulman community,—to make them regard English education, not as a mere technical training for Government service but as necessary to a gentleman whether of Western or oriental birth. The college course will last about five years, excluding the school course, which extends over four years, during which boys go through the education preparatory for the higher course. The chief subjects to be taught in the college are:

- I. *Languages*: English and Arabic (including elementary Mohammedan theology).
- II. *Moral Sciences*: (1) Logic, Rhetoric, Mental and Moral Philosophy; (2) Political Economy, Political Philosophy, and Science

of History.

III. *Natural Philosophy*: (1) Mathematics, (2) Natural Sciences.

IV. *Mohammedan Law, Jurisprudence, and Theology*.

The last meeting of the Committee was held on the 15th April 1872, and it was then resolved that "The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee" should be formed, which Committee gave existence to the present College at Allygurh.

In October 1873, Syed Mahmud returned from Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn a barrister-at-law, and his father gave a dinner to celebrate the occasion. It was remarkable as being the first dinner in these provinces at which Mohammedan and English gentlemen sat down together. There were upwards of forty at table, Syed Ahmed at the top and I at the bottom. An amusing episode occurred. Alongside one of the Mohammedan gentlemen, who happened to have a great sense of humour, and who had already dined privately with Europeans, was a certain Nawab whose maiden dinner it was with us. After the soup, when the first course came round, he whispered to his more experienced neighbour, "What is this dish?" "Soor (pig)," was the prompt reply. That dish was of necessity hastily passed on untouched by the Nawab. The same thing occurred when the next dish was presented to him, and he would have starved had not the wag taken pity on him and let out the joke. I wish Mr Wilfrid Blunt could have been present that night, one of the many that I have spent with my native gentlemen friends. He could not have asserted in the 'Fortnightly' lately that the native gentleman takes his dinner sadly with us. In April 1874 I was transferred from Benares, and Syed Ahmed and other native gentlemen gave me a dinner and evening party, at which many Mohammedan and European gentlemen dined together, and numbers of Hindu gentlemen were present. The dinner was given in the fairy-like gardens of my good friend Raja Shambu Narain Sinha. Speeches were interdicted from headquarters, greatly to the annoyance of Syed Ahmed. Some days after this all my native friends saw my wife and myself off at the railway station, and the last we saw and heard was old Syed Ahmed waving his fez cap above his venerable head, leading three cheers for us. I next met him at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi in December 1876.

The ceremony of the opening of the College took place on the 24th May 1875, but actual work commenced on the 1st June, when some of the school classes were formed. On the 12th November of this year Sir William Muir visited the College and delivered the following address:

MY FRIENDS, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, NAWABS, AND SUPPORTERS OF THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE,—I am very glad to be here on this interesting occasion, and to be able to congratulate the

Committee on finding that the institution has reached so practical and prosperous a stage; and I specially wish my friend Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadoor joy at the desire he has so long cherished as the chief wish of his heart receiving the first fruit of its fulfilment.

I had two objects in making this visit to Allypore: First, you have done me the honour of appointing me a visitor of this college, and in pursuance of that office it was incumbent on me to inspect the institution, observe its progress, and offer any advice which the circumstances might demand. Next, when I contributed to the funds of this project, it was on the condition that the amount should be appropriated strictly to the furtherance of secular studies, and of European science and literature; and I thought that it would be satisfactory, as well to the Committee as to myself, to inquire upon the spot how far the arrangements for the separate pursuit of these secular studies were in actual operation before completing my donation. I need not say, after the report which has just been read, that the promised arrangements have been faithfully and fully carried out.

I take this opportunity of making a few remarks on the relations in which we English stand to this Mohammedan college, and the conditions under which it appears to me that it can be legitimately aided by us who profess the Christian faith. The great majority of mankind agree in this, that the education of the young should be upon the religious basis; few dispute it as an abstract principle. The youthful mind is like a newly planted twig: bend the branch, and in after-years it will remain always crooked; train it straight and upright, so it will be hereafter. If childhood is passed without the inculcation of those high truths which influence the life—the sense of a personal deity, the consciousness of right and wrong, the doctrine of rewards and punishments,—the probabilities are, that the restraints against vice and self-indulgence will be permanently weakened. On the contrary, the earlier instruction, moral and religious, is imparted, the more it is assimilated with the constitution, and the more efficacious it becomes.

Altius precepta descendunt, quae teneris imprimuntur aetatibus.
This dictum of the Roman philosopher is true for all peoples and all ages. The branch retains its bent.

Then why, it may be asked, does our Government not recognise the principle? The reply is obvious. Many hold that even where a nation is of one faith, it is not the business of the State to introduce religion into its schools. But however this may be, it is evident that where there are different religions, the objections and obstacles are vastly multiplied and may become insuperable. Such is the case in India. If the State were to inculcate Christianity in its schools and colleges, the Hindus and the Mohammedans would naturally object; and a Christian Government could not inculcate the tenets of Hinduism or Islam. The State in its

schools is not indeed unmindful of the great and fundamental principles of morality; but religion the State must leave to be taught and enforced at home; it becomes the duty of the parents in their domestic training to supply the want. Many, too, would probably hold that any other course was inconsistent with the gracious assurance of the Queen, who, when assuming the direct administration of this Government, declared that while herself placing a firm reliance on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of the Christian religion, disclaimed alike the right and the desire to impose her own convictions upon her Indian subjects.

But when, apart from any official relation to the Government, we come to act in our private capacity, we are free to follow our own convictions, and it is then our general practice personally to support those institutions in which education is founded on religious principles. Believing ourselves in the divine origin of Christianity and the inestimable blessings it confers, we, thus, in our individual and private capacity, support those seminaries of youth in which education is based upon the truths of the Christian faith.

Now it is precisely because we hold these principles and make this our practice that we can fully recognise the corresponding principles upon which, from a Mohammedan point of view, this college has been founded, and can sympathise so far with the action of this Committee. And although, holding the Christian faith, we cannot ourselves contribute towards the inculcation of the tenets of Islam, we can yet fully approve the wide and liberal basis upon which the college is established. And more than this, in so far as the teaching of secular learning, history, science, and literature are separately communicated to the students, I for one am prepared to aid in rendering this department of the college, as it promises to be, thoroughly efficient towards its end.

And, in truth, the grand benefits to be secured from the instruction of your pupils with a wide range of literature and scientific knowledge are so great that they cannot possibly be overestimated. It is thus that the mind and sympathies of the youth will be enlarged. The knowledge of history and of foreign lands will correct views otherwise narrowed by the sole contemplation of what is immediately around, and enable the youth to expatiate in the experience of other ages and of other nations than their own; their minds will be improved by acquaintance with the great discoveries, mechanical and scientific, of later times; and their view will be elevated and expanded by contemplation of the works of the Creator in the starry heavens, and the wonders of nature here on earth. If you ascend even a little eminence in the country, the view expands, and the survey becomes more distant and comprehensive. Some of you have been in the Himalayan hills. So long as you remain

in a valley, the landscape is confined; you see but a few villages, and these perhaps obscured by cloud and mist. Such is the state of ignorance and narrow-mindedness in which neglected youth is left. But as you ascend, the circle amplifies; new hills, new scenes open out before you; still higher, the great plains of Hindustan, mapped as it were for hundreds of miles around, stretch into sight, and the horizon is seen farther and farther in the widening distance; and if you mount yet higher, the glorious range of snow with its dazzling peaks rises into view, and the whole soul kindles at the sight. The narrowness and obscurity have gone, and a far-seeing and unbounded expansiveness taken their place. Even such is the effect of the higher education and pursuit of liberal studies. We justly expect that they will tend to expand the views and enlarge the sympathies of the youth here educated; fit them to be happier and more useful in life, and, as we may trust, draw them into closer bonds by a similarity of taste and knowledge with ourselves; in short, impart humanity in the best and highest sense.

And now one word of advice to the boys themselves. Knowledge is not the sole or highest object of your education here. Let the *eleves* of the Allygurh College be known not only for their learning, but also for their probity and faithfulness; for truth, obedience to their parents, and discharge of all the relative duties of life; for purity and self-restraint; for sympathy and consideration for the wants of others. Let those within your reach be the better and the happier for you. The pillar of social morality is just this, that you should share and lighten the burdens of your neighbour.

And when you have finished your course here, do not deem your education as if it were complete. The true student is a student all his life. You will seek to benefit your country by your learning; you will endeavour to impart to others the blessings you have yourselves received, to extend sound education, and to raise the social standard around you. It has often lain a heavy burden on my heart to see how few of your coreligionists frequent any place of education, and to think how many hundreds of thousands are left thus in utter ignorance. Let it be your aim to aid in removing the reproach. If your studies do not produce such fruits as these, they will fail of their true object. There is a kind of knowledge that is mechanical and fruitless. In the Koran it is likened to the loading of books upon an ass—*ka masal il himari yakmilu asfaran*: the ass is not a whit the wiser or the better for his load. See that this be not the case with any of you; but let the fruits be manifest in a God-fearing, honest, and useful life.

I have often while in these provinces lamented the custom by which the females of India are left in ignorance, and have urged upon you the necessity, if you would really seek to elevate the social position of the people, of educating your girls. And here once more I would

advert to the subject, for I feel persuaded that until this is done no real advance will be permanently secured. I lately saw in the papers the account of an excellent school established at Cairo by one of the wives of his Highness the Khedive of Egypt. This lady erected for the purpose a beautiful building, and procured a lady from Syria, called Sitt Rosa, with a staff of teachers. There are 200 boarders and 100 day-scholars; and they are taught all kinds of needlework, European and oriental, besides reading and writing and useful knowledge. As I read, I thought to myself—Would that some native lady in these provinces might follow this example! Such, now, is a specimen of the way in which each and all of you might become useful to your fellow-countrymen.

Sir William Muir then acknowledged the munificent patronage of his Highness the Nawab of Rampore, G.C.S.I., and of his Highness the Maharajah of Patiala, G.C.S.I., towards the college; and the aid of Sir Salar Jang, G.C.S.I., who had accepted the office of visitor. Nawab Asghur Ally, Minister of the Nawab of Rampore, would be able to communicate to his Highness in what a promising state of forwardness Sir W. Muir had found the institution to be. Of the local gentry, Rajah Syed Bakar Ally Khan, Talookdar of Pundrawal, Lutf Ally Khan of Chittaree, and Inayatoola Khan of Bheekumpore, were also mentioned with commendation.

Moulvie Samee-colla, the Subordinate Judge of Allygurh, had devoted himself heart and soul to the institution; and the rapid progress already attained was in great measure due to him.

Mohammed Obeidoolla Khan, Sahebzada of Tonk, was mentioned as present with three of the Nawab's cousins, whose education at the college would show the confidence reposed in the institution by leading men in that State.

Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., being himself one of his auditors, Sir W. Muir would refrain from dilating on what the college owed to him. As he had said before, that which had been the fond desire of his heart for many years, was now in fair course of being fulfilled; and the consciousness of this would be his highest reward.

Finally, Sir W. Muir had great pleasure in assuring the Committee of the warm interest taken in the institution by the Viceroy himself. Before leaving Simla, Lord Northbrook had told him that, if other public engagements should admit of his doing so, his Excellency would be prepared in the spring to lay the foundation-stone of the College.

Sir W. Muir then acknowledged the valuable assistance which the college had received from Mr Deighton, Principal of the Agra College, who had honoured them with his presence. And he concluded by saying that he trusted yet, before retiring from India, to see the college build-

ings well completed, and the institution in full working order. But whether or no, he would always feel the deepest interest in its progress, and from England be delighted to hear accounts from time to time of its consolidation and prosperity.

In 1876, after thirty-seven years' service, Syed Ahmed retired on his pension, and took up his abode at Allygurh. In October 1876, Sir William Muir again visited Allygurh on his way home, and was presented by Mohammedans with a beautifully engrossed address in a sandal-wood box mounted in chaste silver. In the course of their address they announced that they had raised a fund to establish a scholarship, to be called after his name. "This," they said, "will be for our future generations a memorial of your zeal for Western learning, combined with your attention to the sciences of the Arabs, and an enduring record of the deep impression which you have left on our minds, and your noble exertions on our behalf."

Sir William Muir replied as follows, first in Urdu and then in English:

MY FRIENDS,—I receive your address with feelings of high gratification. It is a matter of the deepest satisfaction to me that, in my administration of these provinces, I should in any measure have secured the confidence of the great Mohammedan body which you represent. I feel but too conscious how far I have come short of deserving the eulogiums you have bestowed upon me; yet that I should have done anything in the least degree to elicit this generous expression of your feelings, I must ever regard with pride and thankfulness. Receive, then, in return, the warm reciprocation of my regard, and my sincere sorrow at the prospect of bidding a final farewell to friends among whom I have lived during the greater part of my life, and whom I so highly and affectionately esteem.

The form in which you propose to perpetuate the memory of my residence among you is the one which of all others most approves itself to my sympathy and judgment. I have long appreciated the study of the noble language in which the address is so simply and elegantly written, and have myself beguiled many an hour in the company of the early Arabic writers. I look to the highest advantages being gained by your race in India from the study of your beautiful and classical language, combined with the study of the literature and science of the West, and it is the combination which has led me to take so special an interest in the Mohammedan College of Allygurh. It was therefore with no common feelings of pleasure that I learned your design of endowing a scholarship in my name having this object in view. May your liberal project long promote this enlightened

purpose; and while in but too kind and partial a spirit, it commemorates my own humble exertions, may this endowment serve to stimulate the ingenuous youth of the Mohammedans of Upper India to a more strenuous study and appreciation of the Arabic language.

My friends, as for yourselves, I gladly bear witness to your many virtues. During the whole course of my administration I have ever found the Mussulmans of Upper India faithful to the Queen; and, amongst their superior ranks, very many who have been forward to support the British Government in its great work of promoting the prosperity and elevating the social and moral condition of the people.

I shall carry with me, and ever bear in heart, the memory of the goodness I have experienced at your hands, and of associations which have enshained many amongst you in the number of friends very dear to me. Farewell! and may every blessing attend you. Your sincere and faithful friend,

W. MUIR.

In December 1876 my wife and I went up to Delhi for the Imperial Assemblage and met Syed Ahmed after a parting of over two years. One day in writing to my old friend his Highness the Maharaja of Benares, who was at the Assemblage, I put the letters G.C.S.I. after his name on the envelope. A few days afterwards he came over to me quite excited, and asked me how I had known that he was to get the Grand Cross of the Star of India, as he had only received intimation that it had been bestowed upon him that morning! Syed Ahmed, years afterwards, on my telling him of this curious coincidence, reminded me that I had, in 1863, told him that I should see him in Council. Curiously enough, I also told Syed Mahmud, when he came out from England in 1873, that he would be the first native Judge in the High Court, North-West Provinces. . . .

On the night of the 7th January we went to Allypore as Syed Ahmed's guests to witness the laying the foundation of his college by Lord Lytton. As the Viceregal party were to occupy Syed Ahmed's house, he lodged us in a house close by, and entertained us regally.

'The Pioneer' of the 8th contained an article on "Mohammedan Education," of which the following is an extract: "The ceremony which takes place to-day at Allypore marks the great progress already made by one of the most thoroughly sound and promising movements ever set on foot for the advancement of Indian education. The name of Syed Ahmed Khan, the principal promoter of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, will be held in grateful remembrance in the future by large masses of his countrymen, who may as yet hardly appreciate the importance of the influence he has brought to bear upon their intellectual and political development. The rising college bids fair to be a real force in this country, and its expansion is guaranteed by the fact that

it is entirely spontaneous in its growth—the fruit, that is to say, of purely native sagacity and determination, in no way an exotic institution planted by Government and watered by official favour."

Lord and Lady Lytton and party arrived at Allypore on the 8th and the following is the account of the ceremony from the pen of the special correspondent of 'The Pioneer':

One of the most important movements in connection with the progress of the more advanced section of the Mohammedan body in India has to-day assumed a tangible shape, which cannot fail to attract considerable attention both from intelligent natives and from the Anglo-Indian community. It has long been recognised that a spirit of enlightened advancement has of late begun to make itself felt among the higher class of Mohammedans in India, and the untiring energy of Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadoor, certainly one of the most remarkable men of his race, has brought about results which a few years ago would have seemed impossible. With a depth of insight which was as well guided as it was original in its working, Syed Ahmed recognised the all-important fact that if the Mohammedan population was to assume a position in which its abilities and natural powers would have full play, it would be necessary to accept Western ideas of education, and to break through the prejudices which held his countrymen in check. Without such a system of education as would enable a Mohammedan youth to compete with English rivals for place and advancement under the Government of the country, he saw at once that the severest efforts would fail to accomplish any great purpose, and that, however supreme his own influence might be in life, it would inevitably pass away when his personal attention was withdrawn. But if, by a process of constant and unwearying labour, he was able to establish a new order of things which might, in the ordinary course of events, exercise a direct and permanent effect upon the whole Mohammedan body, then he became convinced that such labour should be given freely and ungrudgingly, as the end to be attained would contain its own reward. The elevation, morally and socially, of a race with traditions and superstitions equal to, if not surpassing, those of any Western Power, was in itself a task from which most orientals would have shrunk; but even persecution of the most bigoted kind could not deter the leader of advanced Islam in India from steadily pursuing his own course. The establishment of a college, framed as nearly as possible upon the lines of the English universities, was the particular form which his ideas assumed; and after extraordinary difficulties and opposition, he has so far broken down the barriers of his conservative countrymen that the foundation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College has become possible. The support accorded, not only by members of Syed Ahmed's creed, but by philanthropic Englishmen and broad-minded Hindus,

has been so liberal, that a future of infinite promise appears to be extended before the institution. This is not the first time that allusion has been made to the college and its special objects, and it is exceedingly gratifying that the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the building to-day was presided over by the Viceroy in person, and that his Excellency was privileged to meet a large body of representative Mohammedans whose loyalty is above reproach, and whose eagerness to advance the social condition of their fellows is based upon no selfish or unworthy motives.

Lord Lytton arrived at Allygurh by special train from Patiala at nine o'clock this morning, and was met at the station by Mr Pollock, C.S. (Commissioner of the Division); Mr Chase, C.S. (the local judge); Mr James Colvin (the collector and magistrate); Syed Ahmed Khan, the president; (Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan) and vice-president of the College Fund Committee; and by the civil officers of the station. The Viceroy's party included Lady Lytton, Lord and Lady Downe, Dr Thornton, Lieutenant-Colonel Burne, C.S.I.; Dr Barnett; Captain Ross and Captain the Honourable G. Villiers (aides-de-camp). Breakfast was served at the residence of Syed Ahmed, at which a number of native gentlemen, members of the Committee, were presented to his Excellency; and a visit was afterwards paid to the present college, where the limited number of students were displaying laudable anxiety to be interviewed, on account, it is to be supposed, of the exceptional position they occupied as the first children of their Indian *alma mater*. Lord Lytton then returned to his host's house, and at noon a procession of carriages was formed to the *shamiana* which had been erected on the college grounds, and which was already nearly filled by a large number of Mohammedan gentlemen. The privileged few who accompanied the Viceregal party were Mr Pollock, Mr Chase, Mr Colvin, Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat Khan, C.S.I.; Rajah Shambhu Narain Singh, Bahadoor; Rajah Jykishen Dass, Bahadoor, C.S.I.; Rai Kishen Kumar, Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan, and Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan. Lord Lytton was received by Syed Ahmed, and the whole of the assembly rose as his Excellency entered the *shamiana*. To the right were the seats of the native gentlemen, who had attended from all parts of the country; representatives from the Punjab, from the Deccan, and from Lower Bengal, being among the number of those present. Mr Keene, C.S., Mr Deighton, and Mr George Ross were among the Europeans on the platform. The *shamiana* itself was very tastefully arranged, and the decorations being mainly of evergreens, a striking contrast was presented between the vivid colours of the native costumes and the rich hues of the festoons which draped the sides of the temporary structure. At some little distance from the central place of attraction a large crowd of natives had assembled, and the interest displayed in the proceedings was apparently all-absorb-

ing. The college grounds are of considerable extent, and ample accommodation was afforded to all who might wish to witness the ceremony. On the outskirts were drawn up vehicles innumerable, and the presence of a few elephants with gaudy howdahs served to add to the general picturesque effect.

As soon as the Viceroy was seated, after acknowledgment of his reception, Mr Syed Mahmud stepped forward and read the following address, in which the objects sought to be obtained in the establishment of the college are clearly stated:

ADDRESS

To H.E. the Right Hon. EDWARD ROBERT LYTTON BULWER-LYTTON,
Baron LYTTON of Knebworth, G.M.S.I., Viceroy and
Governor-General of India.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—On an occasion like the present, when we, the loyal subjects of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India, are assembled here from all parts of this vast empire to inaugurate the foundation of an educational institution, the first of its kind in this country, it will not be out of place to express in a public manner the profound gratitude which we feel for the great attention which the English Government in India has paid to the education of our countrymen. It is, indeed, only doing justice to our feelings when we say that never before in the history of the world has one nation so striven to raise the moral and intellectual state of another. But whilst fully sensible of the gratitude which we owe to the English Government for those generous efforts in our behalf, we may be permitted to hold it as an undoubted truth that no nation can ever become truly civilised till it takes upon itself the all-important though difficult task of self-education. We may go even further and say that the greatest efforts on the part of the Government in matters of this kind must more or less depend for their success on the support which they receive from the people. From the very outset it has, we believe, been the object and desire of our rulers that, while they on their part lent all possible support and countenance, the people of this country should ultimately learn to take into their own hands the management of national education.

We, the Mussulman subjects of her Imperial Majesty, consider ourselves more particularly bound in gratitude to the Government of India for its having of late years shown so strong a disposition to advance the cause of education amongst our community, and for issuing directions to the provincial Governments to adopt special measures to supply our intellectual needs. That we have not availed ourselves

so fully as we might of the education offered by the State, is due to a variety of causes. The social conditions of our community—the traditions of the past, to which time has lent a charm, no less vague than prejudicial—the religious feelings inculcated with our earliest infancy—have been, and still are, obstacles to a thorough appreciation of English education. So different in many respects are our educational wants from those of the rest of the population of India, that the best measures which the Government can adopt, consistently with its policy, must still be inadequate; and even if it were not opposed to the wise policy of Government to interfere in matters of religion, it would be beyond its powers to remove difficulties which owe their strength to religious ideas, and will only yield to theological discussion. The Government could neither introduce a system of religious instruction, nor could it direct its efforts towards contending with the prejudices of a race by whom religion is regarded not merely as a matter of abstract belief but also as the ultimate guide in the most ordinary secular concerns of life. The treatment which the question of Mohammedan education has in this respect received at the hands of the Government, is fully appreciated by us, and leaves no room for any kind of dissatisfaction or complaint.

Recognising the difficulties which had thus prevented the Government educational system from fully exercising its beneficial effects upon the intellectual and moral condition of our community, a few of its more advanced members determined to establish a college upon principles which should meet the wishes and supply the educational wants of the members of our faith. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was accordingly formed to carry out this object. Their endeavours had at first to encounter a very formidable opposition from the bulk of the Mussulman community—an opposition due to the same causes that had kept Mohammedans away from the Government colleges and schools throughout the country. But the supporters of the new movement met this opposition with firmness and patience, and their efforts have been crowned with a large measure of success. The opposition, at one time so dangerous, is gradually dying away, and the promoters of the scheme may well be proud that their endeavours have reached the stage at which your Excellency finds them to-day. Trusting to that sympathy which, in a well-governed country, must always exist between the dominant race and those over whom they bear rule, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee determined to invite subscriptions from the English community as well as from the members of their own faith. Nor did the Committee omit to ask the aid of their Hindu fellow-countrymen; for they felt that neither race nor creed would, with rightly thinking men, stand in the way of support to an undertaking

such as theirs. Their expectations have in both cases been amply justified, and it is our pleasant duty to make mention of the chief benefactors of this college.

Foremost among them stands your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Northbrook, whose handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 has, by his desire, been devoted to the founding of scholarships which will be called after his name—a name the Mussulmans of India have good reason to hold in high honour.

Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., whom the people of this country will long remember for his interest in everything connected with education, showed his warm sympathy with this project, not only by his personal liberality, but by granting us, when Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, the spacious grounds on which the buildings of this college will stand. These grounds will be laid out as a park, which, in token of the gratitude we justly owe to Sir W. Muir, will be called after his name.

To Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I., late Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, no less a measure of our thanks is due. At a time when the Committee stood in urgent need of help—when its endeavours were most in danger from the opposition of those who, having influence in the country, would have used it against us without pausing to consider the importance of the effort being made—he not only helped us munificently from his own purse but also made us a special grant from the money annually allotted by Government to the department of Public Instruction. This timely assistance has enabled the Committee to open the school department, the classes in which are gradually working up to the course laid down for the college. But what the Committee values most is the genuine sympathy which he has shown towards our endeavours, and the outspoken manner in which he has countenanced our schemes. That there may be some record, however insufficient, of our feelings of deep respect and affection towards one who has deserved so well of us, the central hall of the college buildings will receive the name of the "Strachey Hall."

To your Excellency we find it difficult to express in fitting terms the loyal gratitude with which we regard the honour you to-day confer upon us by condescending to grace a ceremony which has drawn together so large a number of our countrymen from all parts of India. To preserve the memory of an act so indicative of that true interest in the welfare of her Imperial Majesty's Indian subjects which has characterised your Excellency's administration, we have, by your Excellency's gracious permission, determined to call the library of the college after your Excellency's name; and we entertain a sincere hope that the building will not be unworthy of the honour which it thus receives.

Conspicuous amongst those who, without having any especial

connection with this country, have taken an interest in our labours and supported them by their generosity, is the name of Lord Stanley of Alderley. To him and to our other friends in England, the founders of this college would tender their warmest thanks. The record of their goodwill preserved in the archives of this college will, in after-ages, serve to show that the generous sympathy of a warm-hearted nation was not grudged to the Mussulmans of India when making an independent effort to raise themselves in the intellectual scale.

But while recounting the benefactors of this college, it would be ungracious to mention those to whom we owe material support, and to pass by those whose advice and co-operation have been scarcely less essential to the success of our undertaking. Especially would we acknowledge our obligations to Mr K. Deighton, the President, and to Mr J. Elliott and Mr W. H. Smith, members of our Committee of Directors of Secular Education. Their assistance, so readily given, is a guarantee that the course of instruction laid down for our college will be sound and liberal, and that the progress of our students will receive watchful supervision.

To our Hindu friends also our thanks are largely due. Foremost among them is the name, remembered by us with no less sorrow than gratitude, of his Highness Sir Maharao Raja Mohandar Singh, Mohandar Bahadoor, G. C. S. I., the late Maharajah of Patiala, whose munificent contributions to the college amount to no less than Rs. 58,000. Their Highnesses the Maharajah of Vizianagram, K.C.S.I., and the Maharajah of Benares, head the list, which includes the names of many liberal-minded Hindu gentlemen, whose philanthropy forbids them to recognise distinctions of race and creed. In their large-hearted public spirit we see the germs of that true toleration and genuine sympathy which are the direct result of peace and good government.

At the enthusiastic response which the members of our faith have made to the appeal of the Committee, all true friends of India will, we are sure, rejoice. The countenance shown to the scheme by his Excellency Sir Salar Jang, G. C. S. I., and through him by the Government of his Highness the Nizam, has added gratitude to those feelings of sincere respect and true admiration with which his enlightened efforts on behalf of civilisation have always been regarded by the people of this country, and which make him an illustrious ornament of the nobility of India. His Excellency's sympathy with our efforts, and his acceptance of the office of visitor of the college, have conferred on our humble endeavours a prestige which must make English education attractive to the highest classes of our countrymen. As a mark of our gratitude to his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, who has endowed the college with the princely sum of Rs. 90,000, the Committee has determined to call the museum of the college after his Highness's name.

With similar feelings of grateful pride we would mention the name

of his Highness Nawab Mohammad Kalb Ali Khan, Bahadoor, G.C.S.I., Nawab of Rampur, who, as patron of the Committee, is closely concerned with our labours, and whose generosity has been most liberally extended to our scheme. His Highness's unavoidable absence on the present occasion is the only circumstance which mars our otherwise unalloyed pleasure.

The Committee has further to express its best thanks to Khalifa Syed Mohammad Hassan Khan, Bahadoor, of Patiala, whose enlightened zeal has largely contributed to our success.

Nor should the names be forgotten of Nawab Faiz Ali Khan, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I., of Pahasu; Kanwar Mohammad Lutf Ali Khan, of Chhatari; Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan, of Pindrawal; Khwaja Ahsanullah, Khan Bahadoor, of Dacca; and Mohammad Inayatolla Khan, of Bhikampur,—all of whom have shown a warm appreciation of the objects of the Committee and a generosity worthy of the importance of the movement.

The college, of which your Excellency is about to lay the foundation-stone, differs in many important respects from all other educational institutions which this country has seen. There have before been schools and colleges founded and endowed by private individuals. There have been others built by sovereigns and supported by the revenues of the State. But this is the first time in the history of the Mohammedans of India that a college owes its establishment, not to the charity or love of learning of an individual, not to the splendid patronage of a monarch, but to the combined wishes and the united efforts of a whole community. It has its origin in causes which the history of this country has never witnessed before. It is based upon principles of toleration and progress such as find no parallel in the annals of the East. The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon the world has ever seen. That a race living in a distant region, differing from us in language, in manners, in religion—in short, in all that distinguishes the inhabitants of one country from those of another—should triumph over the barriers which nature has placed in its way, and unite under one sceptre the various peoples of this vast continent, is in itself wonderful. But that they, who have thus become the masters of the soil, should rule its inhabitants, not with those feelings and motives which inspired the conquerors of the ancient world, but should make it the first principle of their government to advance the happiness of the millions of a subject race, by establishing peace, by administering justice, by spreading education, by introducing the comforts of life which modern civilisation has bestowed upon mankind, is to us a manifestation of the hand of Providence, and an assurance of long life to the union of India with England. To make these facts clear to the minds of our countrymen, to educate them, so that they may be able to appreciate these blessings;

to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress; to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on our race; to reconcile oriental learning with Western literature and science; to inspire the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West; to make the Mussulmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown; to inspire in them that loyalty which springs, not from servile submission to a foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of a good government,—these are the objects which the founders of the college have prominently in view. And looking at the difficulties which stood in our way, and the success which has already been achieved, we do not doubt that we shall continue to receive, even in larger measure, both from the English Government and from our own countrymen, that liberal support which has furthered our scheme, so that from the seed which we sow to-day there may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth, and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings; that this college may expand into a university, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, of large-hearted toleration, and of pure morality.

And now, before asking your Excellency to lay the foundation-stone of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, we cannot refrain from expressing a feeling which, we are sure, fills the bosoms, not only of those here present but of the whole Mussulman community—the feeling of pride that the laying of the foundation-stone of a Mohammedan College should be the first public ceremony in which the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, as the representative of that august Sovereign whose reign has added to the welfare of millions, has taken part since the assumption by her Imperial Majesty of her title of Empress of India. And allied to this sentiment, to which the oriental mind attaches no small importance, is one which we shall ever cherish—the feeling of deep and grateful satisfaction that the foundation-stone of the first national institution for the propagation of learning among the Mussulmans of India was laid by one to whom literature is an inheritance, and whose name is illustrious alike in the world of letters and in that of politics.

Signed on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee by

ALLYGURH,
the 8th January 1877.

LUTF ALI KHAN, *President*.
SYED BAKAR ALI KHAN, *Vice-President*.
SYED AHMED, *Honorary Secretary*.

His Excellency listened very attentively to the address, and expressed his assent with the more forcibly stated opinions in an unmistakable way. Mr Syed Mahmud gave expression to the views contained in this exhaustive document—for the movement was explained and justified in the most elaborate manner—with emphasis, and with appreciation of the importance of the sentiments sought to be conveyed; and upon the conclusion of the address he presented the parchment copy, enclosed in a silver casket, to Lord Lytton, who in return made the following response:

GENTLEMEN,—I cannot doubt that the ceremony on behalf of which we are now assembled, constitutes an epoch in the social progress of India under British rule, which is no less creditable to the past than pregnant with promise for the future. In this belief I rejoice that I have been able to take part in it; and I cordially reciprocate the sentiments expressed in the address with which you have greeted me. Your regretful acknowledgment of the peculiar difficulties which have hitherto beset the progress of modern education among the Mohammedan community in India attests the sincerity, and enhances the value, of your welcome assurance that this important community is now resolved to rely mainly on its own efforts for the gradual removal of those difficulties. The well-known vigour of the Mohammedan character guarantees the ultimate success of your exertions, if they be fairly and firmly devoted to the attainment of this object. I need not remind you, gentlemen, of the old story of the man who prayed to Hercules to help his cart out of the rut. It was not till he put his own shoulder to the wheel that his prayer was granted. I congratulate you on the vigour with which you are putting your shoulder to the wheel. Only give to this institution the means of adequately satisfying the requirements of the modern system of education, and you will thereby have given it also a just and recognised claim to such assistance as it may, from time to time, be in the power of Government to extend to voluntary efforts on behalf of such education. This I promise you; and I promise it the more willingly, because the whole tone of your address assures me that my promise, instead of inducing you to relax the efforts you are now making, will encourage your perseverance in the prosecution and extension of them. You have observed, in the course of the address, that by the Mohammedan race its religion is regarded "not merely as a matter of abstract belief, but also as the ultimate guide in the most secular concerns of life." Gentlemen, I conceive this to be the true spirit of all sincere religious belief; for the guidance of human conduct in relation to all the duties of life is the proposed object of every religion, whatever the name and whatever the form of it. But you will, I am sure, be the last to admit that anything in the creed of

Islam is incompatible with the highest forms of intellectual culture. The greatest and most enduring conquests of the Mohammedan races have all been achieved in the fields of science, literature, and art. Not only have they given to a great portion of this continent an architecture which is still the wonder and admiration of the world, but in an age when the Christian societies of Europe had barely emerged out of intellectual darkness and social barbarism, they covered the whole Iberian Peninsula with schools of medicine, of mathematics, and philosophy, far in advance of all contemporary science; and to this day the populations of Spain and Portugal, for their very sustenance, are mainly dependent on the past labours of Moorish engineers. But Providence has not confided to any single race a permanent initiative in the direction of human thought or the development of social life. The modern culture of the West is now in a position to repay the great debt owed by it to the early wisdom of the East. It is to the activity of Western ideas, and the application of Western science, that we must now look for the social and political progress of this Indian empire; and it is in the absorption of those ideas and the mastery of that science, that I exhort the Mohammedans of India to seek and find new fields of conquest, and fresh opportunities for the achievements of a noble ambition. Gentlemen, when the printing-press was first discovered, a certain monk predicted that unless that dangerous innovation were immediately suppressed, it would soon put an end to the power of every Government. "Because," he said, "so much lead would be used up in the making of type, that none would be left for the making of bullets." That prediction, as we all know, has not been verified. Governments still find it necessary to make bullets, and still find lead enough to make them. But for the maintenance of that domination to which the British Government most aspires, the printing-press is an instrument quite as powerful as the cannon. Allow me therefore to indicate, in passing, one special reason for the satisfaction with which I welcome the establishment of this college. There is no object which the Government of India has more closely at heart than that the plain principles of its rule should be thoroughly intelligible to all its subjects, from the highest to the humblest. But for my own part, I cannot anticipate the complete attainment of this object until the precepts of English polity have been translated, not only into vernacular forms of speech but also into vernacular forms of thought. For such an undertaking it is obvious that a body of cultivated natives is better fitted than twice the number of English officials, or twenty times the number of European scholars; and I can truly say that those who succeed in such an undertaking will have thereby rendered not only to the Government but also to all their countrymen, a service that cannot be too highly appreciated. Therefore, whilst warmly sym-

pathising with you in my appreciation of the difficulties you have encountered, and thus far successfully overcome, and whilst cordially congratulating you on the success with which you have overcome them, I welcome that success, not for your sake only but for the sake of the whole empire—trusting it may prove a salutary incentive to similar efforts in other directions for the general diffusion, not merely of intellectual culture but of what is still more important, the appreciation of intellectual culture, throughout India. You have referred to the exertions made by Government to stimulate such voluntary efforts. I am glad to recognise in the creation of this institution a proof that the exertions have not been in vain; but I need hardly remind you that neither in the matter of education, nor anything else, can the Government undertake to provide an artificial supply for which there is no national demand. Your address has rightly given prominent notice to the assistance you have received in the promotion of this college from many influential personages not within the pale of your community. That fact is full of promise and encouragement, for it indicates that others as well as yourselves are alive to the importance of the cause you represent, and recognise in the attainment of the objects you have set before you a general benefit confined to no class or creed of the community. In graceful recognition of the sympathy and aid received from those whose race and religion differ from your own, you have resolved to associate with the endowment and construction of your college the names of some of its most eminent benefactors. You could not have selected names more worthy of such lasting recognition than those of my distinguished predecessor, Lord Northbrook, and my valued colleagues, Sir William Muir and Sir John Strachey—statesmen whose sympathies have always been in accordance with the object you have at heart, and whose labours have done so much to render possible the attainment of it. It is with great pleasure that I accept your flattering offer to associate my own name with the names already admitted; for it is an assemblage of the world's greatest benefactors—the wise and good of all ages: *hic vivant vivere digni*—here live those who are worthy to live; and I esteem it a privilege to lay the foundation of a building under whose sheltering roof the number of such worthies is likely to increase. In doing so I heartily wish Godspeed to yourselves, your college, and your cause.

His Excellency then proceeded to the end of the *shamiana* and formally laid the foundation-stone, which was lowered to its proper position under the direction of Mr Noyes, executive engineer. A bottle containing scrolls and coins was deposited in a cavity of the foundation, and a metal plate with a suitable inscription was placed over this. The stone

having been proved to be correctly laid, the Viceroy tapped it three times with a mallet and said, "I declare this stone to be well and truly laid." He then returned to his seat, and Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat Khan said that, on behalf of the Fund Committee and of the Mohammedan community at large, he had to thank his Excellency for the great honour he had conferred upon them that day in laying the foundation-stone of the college. He had also to express the extreme feeling of grateful pleasure with which they had regarded the presence of Lady Lytton. They were now assured of the interest her ladyship was pleased to take in their labours. His Excellency, in reply, said: "On behalf of Lady Lytton and myself I need not repeat to you that it has given me great satisfaction to be present here to lay the foundation-stone of this college. I trust that before I leave India I may have the happiness of seeing the college itself, if not positively completed, at least far advanced towards completion."

The Viceregal party then returned to the house of Syed Ahmed, where luncheon was served, and at three o'clock they proceeded to the railway station and left for Agra. The whole proceedings were perfectly carried out, and the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new college was in every respect a great success.

DINNER AT THE ALLYGURH INSTITUTE

In the evening a public dinner was given by the members of the College Fund Committee at the Allygurh Institute, to which some sixty guests were invited. The company included about an equal number of Mohammedans and Europeans. Kanwar Lutf Ali Khan presided, and vice-chair was occupied by Rajah Syed Bakar Ali Khan. Syed Ahmed Khan and Khan Bahadoor Mohammed Hyat were also present.

The first toast was "The Empress of India and the prosperity of the British rule in India." This was proposed by Mr Syed Mahmud on behalf of the president of the Committee, and in the course of his speech he said that of course in a country so far distant from England as was India, the imagination of the people in regard to their monarch could assume no very definite shape. But still there were many reasons why those who had never seen their Empress should regard her with feelings of affection equal to that experienced by those who had seen her over and over again. To them the Empress of India appeared through the wonderful management and good government which had made the country prosperous, and had restored to it that peace and happiness which had been unknown for centuries. With respect to the latter part of the toast, to the Mohammedan mind the British rule in India and the person of the Empress of India were one and the same thing. They

had been accustomed for a long time to live as a subject race. Ever since the beginning of the English rule, the people of India, and especially the Mohammedan community, had been unable to take that part in the social intercourse with English gentlemen which they ought certainly to have taken. There had been numerous causes which had led to this unsatisfactory state of affairs, and in the course of continual discussion he had heard it repeatedly said that the reason why there was so little intercourse between the two races was that the English people were too exclusive in their ideas. He had also heard it stated by his English friends that the natives of India had prejudices and feelings which prevented them joining in social intercourse with the English. He for his own part looked upon the unsatisfactory state of things as due to the absence of proper education in the Mohammedan community. Of course the main object of the college, of which the foundation-stone had just been laid, was to remove this unsatisfactory condition of affairs; and the Viceroy himself had said, that in trying to remove this they were removing the great obstacle to international intercourse between Englishmen and the Mussalman community. He (Mr Syed Mahmud) was perfectly certain that, however small might be the intercourse at present, there were many men, both in the English and Mohammedan communities in India, who looked upon each other in the light of fellow subjects, who did not consider the one as ruled and the other as ruler. He was confident that the bond of being subject to the same monarch, of being governed by the same laws, of living under the same rules of social life—because laws did govern social life—exercised a much greater power than the mere personal conduct of individuals of both races. However inadequately he had expressed the feelings which filled the hearts of his friends, the members of the Committee, and especially of the president, he sincerely hoped that the toast would be drunk with as great enthusiasm by the Englishmen present as it would be by the Mohammedans. He coupled with it the name of Mr Chase. The toast was drunk with enthusiastic loyalty, and Mr Chase briefly replied. He said that he had been many years in India, not merely in times of peace, but on occasions of great excitement, and he had known their Mohammedan friends risk their all, even lives, for the good order and prosperity of the country. He had no hesitation in saying that no hearts more loyal to their Empress and more honest in their desire for the welfare of their fellow men existed than those which beat in the breasts of the Mussulman friends around them. He had to propose that they should drink "Prosperity to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College," coupled with the names of the president and the members of the Fund Committee.

The toast was honoured, and Mr Syed Mahmud again responded—apologising for a second address on the ground that the president could

not speak English. He observed that the new college owed its origin entirely to the endeavours of a few enlightened Mussulmans, who had taken special care and trouble to study not only the present politics of the country but also the past history of the empire. They had known, as indeed every Mohammedan of observation must know, that at the time when the greatest of Indian monarchs ruled at Delhi, when his court was renowned all over the world for its magnificence, when Jehangir was called the Just, and Shahjahan the Magnificent, and when Akbar was called the Great,—the best of good government was nothing compared with the present state of things in India. They were aware that it was entirely due to the peace which the English nation had established in India, to the civilised means of travelling which machinery had introduced into the country, to the warm sympathy of those who held the reins of government, that success had been attained. The Committee felt, and all who were interested in the college shared their feelings, that the present movement among their body was really due to the same feelings which inspired the same advanced classes in England. On behalf of the Committee, of which he was a member, he had to offer the guests present most sincere thanks, and he had also to propose the toast of their health. In doing so, he wished to give expression to the feeling of gratitude and friendship which he and his brother Mohammedans felt towards them. Their presence there that night meant more than joining merely in a social gathering. It meant that such of the English gentlemen as had been able to spare time to attend that meeting were fully aware of the object the Committee had in view, and were ready to give their help so far as lay in their power, and to be associated with them in their efforts to achieve success. He therefore proposed the health of the guests, coupled with the name of Mr Keene.

The toast was drunk by the Mohammedans present; and Mr Keene, in responding, expressed on behalf of his fellow guests his appreciation, not merely of the honour which had been done them by his learned friend Mr Syed Mahmud, but of the measure of hospitality and courtesy with which they had been received that evening. There was one duty which he had to perform, and he felt that he must not shrink from it, however desirous he might be of resuming his seat. In drawing attention to the eminent services which had been rendered to society by Syed Ahmed Khan, he had the advantage which was due to a tolerably long acquaintance with the worthy Syed. It was now nearly twelve years since that he had the honour of being associated with that gentleman in the administration of justice in that very district, and he should not forget the assiduity, fidelity, and intelligence with which he had discharged his duties. Syed Ahmed's breadth of view and large-hearted charity were well known, and he (Mr Keene) had sincere pleasure in seeing him gather the first-fruits of his harvest. A man with such a mind as he

possessed was very likely to move the world. For that reason he believed that the very well-ordered ceremony they had that day witnessed was not merely the foundation of a school, but marked an epoch in the history of the country. After the Viceroy's graceful reply he did not feel justified in saying much upon the subject; but this he must say, that what they had seen was as likely, as far as anything human could be predicted, to form the germ of a very wide and important movement that would live in history, and with it would live the name of the good and excellent man to whose unceasing devotion and labours it was indebted for its origin.

Syed Ahmed Khan, in reply, said: The enthusiasm with which you have drunk my health fills me with feelings of a mixed nature. I feel obliged to you for the great honour you have done me—I feel sincerely happy that the events of to-day have passed off well; but along with these feelings there is a consciousness that I am neither worthy of the honour you have done me, nor that the success which the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College has hitherto secured is due to my exertions to the extent you imagine. But, gentlemen, there is one thing which I admit sincerely and without any hesitation, and that is, that the college of which the foundation-stone has been laid to-day, has been for many years the main object of my life. Ever since I first began to think of social questions in British India, it struck me with peculiar force that there was a want of genuine sympathy and community of feeling between the two races whom Providence has placed in such close relation in this country. I often asked myself how it was that a century of English rule had not brought the natives of this country closer to those in whose hands Providence had placed the guidance of public affairs. For a whole century and more, you, gentlemen, have lived in the same country in which we have lived; you have breathed the same air; you have drunk the same water; you have lived upon the same crops as have given nourishment to millions of your Indian fellow subjects; yet the absence of social intercourse, which is implied by the word friendship, between the English and the natives of this country, has been most deplorable. And whenever I have considered the causes to which this unsatisfactory state of things is due, I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of the community of ideas and the community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that, so long as this state of things continued, the Mussulmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education; and education, in its fullest sense, has been the object in furthering which I have spent the most earnest moments of my life, and employed the best energies that lay within my humble power. Yes, the college is

an outcome to a certain extent of my humble efforts, but there are other hands whose assistance has not only been most valuable but absolutely essential to the success of the undertaking; and I feel sure that the honour of the success is due to them rather than to me. But, gentlemen, the personal honour which you have done me to-night assures me of a great fact, and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours; and to me this assurance is very valuable, and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a great comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life, has roused on one hand the energies of my own countrymen, and on the other it has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers; so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the college will still prosper, and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects, as have been the ruling feelings of my life. Gentlemen, I thank you again for the honour you have done me, and sincerely reciprocate the good wishes you have so kindly expressed this evening.

SYED AHMED IN THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL

In 1878, Syed Ahmed was, by Lord Lytton, made a member of the Viceroy's Council, an appointment which crowned his long and honourable career. The speech made by the great Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the dinner given to Sir John Malcolm by the Board of Directors, on the occasion of Sir John's appointment to the Government of Bombay, by substituting Hindustan for England and Mohammedan for English, reads thus, and is most applicable to Syed Ahmed's appointment to Council: "A nomination such as this operates throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan. The youngest Mohammedan sees in it an example he may imitate, a success he may attain. The good which the country derives from the excitement of such feeling is incalculable." Syed Ahmed remained in Council for two years, and was for the second time appointed by Lord Ripon in 1880. He was thus four years altogether in Council. Amongst his speeches Graham selects two, one on the Dekkhan Agriculturists Relief Bill, and the other on Vaccination:

My LORD,—I agree with the honourable member in his motion that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee. But before the Bill goes to the Committee, I wish, with your Excellency's permission, to make a few observations with regard to the principles upon which the proposed legislation is based.

It may be accepted as an indisputable principle that special laws should only be introduced to meet special cases. The disturbances in the Dekkhan, which have given rise to this Bill, revealed the existence of considerable distress among the agricultural classes. The causes appear to have been the following. Owing to the large exportation of cotton during the American war, the prices, both of that article and of all agricultural produce, greatly increased. This increase led to an increase in the expenditure and in the credit of agriculturists. It also appeared to justify an increase in the Government revenue, which was accordingly imposed in some of the districts, and, as it appears, unequally. When the demand for Indian cotton fell off, the prices of all agricultural produce fell; and the fund out of which the agriculturists had to meet the increased revenue, and the debts which they had contracted, became insufficient for that purpose. Credit could no longer be procured; and the *raiyats*, whether instigated by disloyal persons or of their own motion, commenced to attack and plunder the houses of money-lenders, and especially of the class of Marwaris, who, being strangers, were particularly obnoxious to them. It does not appear

from the evidence of the rioters taken by the Commission that these men complained of the action of the civil courts. Many of them asserted that they were not in debt, and others that they had not been sued for their debts; but, seeing that the object of the rioters was not only plunder but the recovery of bonds, it seems manifest that there had been a refusal of credit, and, in all probability, threats of proceedings in court for the recovery of outstanding debts. It also appears that, by reason of a scanty and uncertain rainfall, the productive powers of the districts are usually uncertain, and have for some years been abnormally small.

My lord, no doubt a case has been made out for the application of special measures of relief, and I fully admit that relief should take the form of a law providing facilities for the release of debtors from debts which they can have no hope of discharging, and which, while they remain subject to them, deprive them of the ordinary motives for exertion—the attainment of something more than bare livelihood.

But, my lord, while it is desirable to give greater facilities to the *raiyats* of the Dekkhan, whose ruin has been accomplished by unforeseen circumstances, to free themselves from debts which paralyse their industry, care must be taken that the remedies are such as will not deter the people from having recourse to them, nor impair the credit which is ordinarily given to agriculturists, and without which they would be unable to meet the demand for revenue, or to sustain themselves from harvest to harvest.

The requirements of the present Bill as to registration appear to me so onerous, that they will operate to deter persons from committing their transactions to writing. Registration affords a very doubtful proof of the payment of money. It is a common experience in this country that money paid in the presence of the registration officer is in part or wholly returned when the parties leave the presence of the registrar. It is rarely denied that a transaction has taken place; but if a dispute arises, it is as to the amount received.

The portion of the Bill which relates to conciliation also deserves serious consideration. The Bill provides for the appointment of conciliators, who, having invited the parties to attend, are to use their best endeavours to induce them to agree to an amicable settlement. Now the matter on which the parties are supposed to be at variance is not a mere dispute arising out of domestic or friendly relations, in which the impartiality of a stranger or the influence of a neighbour can be hopefully introduced, to persuade the parties to make mutual concessions; and therefore I am not hopeful that this provision will be of practical use. No doubt a revenue officer or a police officer could bring influence to bear on creditors which would induce them altogether to forgo their claims; but I need hardly express conviction that the Government

of India would altogether discountenance the exercise of any such influence; and I have no doubt the Council, in order to avoid even the apprehension of its exercise, will see it fit to introduce a provision in the Bill prohibiting the appointment as conciliator of any officer exercising revenue or police functions.

On the other hand, the attendance before the conciliator will put the parties to considerable inconvenience. The conciliator can only "invite" them to attend; and if the defendant does not attend, the conciliator may adjourn the case for an indefinite time and as often as he pleases. A claimant may have to waste any number of days to obtain relief in the most trifling case; and there is no provision to secure him compensation.

My lord, in my judgment there is more reason to expect that a creditor will abate his claims when the parties are brought face to face in a public court of justice, than at a private sitting held by a conciliator; but if it is resolved that an experiment be made, at least provisions should be introduced to secure the appointment of conciliators to whom all parties can resort with equal confidence, and to restrict adjournments.

My lord, I now come to the provisions relating to the procedure in the civil courts; and before I offer any remarks upon them, I must defend my countrymen from some imputations which have been, I think unfairly, cast on them, and received as true without sufficient inquiry. It is said they are prone to litigation. In those provinces in which I have acquired experience, I have found no facts to warrant this conclusion. Looking to the numbers of the population and their innumerable transactions resulting in credit, the number of suits for the recovery of debt will compare not unfavourably with the statistics of any other civilised country. Creditors rarely sue their debtors unless a dispute has arisen, or unless they desire, by obtaining a decree, to secure an advantage over other creditors. Nor is it true, as has been frequently asserted, that the village money-lender generally desires to acquire the land of his debtor. He looks for the return of his money principally to the crop raised by the labour of his debtor, and takes a mortgage to prevent the debtor's making away with the crop, or defeating his claim in favour of another money-lender. In the hands of the money-lender, who cannot himself cultivate, the land is worth only the rent a tenant could give for it.

Again, in a large majority of cases the claims brought are just, and the defendants do not seek to evade them by unjust defences. I do not mean to say that there are not in this country, as elsewhere, extortionate usurers and persons who advance false claims in courts of justice, and also debtors who have recourse to fraud to defeat just claims; but I believe—and I have seen no proof to the contrary—that

the civil courts have, in the ordinary course of their procedure, not failed in this country more than elsewhere to detect fraud and defeat its intended consequences. In fact, our acquaintance with such frauds is derived chiefly from the investigations of courts of civil justice.

I would also observe that in this country, where opportunities for small investments rarely present themselves except in the shape of loans on the security of land, there is a large number of persons who are not professional money-lenders, but who invest their savings in such securities, and almost universally charge no higher interest than the usual rate in the market. The first deviation from the ordinary procedure which I find in the Bill, is the compulsory enforcement of the attendance of the defendant. My lord, if I am right in supposing that in the majority of cases the claim is just, it follows that in the majority of cases in which the defendant does not appear, it is because he knows the complaint is just, and does not desire to lose the labour of several days, possibly at a critical season for his crop, and incur the expense of going to and from and attending the court. It would perhaps be sufficient to require the court to exercise the power it already possesses, of enforcing the attendance of the defendant only in those cases in which, on looking into the account, it sees reason to believe the claim is fraudulent or extortionate. The rule prescribed in the Bill appears to me calculated to injure rather than benefit the majority of defendants.

The provisions of the Bill which direct the court to go into the history of the case from the commencement of the transactions, I think, also require modification. They may involve an inquiry imposing on a court many days' labour, and affording it no certain conclusions. It is scarcely reasonable to expect either of the parties to produce reliable evidence of petty money transactions extending over a number of years, and commencing, it may be, a quarter of a century ago, especially seeing that the limitation-law has encouraged them to believe that such evidence would not be required of them. I therefore think some definite and not too remote period should be prescribed for such inquiries. So also a definite limit of time should be prescribed for reopening statements and settlements of accounts. Some debts which will come before the courts will be the result of transactions commenced and settled before the lifetime of either party to the suit. The consequence of imposing on the courts a duty they cannot possibly discharge would be to encourage them to evade it.

My lord, I think it right to point out that the provisions of section 12, requiring the court to search for a defence "on the ground of fraud, mistake, accident, undue influence" (whatever that expression may mean), "or otherwise," are calculated to encourage defendants to set up false defences, and to support them with false evidence; and for this reason they call for very serious consideration. Nor can I give my

consent to the provisions of section 15, forcing an arbitration on parties whether they consent to it or not. Competent and impartial arbitrators are rarely to be found in villages; and it is one of the acknowledged privileges of British citizenship, that for the vindication of right recourse may be had to judges of whose competency and impartiality in their selection by the State is a guarantee.

My lord, I am also unable to agree with the principle upon which section 16 of the Bill is based. The provisions of that section appear to me to be contrary to Hindu law as administered on this side of India, and to general equity. If a Hindu dies leaving assets, then whoever takes his assets, in whatever degree he may be related to the deceased, and even if he be a stranger, is liable to satisfy the debts of the deceased to the extent of the assets, and, where such debts bear interest, with interest. This rule is common to the English and Mohammedan as well as to the Hindu law. The Hindu law does, indeed, impose a moral obligation on the descendants of a deceased person to pay his debts, and when the descendants are related to the deceased in the first degree, with interest; but this obligation, which has not the force of law, is not enforced by the courts on this side of India, and ought, I think, in no case to be enforced to the injury of *bona fide* creditors of the descendants of the deceased.

In section 20, which provides that a debtor owing less than fifty rupees, who is unable wholly to pay the debt, should be discharged on payment of a portion, it appears to me necessary to specify what portion he is to pay—whether it be so much as he is able or a percentage; but this point will no doubt receive the attention of the Committee.

The provisions of the Bill tending to prevent the employment of Vakils appear to me to be of very doubtful expediency. Having exercised judicial functions for many years, I am bound to say the courts receive considerable assistance from Vakils, and that the more ignorant the suitor is, the less probability is there he will be able to explain his case in the confusion he experiences in a court of justice, as well as he can to his adviser outside the court. I would prefer to see provision made for the employment of Government pleaders, to appear on behalf of debtors in all cases, rather than discountenance the employment of pleaders at all.

With regard to appeals, which are entirely prohibited in the Bill, I admit that they entail evils, in that they prolong litigation and increase expense; but it seems to me better to experience these evils than the greater evil of imperfect justice. Cases triable by the Courts of Small Causes ordinarily present very simple issues, and do not call for the intervention of a superior court; but questions relating to land are far more complicated, and involve frequently questions on which the law is

is not well settled. I can see no reason why appeals should in these cases be refused in the Dekkhan when they are allowed elsewhere. Revision is, at the best, an imperfect substitute for the right of appeal.

For similar reasons, I consider the expediency of introducing special rules of limitation, proposed in the Bill, open to serious doubt. If it is desirable in the interest of the debtor to extend the period of limitation for the recovery of debts, the benefit should be given to agriculturists everywhere, and indeed to debtors of all classes.

The provisions of the amended Code of Civil Procedure relating to insolvency will afford sensible relief—and relief that was needed—to agricultural and other debtors in all parts of the country. The insolvency provisions in the present Bill go beyond the general law. I am not prepared to dissent from them on that account—for the circumstances have been shown to justify special remedies—but the provision respecting the delivery of property in lieu of cash is anomalous. It will not, I think, be acceptable to either party, nor does it appear called for.

With regard to section 25 of the Bill, I have only to observe that I can see no reason why a fraudulent insolvent in the Dekkhan should be exposed to less penalties than a fraudulent debtor elsewhere.

My lord, there is one more point to which I wish to invite the Council's attention. Admitting, as I do, that the exigencies of the case require special legislation, I entertain a serious doubt whether the rules framed in the Bill should be enacted more than as a temporary measure. Perhaps the requirements of the case would be sufficiently met if the operation of the proposed law is limited to a certain number of years. Some of the most important provisions of the Bill relating to interest strongly resemble the laws against usury which for many years were prevalent in this country. I had some share in administering them. They were found ineffective; they encouraged fraud; they operated as a hardship upon the borrower, and as such were repealed both in England and this country. The revival of any rules of law which limit the rate of interest or empower courts to interfere in the terms of private contract, cannot be regarded by me as other than a retrograde step—a step which, if justified by extreme emergency, should at any rate not be allowed permanently to affect the law even in a small portion of the country.

My lord, I have ventured to offer these criticisms, not in any way pledging myself to oppose any of the provisions of the Bill, in whatever shape they may eventually come before the Council, but with a view to invite the attention of the Select Committee before which the Bill will be laid, to those provisions of which the expediency appears to me to be doubtful. So far as the Bill tends to relieve the Dekkhan *raiyats* from their present embarrassments, it will have my cordial support. The acerbity of feeling occasioned to creditors by the discharge of

their debtors will be sensibly mitigated if the just ascertainment of their claims be secured to them. But should the provisions of the Bill go to deprive them of this privilege, and so far as such provisions tend to hinder the ordinary transactions of the people and render the recovery of debts incurred hereafter uncertain, I should be reluctant to support it.

My lord, I should indeed be grieved if, from what I have said, it should be understood I am not cognisant of the difficulties and hardships under which the agricultural classes of India labour. I have for many years felt a deep sympathy with the *raiyat*, and should look upon it as a great piece of good fortune to take part in the passing of any measures which would relieve him from the miseries which indebtedness brings upon him. But at the same time, I am convinced that no law can be framed which will do away with the necessity of borrowing, or, so long as the recovery of loans is uncertain and fraught with difficulty, put a stop to exorbitant rates of interest. An experience of thirty-five years, during which I had the honour of serving as a judicial officer of the Government, induces me to say that all rules which aim at regulating the rate of interest on private loans, or which place difficulties in the way of their recovery, far from relieving, are injurious to the borrower, whose necessities compel him to evade the law by secret and collusive agreements of which the terms are more onerous, because they cannot be enforced. The condition of the Indian *raiyats*, not only in the Dekkhan but also in other parts of India, fully deserves consideration at the hands of the Government: perhaps in their pecuniary difficulties may be traced some of the causes which make famine so severe and oft-recurring a calamity. The question is undoubtedly momentous; and your Excellency's administration is to be congratulated upon having undertaken its solution. But, my lord, the solution, in my humble opinion, lies not in conferring anomalous privileges of protection against the demands of the money-lender, not in placing difficulties in the way of borrowing money, not in making the recovery of judgment-debts dilatory or uncertain, but in providing the agriculturists of India with facilities for borrowing money on moderate interest, and in making the recovery of such loans speedy and certain.

In bringing forward his measure on Compulsory Vaccination for the second reading, Syed Ahmed said:

My lord, the Vaccination Bill, which I had the honour of introducing into the Council on the 30th of September last, has been published in the 'Gazette of India,' and also in the local Gazettes, in English as well as in the vernacular languages. The local Governments have submitted their opinions and those of local officers as to the expediency of the proposed legislation. Some of the municipal committees and

societies have commented on the measure. All these opinions, remarks, and papers are now before the Council.

My lord, on the first occasion when I advocated in the Council the expediency of making vaccination compulsory by legislation, I said: "I have carefully considered the difficulties which exist in putting such a law into practice, and I am aware that there are some parts of India which have not yet reached the stage when the enforcement of such measures would be advisable. The proposed Bill will therefore not be generally compulsory. It is not meant to be applicable to those parts of India which possess local legislatures, and its operation will be confined to such municipalities and military cantonments in British India as the local governments in their discretion deem fit to place under the proposed law." I further remarked that the object of the proposed Bill was to provide a law to enable the local governments of those provinces which do not possess their own legislatures, to make vaccination compulsory in such places as they consider fit for the promulgation of such a law. I am glad to find that the opinions hitherto received from various quarters support my views; since some of the municipalities and cantonments are declared by the local authorities to be prepared to accept compulsory vaccination, while others are represented as less advanced, and not in such a state as to admit of such a law being safely enforced. The difference of opinions among the various local officers in regard to the expediency of rendering vaccination compulsory is due to the variety of local circumstances which I had in view when framing the Bill now before the Council.

My lord, the legislation which I have proposed meets the objections of those who oppose it and the wishes of those who support it, since one of the most essential features of the Bill is that its adoption is permissive. If the Bill is referred to a Select Committee, I shall be glad to adopt any alterations which the Select Committee may consider necessary, in accordance with Dr Cunningham's suggestions, to restrict the power of the local governments in respect of enforcing the proposed law.

My lord, it has been said, as a reason against the passing of the Bill, that vaccination is gradually spreading, and that the prejudices of the people against it are giving way to the beneficial influence exercised by local officers. The statement, my lord, on which this argument is based, is no doubt correct; but I may be permitted to say that the circumstance, far from furnishing an argument against the Bill, strongly supports its policy. Even the greatest opponents of the proposed legislation do not maintain that object in view is not desirable. The strongest argument against the proposed law is, that there are still many amongst the people of this country who look upon vaccination either as unnecessary or objectionable. But in a matter of this kind the discussion resolves itself into the simple question whether the

indifference or opposition of a part of the community should be allowed to deprive the whole community of advantages which the truths of science and the conclusions of actual experience have made undeniable.

My lord, I am myself a native of India, brought up under the same social circumstances and prejudices as those of my countrymen whose voice is raised against the proposed legislation. And at my time of life, my lord, I hope I may confidently escape the imputation of arrogance in saying that I have lived long enough amongst my countrymen to have obtained a familiar insight into the laws which regulate their feelings and prejudices. I can emphatically say that the hatred which once existed against vaccination is a thing of the past, at least in the more advanced parts of British India. The opposition to vaccination, wherever it exists, is due either to the manner in which some of the underlings of the department conduct themselves, or to defects of system. Such being my views, I have no hesitation in saying that, if the causes of the opposition are removed by introducing better organisation and more effective supervision, by providing facilities, and by obtaining the co-operation of influential native gentlemen, vaccination will become more popular every day. But this result cannot be achieved without a legislative measure such as I have ventured to propose.

The highest castes of Hindus have accepted vaccination. There is a memorial in favour of the Bill before the Council sent up by forty-eight of the most respectable Hindu citizens of the ancient city of Benares, a place which in the eyes of orthodox Hindus is still unsurpassed in sanctity and religious learning. To those forty-eight names I may be allowed to add that of Raja Shimbhu Narain Singh Bahadur, a gentleman of great influence and high position in that city, and a Brahmin by caste. In a communication addressed to me he has strongly supported the policy of the Bill, and has expressed his wish that it may pass into law. It is true, as has been urged by some of the opponents of the Bill, that there are still in India many temples consecrated to the worship of *Mata-Debi*, the goddess of smallpox, and that large numbers of people resort to these places of worship. But I feel sure that vaccination has never been regarded as interfering with the worship of this goddess, or any of the ceremonies connected with it. The parents of vaccinated children perform the ceremonies of worshipping *Mata-Debi* without the smallest feeling that a resort to the prophylactic against the disease in any way interferes with their religion.

My lord, I must confess I was in no small degree surprised when I read the speech of the President of the Anjuman-i-Panjab, and the communication which he has made to the Council. He seems to think that the natives of India were not aware of the source from which the

vaccine lymph was taken, and that Dr Cunningham's 'Sanitary Primer' and the Bill now before the Council have, for the first time, supplied the information to the people. On this statement he has based his argument that the people will consider vaccination as interfering with their caste prejudices.

My lord, I am not aware that the Government, in adopting its earliest measures to introduce vaccination, ever made a secret of the source from which the vaccine matter is drawn. I feel confident that it was never a secret to the people, nor ever regarded as doing injury to caste. On the contrary, inoculation was not unknown in India. It was called *chhopa*, while vaccination has ever since its introduction received the name of *gau-tham-silla*, which, literally translated, means cow-udder-smallpox. The name itself suggests the source from which the lymph was obtained, and there is therefore little foundation for the proposition that Dr Cunningham's 'Sanitary Primer' or the present Bill have, for the first time, enlightened the people upon the subject published by Dr Pearson in the Hindi and Urdu languages in 1867, and intended for public distribution, which furnish minute information as to the source from which the vaccine lymph is obtained.

I should have dwelt more upon this point had I not felt that a full answer to the objection is to be found in a sentence which his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab has recorded with regard to the Society's argument. His Honour observes:

"There is one point which is not noticed by the Society, and which has a practical bearing on vaccination,—namely, that a child of the age at which vaccination is practised on it is not, according to Hindu law, liable to ceremonial impurity, and therefore, even though vaccine may be impure to Hindus, the child would not be made impure by it."

My lord, the practice of vaccination has gained footing in some native States also. I can speak of two Hindu States in the Panjab. The history of Patiala, written by its able minister, informs us that vaccination was introduced in the State in the Hindu year 1933, corresponding with the year 1876. The late Maharaja had his own son vaccinated, and all the young children of the minister's family were also vaccinated. I have trustworthy information that, in the State of Patiala, no less than 55,618 children were vaccinated in three years. Similarly, in the State of Kapurthala no less than 4394 children were vaccinated in one year.

My lord, I now come to another important subject connected with the Bill—namely, the prohibition of inoculation. The majority of opinions which have been received are in favour of prohibitive provisions in this respect. When one member of a family is inoculated, others

are also obliged to undergo the operation as a protective measure; and the appearance of smallpox is its necessary consequence. The reasons for prohibiting inoculation make it all the more necessary that every measure should be adopted to make vaccination prevalent; for the State should not deprive the people of one remedy without supplying facilities for adopting a better and a more efficacious substitute.

My lord, I do not wish to take up the time of the Council in dwelling upon the provisions of the Bill. They appear in the Bill itself, and will be fully considered, with reference to the valuable opinions that have been received, if the Bill is referred to a Select Committee. But I wish to mention the principles which have been prominent in my mind in framing the Bill. I have endeavoured to make its provisions as simple as possible, to provide facilities for their being carried out to avoid everything likely to give offence to the feelings of the people, and lastly, to encourage, as far as possible, the co-operation of native gentlemen in giving effect to the provisions of the proposed law.

My lord, no one can hold stronger views than I do, that no measure relating to the welfare of the public should be adopted by the State without due regard to the feelings of those to whom the measure relates. Whatever my own personal opinions might have been, I should not have ventured to seek the passing of a legislative measure like the one under consideration, if I had felt that it would raise the opposition of the masses of the people of India, or that it would involve evils which would outweigh the advantages which can be expected from it. But the tenderest regard to the prejudices of the people does not prohibit the proposed legislation. The British rule in India has, for its guiding principles, the alleviation of human suffering and the protection of the weak and the helpless. Those principles have abolished the sacrifice of human lives at the altar of superstition, and put an effective check upon female infanticide. Who can deny that those evils were time-honoured institutions, and had become fixed habits of a portion of the population of India? Who can maintain that the State was not justified in adopting decisive measures to remove those evils? Who can maintain that the State in adopting those measures acted in opposition to the principles of toleration or humanity? And, my lord, I feel that in advocating the measure now before the Council, I am not asking the Legislature to act contrary to the principles upon which it has always acted. I am not asking the Legislature to interfere with the religious prejudices of the people. I am not seeking the abolition of any of their time-honoured customs. I am asking the Legislature to interfere in a matter which, to thousands of innocent and helpless children, is a matter of life and death. I feel that I am advocating the cause of humanity against the indifference of the majority, and the vague and unfounded prejudices of a limited section of the population. The ravages

of smallpox are not now involved in uncertainty. They are terrible both in their extent and their regularity. An instalment of a hundred thousand human lives is paid every year to the malady; and, my lord, in view of this awful fact, I must confess that I find it difficult to conceive how any vague apprehensions of opposition, or the existence of unfounded prejudices, can have greater weight than the absolutely certain fact of the enormous loss of human life which the absence of a well-organised system of compulsory vaccination involves. The British rule, to whose guardianship the lives of millions are intrusted, has always felt itself called upon to adopt measures for preventing the loss of human life, and I feel that the legislation proposed by me, if sanctioned by the Legislature, would only be an addition to the numerous instances of the policy of humanity which the British rule in India has always pursued.

My lord, I move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable Messrs Stockes and Thompson, the Honourable Maharaja Jotindra Mohan Tagore, and the Honourable Messrs Colvin and Grant, and the mover.

Whilst in Council, Syed Ahmed was examined as a witness by the Education Commission, of which he and his son Syed Mahmud were members. His examination was very voluminous, and his replies cover thirty-two printed pages. Graham gives a brief resume of his evidence. As regards the number of Government schools, Syed Ahmed thinks that there is no necessity for an increase, but that the existing institutions are capable of affording instruction to a much larger number of pupils, and that, therefore, every available means should be adopted for improving their efficiency, and for making them more useful and popular. He does not think the present system of inspection adequate. The inspectors, whose circles comprise a vast area, do not, as a matter of course, find sufficient time for inspection, and have no means of acquiring an intimate acquaintance with the real state of the schools under them. It is exceedingly doubtful whether they would be able to recognise the students of a certain school already inspected by them, should such students be again presented before them with the boys of some other school.

Syed Ahmed says that he had an opportunity of inspecting many schools when he was a member of the Educational Committee at Allygurh. He always found the registers of those schools which were situated at some distance from the city, in a wretched state, while the attendance was never found to correspond with the number of students given on the rolls. He has occasionally had reason to doubt the correctness of school registers, and found that it was not unusual to enter names of mythical students in them. He once set out to inspect a village school which used to send regular reports of its working, and it appeared

that a reasonable number of students were reading in it. But on reaching the village he was surprised to find that there was no school at all, that the place which was represented as the school building was no other than a shed for buffaloes and that the contents of the registers and reports were altogether fictitious. He thinks that the deputy inspectors and sub-deputy inspectors are generally too prone to make their reports show a greater number of students than ever in reality existed, in order to obtain credit for good work. He is of opinion that the standard of education fixed for vernacular schools is not popular, and certainly not suitable. The standard of literature taught in these schools is hardly sufficient to enable a student to acquire tolerable proficiency in subjects which are of use to him in his after-life. The degree of proficiency acquired in indigenous schools in this respect far surpasses that afforded by these schools. The indigenous schools in the North-Western Provinces, the Panjab, and Oudh, are of four classes: 1st, Private schools in which private individuals engage a teacher for their children, who are often joined by those of his relatives and neighbours, on payment of a small fee to the teacher; 2d, Self-supporting schools, got up by a teacher of some reputation, who enjoys the confidence of the people, establishes himself in some particular quarter of the town, and lives by the fees paid by the boys; 3d, Schools of private individuals, who devote themselves in offering gratuitous instruction to people for the public benefit; 4th, Schools established by private funds or charitable endowments, the students being gratuitously taught by a number of teachers, and some provision also being, sometimes, made for their maintenance. He thinks the regular study of arithmetic should, in vernacular primary schools, be supplemented by the indigenous method (*gur*), which is more practical. History ought also to be more thoroughly taught. As regards village schools, he thinks that they would be made more useful and popular by—1st, Reforming the courses of study, and raising the standard of literature; 2d, By appointing such persons to be teachers as are popular, and possess the confidence of the people; 3d, By fixing their salaries on a standard sufficient to make them appreciate their appointment; 4th, By securing the co-operation of respectable men in each division of a district in the cause of education. Syed Ahmed was strongly of opinion that the non-association of respectable natives in the work of education has been a great drawback and a political mistake. This was remedied, on Syed Ahmed's representation, many years ago, when native gentlemen were made members of the District Educational Committees.

In 1872, Syed Ahmed, in a note on education, wrote: "It is much to be regretted, however, that the native members of the said committees, when they sit with Europeans and the educational authorities in the same room, look more like thieves who have entered a gentleman's house

for theft, than like bold advocates of an important cause. They are, on the other hand, looked upon by their European fellow-members as men of the opposite party, to defeat whom is deemed by the educational authorities, as well as by other European members, as their right, established by the laws of nature. . . . They are, in fact, about as useful as would be the same member of wax figures taken from Madame Tussaud's exhibition."

As Syed Ahmed incorporated this opinion in his evidence before the Education Commission, the members of the same belonging to the Educational Department must have been rather amused when they heard it. To remedy existing defects, Syed Ahmed would make the collector of each district, head of the vernacular instruction within his collectorate; he would abolish the inspectors and deputy inspectors of schools, substituting for the latter a native deputy collector in each district as an assistant to the collector, the most influential men of the district to be members of the committee. The deputy collector would, under this system, inspect personally at least four times a year all the vernacular schools in his district; while the subdivisional (*perganah*) visitor would inspect his schools at least four times a month and report the results of each inspection to the committee. The other revenue officers would visit the schools when on tour. Each subdivision should have its educational committee, composed of respectable residents, with the Tahsildar for its president; the entire management of the district schools—i.e., increase or reduction in their number, selection of proper places for their establishment, &c., would rest with the district committee; and the income of these schools, derived from all sources, would be at its disposal, the committee to submit its budgets regularly to the Director of Public Instruction. English schools Syed Ahmed would not put under these committees, as he thinks that it would be prejudicial to those schools. As regards English education being essentially requisite for the interests of the people, Syed Ahmed in his evidence said:

About thirty years have now elapsed since the despatch of 1854. During this period the condition of India has undergone a considerable change. Railways have united distant provinces, and have facilitated intercourse to a great extent. Telegraphic lines have been extended all over the country, and have provided facilities for distant persons to talk with one another as if they were in the same room. These very things have infused a new life into commercial business, and have given a fresh impulse to every sort of enterprise.

In 1854, when the above-named despatch was written, India was certainly in a condition which might justify our thinking that the acquisition of knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars of the

country would be enough to meet our immediate wants. But now such is not the case. Vernacular education is no more regarded as sufficient for our daily affairs of life. It is only of use to us in our private and domestic affairs, and no higher degree of proficiency than what is acquired in primary and middle vernacular schools is requisite for that purpose; nor is more wanted by the country. It is English education which is urgently needed by the country, and by the people in their daily life. It will be useless to realise the truth of what I have said by any theoretical argument when we practically find so many proofs of it every day. We see that an ordinary shopkeeper who is neither himself acquainted with English, nor has any English-knowing person in his employment, feels it a serious hindrance in the progress of his business. Even the itinerant pedlars and *boxwalas*, who go from door to door selling their articles, keenly feel the necessity of knowing at least the English names of their commodities, and of being able to tell their prices in English. A gentleman who visits a merchant's or a chemist's shop to make necessary purchases, but is neither himself acquainted with English nor is accompanied by a person knowing that language, feels his position as one of real perplexity. In consequence of the facilities afforded for travelling, respectable men are often under the necessity of sending and receiving telegraphic messages, and in their ignorance of English proves a serious hardship to them. A few months ago a respectable native gentleman sent his wife by railway from one station to another, telegraphing to a relation of his at the latter station to be present at the railway station with a conveyance for the lady, who was of course a *pardah-nashin*. The message reached him in time, but he was unhappily not acquainted with English. He was yet in search of an English-knowing person who might explain to him the import of the communication, when the train reached the station, and the lady was necessarily compelled to leave the carriage and to wait outside. The state of affairs has therefore been so altered during the last thirty years, that a necessity for English education is as much felt as that for a vernacular one. The standard of Matriculation would, in my opinion, answer the purposes above described. In these days the name of *popular education* can, in fact, most appropriately be applied to this very standard of English education. It is high time that Government as well as the people should exert themselves to their utmost in extending this *popular education*, if I may be allowed so to call it. I trust that the observations I have made will not be construed into any desire on my part to suppress high education, or that I do not attach much importance to it. I shall show shortly how essentially necessary it is for the country. . . .

In vernacular and English primary and middle schools, the object of which is to impart instruction up to that standard only, and not to

prepare scholars for a higher standard of education, the interests of the country will no doubt be furthered by teaching the Western sciences to the standard laid down for those institutions in vernacular. But in English elementary schools, which have been established with the object of serving as a stepping-stone for higher education, the tuition of European sciences through the medium of the vernacular is calculated to ruin the cause of education.

I confess I am the person who had first entertained the idea that the acquisition of the knowledge of European sciences through the medium of vernacular would be more beneficial to the country. I am the person who had found fault with Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835 for exposing the defects of oriental learning, and recommending the study of Western sciences and literature, and had failed to consider whether the introduction of European sciences by means of the vernaculars would bring any advantage to the native community.

I did not confine my opinion to theory alone, but tried to put it into practice. I discussed the matter at various meetings, wrote several pamphlets and articles on the subject, and sent memorials to local and supreme Governments. A Society, known by the name of "The Scientific Society, Allypore," was established for the very purpose, and it translated several scientific and historical works from the English language into the vernacular. But I could not help acknowledging the fallacy of my opinion at last. I was forced to accept the truth of what an eminent liberal statesman has said, that "what the Indian of our day wanted, whether he was Hindu or Mohammedan, was some insight into the literature and science which were the life of his own time, and of the vigorous race which were the representative of all knowledge and all power to him." I felt the soundness and sincerity of the policy adopted by Lord William Bentinck when he declared that "the great object of the Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among the nations of India." . . .

As my personal opinion on this point [whether Government should support primary and secondary education] is at variance with the public feeling, I may be allowed to give a sketch of both the views.

I am personally of opinion that the duty of Government, in relation to public instruction, is not to provide education to the people, but to aid the people in procuring it for themselves. But the public feeling seems to differ widely from this view. The people base their argument on the fact that in India all matters affecting the public weal have always rested with Government. They see no reason why the education of the people, which is also a matter of public weal, should not rest with Government. After a full consideration of the question in all its bearings, I have come to the conclusion that the native public cannot obtain suitable education unless the people take

the entire management of their education into their own hands, and that it is not possible for Government to adopt a system of education which may answer all purposes and satisfy the special wants of the various sections of the population. It would therefore be more beneficial to the country if Government should leave the entire management of the education to the people, and withdraw its own interference. The public opinion, as I have just said, is not in favour of this view. They say that the time has not yet arrived which may warrant such withdrawal on the part of Government. A very able and intelligent native gentleman, for whom I entertain sincere respect, said to me some time ago that the idea that we should ourselves procure our education was an entire mistake; that the use of the word *ourselves* in any national sense, with reference to the people of India, was out of place. For he said that no nation could undertake any great work without the co-operation of all classes, high and low, whether in point of wealth or political and administrative power. He added that the higher order of political and administrative power in India was held by Government and its European officers, and that those who benefited most by commerce in India were also Europeans; and therefore they formed in reality the most important section of the Indian population. He said that whenever these officers had been requested to give some pecuniary aid in the establishment of a college or school in this country for the benefit of the natives, they had generally held aloof, as if they had no concern with the thing at all.

Apropos of this, I may be allowed to relate an incident which has happened to myself. At the time when the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College was established at Allygurh, I asked a European gentleman, holding a high office under Government, to grant some pecuniary aid to the institution. He replied that he was not bound to help us in the matter, that the institution was a child of ours and not his, and that he would rather be inclined to spurn it than to hug it with paternal affection.

To do justice to public opinion, I confess it is not an easy matter for us to say that people ought to bear the burden of their education themselves. If we but consider the present state of India, we shall be forced to acknowledge that there are innumerable difficulties which threaten any such attempt on the part of the people with complete failure.

Interrogated by his son, Syed Mahmud, as to whether religious prejudices alone have kept Mohammedans aloof from English education, or whether anything in their socio-political traditions has had the same effect, he replied:

In my 23d answer I have only touched upon the main cause. If all the causes to which the failure of the Mohammedans to avail themselves of the benefits of English education to an adequate extent is due were noticed, it would become a lengthy detail. It may be briefly stated that the causes which have kept the Mohammedans aloof from English education may be traced to four sources,—to their political traditions, social customs, religious beliefs, and poverty. An insight into the political causes can be obtained by studying the history of the last two centuries; and especially by studying the well-known work written by the Honourable the President of the Commission, and named 'Our Indian Mussulmans.' Briefly, I may say that the Mohammedan public was not opposed to the establishment of British rule in India, nor did the advent of British rule cause any political discontent among that people. In those days of anarchy and oppression, when the country was in want of a paramount power, the establishment of British supremacy was cordially welcomed by the whole native community; and the Mohammedans also viewed this political change with feelings of satisfaction. But the subordinate political change which this transition naturally involved as a consequence, and which proved a great and unexpected blow to the condition of the Mohammedans, engendered in them a feeling of aversion against the British, and against all things relating to the British nation. For the same reason they conceived an aversion for the English language, and for the sciences that were presented to them through the medium of that language. But this aversion is now declining in the same degree in which education is spreading among Mohammedans.

The Mohammedans were proud of their socio-political position, and their keeping aloof from English education may in some measure be ascribed to the fact that the Government colleges and schools included among their pupils some of those whom the Mohammedans, with an undue pride and unreasonable self-conceit and vanity, regarded with social contempt; and under this vain impression they did not think it worth their while to associate with persons whom they considered inferior to themselves in social position. The same vanity, self-conceit, and prejudice of the Mohammedans led them to attach an undue importance to their own literature, metaphysics, philosophy, and logic; and in the same spirit they regarded the English literature and modern sciences as quite worthless, and productive of no mental and moral good. They did not tolerate those persons being called learned men who had acquired a respectable knowledge of European literature or science. They could never be brought to admit that sound and useful learning existed in any language except Arabic and Persian. They had given a peculiar form to moral philosophy, and had based it on religious principles, which they believed to be infallible; and this

circumstance had dispensed, as they thought, with the necessity of European science and literature. I still remember the days when, in respectable families, the study of English, with the object of obtaining a post in Government service or of securing any other lucrative employment, was considered highly discreditable. The prejudice has now, however, much slackened.

The religious aspect of the question I have already described. The poverty of the Mohammedan community is only too obvious to require any comment. I am, however, of opinion that the above-mentioned socio-political causes, though still extant, have been mitigated to a considerable extent, and the Mohammedans are gradually freeing themselves of old prejudices, and taking to the study of English literature and science.

In re the absence of sympathy among European officials towards native endeavours for establishing educational institutions, he replied:

I agree in the views of my friend which I have quoted, and have therefore given in my 31st answer an example of what personally happened to me. At the same time it is my opinion and belief that the Government and its high statesmen cordially desire our welfare and feel sympathy with us. But the majority of those subordinate European officers who have the administration in the Mofussil in their hands, are careless of, and indifferent to, our education and enlightenment. There are, no doubt, some of them who go out of their way to show sympathy to us, and take a share in our endeavours by helping us in our work both by money and by other means. Towards such English officers we naturally feel gratitude from the bottom of our hearts. But there are also some European officers, though they are few, who strongly feel that the spread of education and enlightenment among natives, and especially among the Mussulmans, is contrary to political expediency for the British rule. This class of men dislike natives educated in national institutions with a jealous eye. But I am thankful to say that, at least in my part of the country, such is not the case at present. I have not made these remarks with reference to my experience in any particular part of my life, but generally; and I have based them on my experience ever since I first began to take an interest in the subject of education among my countrymen. The causes of the circumstances I have described are numerous, and some of them neither pleasant nor obvious. But I may briefly state that the great majority of English officers believe that their duty is to do only their official work, and that they are not called upon to take any trouble about other matters connected with the needs of the country. They do not come into social relations with natives, and therefore they are seldom able to know the real and

inner wants and needs of the native population. Consequently, neither have they any occasion to become acquainted with the requirements of natives, nor to feel sympathy with them. Thus, speaking generally, no real sympathy exists between European officers and the natives—I mean such sympathy as exists between two friends. I think this very unfortunate, at least for my countrymen; but I wish to say plainly that the blame does not rest entirely with either the English officers or the natives. I firmly believe that as soon as sincere friendly sympathy is established between Englishmen and the natives, schools and even colleges will begin to be established all over the country, and will cost Government no more than the grant-in-aid rules could easily allow. But I am sorry to confess that I do not think that much improvement in this respect can be expected for some years to come. . . .

Before proceeding to answer the question [of the education Mohrmedan girls], I beg leave to say that the general idea that Mohrmedan ladies of respectable families are quite ignorant is an entire mistake. A sort of indigenous education of a moderate degree prevails among them, and they study religious and moral books in Urdu and Persian, and in some instances in Arabic. Among my own relations there are ladies who can speak and understand Arabic very fairly, can read and teach Persian books on morality, and can write letters in Persian, and compose verses in their own language. But this is not a new or a rare thing. I myself read elementary Persian books with my mother, and received from her other moral and instructive lessons in my early youth, which are still fresh in my memory. In families of the better classes, there have been ladies in comparatively recent times who possessed a high degree of ability. I remember a lady who belonged to the family of the famous Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, and who possessed a considerable amount of learning in Arabic books of religion, and used to preach religious and moral doctrines among her sex like a qualified and competent preacher. The poverty of the Mohammedans has been the chief cause of the decline of female education among them. It is still a custom among the well-to-do and respectable families of Mohammedans to employ tutoresses (*Ustaniis* or *Mullaniis*) to get their girls instructed in the Holy Koran, and elementary theological books in the Urdu language. Sometimes a father or a brother, or some other near kinsman, teaches them to write letters in Urdu, and occasionally imparts to them instruction in Persian books. To qualify them to read and write telegraphic messages, some boys have taught English to their sisters sufficient for the purpose; and I know of two girls who can even write letters in English. I admit, however, that the general state of female education among Mohammedans is at present far from satisfactory; but at the same time I am of opinion that Government cannot adopt any practical measure by which the respectable Mohammedans may be induced to send their daughters to Government schools

for education. Nor can Government bring into existence a school on which the parents and guardians of girls may place perfect reliance. I cannot blame the Mohammedans for this disinclination towards Government girls' schools, and I believe that even the greatest admirer of female education among European gentlemen will not impute blame to the Mohammedans if he is only acquainted with the state of those schools in this country. I have also seen a few of the girls' schools in England. Were these institutions for a moment supposed to be just like those in India in every respect, would any English gentleman like to send his daughters for education to them? Certainly not. I am therefore decidedly of opinion that the efforts hitherto made by Government to provide education to Mohammedan girls have all been in vain, and have completely failed to produce any effect whatever upon the respectable families of the Mohammedans. Nor have the lower classes derived any benefit from them. The question of female education much resembles the question of the oriental philosopher who asked whether the egg or the hen was first created. Those who hold that women should be educated and civilised prior to men are greatly mistaken. The fact is, that no satisfactory education can be provided for Mohammedan females until a large number of Mohammedan males receive a sound education. The present state of education among Mohammedan females is, in my opinion, enough for domestic happiness, considering the present social and economical condition of the life of the Mohammedans in India. What the Government at present ought to do, is to concentrate its efforts in adopting measures for the education and enlightenment of Mohammedan boys. When the present generation of Mohammedan men is well educated and enlightened, the circumstances will necessarily have a powerful though indirect effect on the enlightenment of Mohammedan women, for enlightened fathers, brothers, and husbands will naturally be most anxious to educate their female relations. There are even at this time many significant indications of this desire on the part of educated men, a few instances of which I have already given. Any endeavours on the part of Government to introduce female education among Mohammedans will, under the present social circumstances, prove a complete failure so far as respectable families are concerned, and, in my humble opinion, will probably produce mischievous results, and be a waste of money and energy.

In May 1882, Sir Salar Jang paid Syed Ahmed a visit, and inspected the college, of which he was one of the visitors. He was received with every honour, and was very much pleased with what he saw. He made Syed Ahmed promise to pay him a visit at Hyderabad, and in September of the same year Syed Ahmed fulfilled his promise, staying with the Minister for a month. During this time he had many long and

important conversations with Sir Salar Jang, visited Bolaram with him, and had a big dinner given him by his host. Many of the nobles wished to entertain him at dinner, but he invariably begged them to give him the money that the dinners would cost, as donations to his College fund. They did so, and he carried off with him to Allygurh Rs. 30,000!

In the August of 1882, the Hon. W.W. Hunter and the Education Commission held their first session in the North-Western Provinces at Allygurh. At a great meeting held in the College, in reply to the addresses of the municipality, the college, and of fourteen societies and public bodies in these provinces, the Hon. W.W. Hunter, the President of the Commission, Syed Ahmed's old literary antagonist, in the course of his speech said:

"Gentlemen, it is because this college in which we are now assembled forms the greatest and noblest efforts ever made in India for the advancement of Mohammedan education, that the Commission determined to hold its first session for the North-Western Provinces at Allygurh. We hope that our presence here will be taken as our public tribute of admiration to this splendid example of self-help. A few more such examples of self-help, and there would be no need of Education Commissions in India. The other night I was taken to see the two historical monuments of Allygurh. We drove out to the solitary place where the silent moat and the deserted ramparts of Du Perron's fort coil their long length, in angular twists, across the plain. Then we visited the monument erected to the brave soldiers who fell in 1803. The monument stands by itself, remote from the habitations of men, with high jungle-grass around it, half choking the little path which leads to its entrance. Nothing alive comes near to the spot, save the unsympathetic rush of the railway train; the only sound of human activity is the shriek of the engine-whistle. On our way home, as we passed the Mohammedan College, I could not help thinking what a much nobler memorial of our age is this splendid pile of buildings in which we are now assembled. Those solitary relics out on the plain, with their pathetic narratives of ambition, endurance, and gallant effort, form the records of a time when, throughout the length and breadth of India, race hated race, and when each man's hand was raised against his neighbour. You, gentlemen, who have built this college, will bequeath a far nobler monument to posterity. You will leave behind you a magnificent memorial not of the discord but of the reconciliation of races; a monument of beneficent energy, not of destructive force; and one which, unlike those poor erections of stone and earth which now lie so apart from the interests and the habitations of men, will continue for ever a centre of the highest human efforts, vocal with young voices, and alive with the hopes and aspirations of young

hearts. . . .

"The two great problems of Mohammedan education are, first, how, by endowments, to provide the higher instruction at rates which the Mohammedan community can afford to pay; second, how to combine the secular with the religious elements in the instruction given. Gentlemen, this college at Allypore solves both these difficult problems. It not only provides an education for the Mohammedans of the North-Western Provinces but it stands forth as an example to all India, of a Mohammedan institution which effectively combines the secular with the religious aspects of education; and which, while recognising the special spiritual needs of the Mohammedan youth, bases its teaching on the truths of Western science, and is in tone and tendency thoroughly loyal to our Queen.

"This is a noble work for a mortal to have done upon earth. And here beside me we see the brave and liberal-hearted man who, by twenty years of patient efforts, has accomplished it. I believe that very shortly after the country had passed to the Crown, when men were still embittered by the bleeding memories of the catastrophe which preceded the transfer, it entered into the heart of our friend, the Honourable Syed Ahmed, to commence this great work of conciliation. During the first ten years, he bore with many disappointments, and made little visible progress with his self-assigned task. He had to give up some of his own views, to make fresh departures, to submit in silence to indifference and disapproval, to the cooling of old friends, and to the injurious babble of ignorant enemies. But he never for a moment lost heart. Slowly but surely his cause advanced. Men believed in him, for he believed in his work.

"In 1870 a public Committee was formed, under his auspices, for the advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India. The two objects of this Committee were: first, to ascertain the causes which prevented the Mohammedans from adequately availing themselves of the State schools; second, to provide means by which the Mohammedans might be reconciled to a secular education that would tend to their advancement in life, and render them loyal subjects to their Sovereign.

"This magnificent pile of buildings, with its staff of learned professors, and its crowded class-rooms of boys from every province of India, is the result. Its primary aim was to procure the acceptance of European science and literature as the basis of Mohammedan education. It has accomplished this by scrupulously providing for the religious offices of the pious Mohammedan youth. In going round the college, I was struck by the sight of the Shia and Sunni praying-places side by side. Here, for the first time in the history of India, the Shia from Hyderabad in the south, and the Sunni from Delhi and the farthest limits of Bengal

"How has this great work been accomplished? In the first place, there was one man who placed a noble end before him, and who was willing to spend his life and his substance on its attainment. He has preserved, throughout the long years since its commencement, an unshaken belief that the work ought to be done. Belief begets belief. The Honourable Syed Ahmed believed in his work; and the other benefactors of this college, both native and European, have given their subscriptions because they believed in Syed Ahmed. The Government has more tardily, but in the end not less munificently, aided in the enterprise, because the Government has also found good cause to believe in Syed Ahmed. The college is a noble example to all India, not only of self-help, but of the power which an unswerving belief in a good cause exercises on the minds of men.

"But, gentlemen, although the work has prospered greatly, much still remains to be done. Go over the grounds, and see for yourselves the magnificent lines on which its plan is laid out. About 50,000 rupees have been subscribed, but 250,000 rupees will be required for its completion and endowment. I sincerely hope that the hearts of many men will be moved to take part in this good work. There come, to each one of us, seasons in our life when our natures are softened by sorrows for the death of some dear friend or relative, and when we desire to raise a memorial to those whom we have loved and lost. But why should the Mohammedan pile empty mausoleums over his dead, or the Christian crowd his churchyards with useless monuments, when a work such as this stands incomplete? Every hundred rupees which are subscribed to this building are given for the lasting good of mankind. For less than 2000 rupees, each benefactor may erect a handsome set of chambers in the great quadrangle, which shall bear his name, or any other name which he pleases to place upon it.

"Men seek immortality in many ways. Some write books, others climb to high official rank, others seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth. But it has always seemed to me that the most enviable fame on earth is that of the founder of a great seat of learning. One of the best remembered incidents in an English public-school boy's life is Founder's day. It was the great festival of the school-year, when boys and masters held holiday, to celebrate by speeches or dramas, and many sports, and hospitality to those from without, and good cheer to those within, the day set apart in honour of the founder of the school. As time rolls on, I hope that this great college will hold a similar high festival. I hope that centuries after our generation, with its cares and hopes and ambitions, has passed away, the memory of Syed Ahmed will be honoured afresh each year, as the pious founder of the noblest Mohammedan seat of learning which this age has bequeathed to posterity."

In March 1883, Says Graham, my old friend Mr Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., late B.C.S., advocated the cause of native Volunteers in India, and in doing so stated that in the Mutiny he had a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery,—i.e., the Etawah Yeomanry Levy,—all volunteers. Having been the Adjutant of that Levy during 1858-59, I addressed the following letter to the editor of the 'Pioneer,' entitled, "What is a Native Volunteer?":

SIR,—In your issue of Monday, Mr Hume, after explaining how his party of refugees were escorted from Etawah to Fattehabad by native Volunteers, (in 1857), and thence to Agra by European Volunteers, concludes his letter thus: "I had a brigade of infantry, cavalry, and artillery that in many actions proved their fidelity; and if, amongst other things, their conduct was considered sufficiently distinguished to merit, on two separate occasions, a whole Gazette to themselves, I beg that it may not be forgotten that they were all native volunteers." I would venture to ask from my friend Mr Hume a definition of the word "volunteer." The generally accepted one is that a volunteer is a man who gives his services to his country without being paid for doing so. Mr Hume's brigade of cavalry, infantry, and artillery did, as no one knows better than myself, right good service during 1858 and 1859; but as each individual was paid for his services just like the rest of our native army, I fail to see how they could have been Volunteers. Volunteer for service they certainly did, but so do all our soldiers. Will Mr Hume maintain that the men of our native army are all Volunteers? If Mr Hume's argument for the enrolment of native Volunteers be pushed to its logical conclusion, it can only mean that the cases of Volunteers at home and native Volunteers in India are to be considered as identical. Anomalies are not now permitted. Now, out of a population of, say, 30,000,000 in England and Scotland, say 300,000 are Volunteers. India has a population of 240,000,000; therefore, according to Mr Hume's argument, we ought to have a native Volunteer army of say 3,000,000 of men, all officered by natives, and each battalion with its complement of rifles and ammunition under its entire control. There would not be many Europeans in the country if Mr Hume's advocacy of native Volunteers were successful.

This brought Syed Ahmed down upon me, and in a letter which he wrote asking me to visit him, as I was about to pass through Allygurh *en route* to Nepal tiger-shooting, he said:

I have perused your reply to Mr Hume's letter advocating the Volunteering of the natives of India. In not allowing the natives to become Volunteers, the Government mean to say that they do not trust the

natives of India. Its consequence should be judged (*sic*) from the saying "If you want us to trust you, you should also trust us." There yet exists a wide gulf between Europeans and the natives of India, and unless it be filled up, nothing can secure and improve the prosperity of the country.

Now I at once grant that, if anomalies are to be permitted, we should do well to start *corps d'élite* of native Volunteers. At home every man can become a Volunteer, and is at once provided with uniform, rifle, and ammunition. This could not, for obvious reasons, be the case out here; and the establishment of native *corps d'élite* of Volunteers would, therefore, regarded from the English point of view, be an anomaly. What I would advocate would be the selection, by the local authorities in all large stations in India, of a certain number of picked native Volunteers—men of good family, well known for their loyalty—to be placed under the command of the officer commanding the European Volunteers. I would let them select their own company officers; and once started, I would also permit them to select their own recruits as vacancies occurred. I throw out the suggestion for what is its worth.

On the 22d January 1884, Syed Ahmed and party of three friends left Allypore to pay a visit to the Panjab. On the 23d they arrived at Ludhiana, and were received by a large crowd of Mohammedan gentlemen at the station—many also having gone out several stations to meet them. On Syed Ahmed stepping out of the train, Kadir Bakhs, extra-Assistant Commissioner of Ludhiana, put a garland of flowers round his neck, and many bouquets were given him, those who could not get near enough to present them throwing their bouquets to him. The crowd was so great—over 800 people being on the platform—that there was some difficulty in getting into the carriages. Syed Ahmed and party drove to the house of Nawab Ally Mahomed Khan Bahadur of Jhajjer, which was furnished in European fashion. The house was thronged all day with visitors anxious to get Syed Ahmed's opinions on points upon which he was at variance with other Mohammedans. Conversations were long and very animated. In the afternoon he gave a lecture in the Town-hall, which was so crowded that there was not even standing room in the verandahs. Syed Ahmed's lecture and speeches after it were so impressive that many of the audience wept. Rs. 1584 were presented to him in aid of his college. Several powerful speeches in his praise were made by leading Mohammedans of Ludhiana, and the meeting did not break up till midnight.

The writer of the account of the trip, Syed Iqbal Ally, of which what I write is a very brief and condensed translation—the account being in Urdu, and occupying two hundred and eighty-one pages—says: When I heard these Panjabi Mohammedans holding forth eloquently

what was to be done. That body wished to entertain Syed Ahmed, but Syed Ahmed was desirous that the money that this would cost should be placed instead at his disposal for the college. The Society triumphed, by getting Syed Ahmed to take the cost of the entertainment and the entertainment as well! He was entertained at the Town-hall at an evening party, which was crowded with natives and Europeans. On the 26th he distributed the prizes at the Mohammedan School, being loudly cheered by the students on his entrance. In the evening he addressed a large assemblage of Mohammedans at the Town-hall, after receiving an address from the Islamic Society. The cheering on the close was enthusiastic. Rs 1500 were presented to him for the college, and Syed Ahmed, after thanking them warmly, said that with this money he would build boarding-quarters, and have inscribed thereon that they had been built with money presented by the Islamic Society and the residents of Amritser. On the 27th he left for Gurdaspur, being escorted to the station, as usual, by a number of friends. He was received at the Gurdaspur station with great cheering and the inevitable address, to which he replied in suitable terms. He then drove to the house of his friend, Sirdar Mahomed Hyat Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. At 4 p.m. he delivered a speech at the school,—mottoes such as "Welcome to the Syed," "Knowledge is power," &c., being amongst the decorations. On the 28th there was a big dinner of European and native gentlemen at his host's house. After dinner an address from the women of the Panjab was presented to Syed Ahmed. His host's wife had formed a committee in his honour in recognition of what he had done for his race, and had got up a separate subscription for him of Rs 327. Mahomed Hyat Khan then presented the address and the money, his little girl, who was to have presented them, having fallen asleep! Syed Ahmed made a suitable reply, and said that he would send a copy of it to each of the lady subscribers. He did so before reaching Lahore. His host then presented him with a note for Rs 1000, and promised Rs 500 more; and a sum of Rs 819.4.0 was also presented to him from the residents of Gurdaspur. Syed Ahmed thanked Mahomed Hyat Khan and the residents most warmly, and told his host that his donation would go towards building boarding-quarters which should have on them an inscription in honour of his father. There was an evening-party afterwards, which was largely attended by Hindus, Mohammedans, and Europeans.

On the 29th he left for Amritser—the station being crowded with friends who had come to see him off. In the afternoon he gave a lecture in the Amritser Town-hall. On the 30th he left for Lahore, where the railway station presented an animated appearance, being densely packed from end to end. A programme of the details of his visit had been printed and circulated. Red cloth was laid down for him to pass to his carriage.

He was received with great cheering and many bouquets. The editor of the native paper, 'Friend of India,' had printed and distributed a number of copies of his paper containing a portrait and an account of Syed Ahmed's works. The children of the Mohammedan schools cheered him lustily. Great crowds were in the streets, and he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The house of the Raja of Kapurtalla was placed at his disposal during his stay. From early morning to 11 p.m. hosts of admiring visitors came to see him. A large deputation of Hindus visited him on the 2d February and presented him with an address. An evening-party at the University Hall was given in his honour that evening by Mr Parker, Judicial Registrar of the Panjab, and was a great success. On the 3d addresses were presented to him from the Islamic Society and the Indian Association, at the Government School. I give the Association address entire:

ADDRESS FROM THE INDIAN ASSOCIATION, LAHORE.

To the Honourable
 SYED AHMED KHAN BAHADUR, C.S.I.

HONOURABLE SIR,—We, the members of the Indian Association of Lahore, beg to welcome you to our city with our best wishes and most distinguished sentiments.

Your noble exertions to improve the condition of the Mohammedan population of India, and to diffuse the blessings of knowledge and enlightenment among them, and the brilliant success you have been able to achieve in this direction, mark you out as one of the most meritorious of our public men, and deservedly entitle you to the esteem and gratitude of all classes of the Indian people. Our Association, composed of members of all races and creeds in this province, have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the high character of your services to the public, and in expressing their sense of the benefits you have conferred on the country.

Not the least remarkable feature of your public career has been the breadth of your views and your liberal attitude towards sections of the community other than your coreligionists. Your conduct throughout has been stainless of bias or bigotry. The benefits of the noble educational institution you have established at Allygarh are open alike to Hindus as well as Mohammedans. Our unhappy country is so split up with petty religious and sectarian jealousies, and had suffered so much in the past from sectarian and religious dissensions, that the advent of a man of your large-hearted and liberal views is a matter of peculiar congratulation at this time. Long may you be spared to inculcate knowledge among Mohammedans and Hindus alike, and, by eradicating pre-

judice and bigotry from their minds, to unite them in the firm bonds of fraternal union.

Your highly useful career in the Legislative Council of India can only be touched upon here. Your impartial care for all classes, your manly and faithful representation of national views and your vigilant regard for national interests, while acting in that body, deserve the warmest acknowledgments from us and our countrymen.

Again welcoming you to Lahore, and hoping that the pleasure of your visit may often be renewed, and that your noble efforts may be crowned with success, we remain, your most obedient servants,

DAYAL SINGH, *President*
&c. &c. &c

In the course of his reply, Syed Ahmed laid great stress on the desirability of greater union between the two races—Hindus and Mohammedans—and said that in Council his efforts were always for them both as a nation. On this the 'Tribune' remarked:

The Honourable Syed Ahmed Khan, C.S.I., was here. He left this place on Monday last. His visit to this place deserves more than a passing notice on account of certain utterances which deserve the careful consideration of all our countrymen. We have all along pointed out the great desirability of establishing more friendly and intimate relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans than now exist. They should not only love and embrace each other as brothers, but they should also, if they want this country to rise to its ancient glory once again, become fused into one nation. The latter, however, must be the work of generations; the former is unquestionably the easier of the two, and can be accomplished in less time.

It would help us little now to insist on the exclusive privileges of either the Hindu or the Mohammedan. It is a fact that there are in India about 200 million Hindus and about 50 million Mohammedans, and this fact cannot be ignored. Religious prejudices are the great stumbling-block in the way of brotherly feeling between the two mighty sections of the people; but liberal thought and liberal training have been at work, and we have already seen many apostles among the Hindus who have made it the mission of their life to preach the development of that feeling. The Mohammedans are more conservative in this respect, and it therefore gives us infinite pleasure to find that there is at least one great man among them who does not yield to any one in large-minded patriotism.

We heartily welcome his words, which we do not often hear from the lips of our Mohammedan compatriots. The example set by the

Syed is worthy of imitation, not only by men of his own creed but even by Hindus. We trust it will be largely followed.

He was presented with Rs. 1380 by the Association, and with Rs. 2074 by the Islamic Society and residents of Lahore. Early on the 4th February he was *en route* to Jallander, where he was the guest of Sirdar Bikrma Singh. That evening he made a long speech in the large hall at his host's house, and was enthusiastically cheered. An address was then read to him from the young men of Jallander, to which he replied. He left the same night by rail for Patialla, and reached the station of Najpura, the nearest to Patialla, the next morning. He was received by several of the Maharaja's high officials, and the party left shortly after for Patialla in two carriages-and-four. His visit to Patialla was to his friends the Prime Minister Wazir ud Dowla Mudabbir ul Mulk Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hassan Khan, and Mushir ud Dowla Mumtaz ul Mulk Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hussain Khan. Shortly before reaching Patialla they were seen approaching, and soon the carriages stopped, and their occupants alighted and greeted each other. Re-entering the carriages, they soon reached their host's palace. The writer of the account of the journey says: "I was greatly astonished at seeing a picture here, in which Syed Ahmed is shown leaning against a tree on the sea-shore, with the late lamented Sir Salar Jang standing not far off. The sea is stormy, and the waves are running high; and a ship—dismasted—is shown crowded with people, and on the point of sinking. Several of the passengers have jumped into the sea, and are swimming towards the shore. A boat is trying to pick them up, and on its flag is written 'One lac of rupees.' Syed Ahmed is represented as saying 'Not sufficient.' An angel from heaven is on his shoulder, and he is pointing to Sir Salar Jang with the words 'Look to this noble man!' I did not understand the meaning of this allegory, but was told by the Prime Minister that it had been painted to illustrate the condition of the Mohammedan College, and the appeal for help by Syed Ahmed to Sir Salar Jang when his college fund amounted to only a lac of rupees."

Syed Ahmed stayed two days at Patialla, and collected Rs. 256 for the college. On the 6th he left for Mozaffernagger, where he stayed with Nawab Mahomed Ishak Khan, the first Mohammedan assistant in the North-West Provinces Civil Service. On the 7th he received addresses at the school, and replied at length. Rs. 196 were given him for the college. He left the same evening for Allygurh. So ended his "Mid-Lothian campaign" in the Panjab.

Towards the end of this month Sir Alfred Lyall, Lieutenant-Governor, North-West Provinces, entertained their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught in his own and the Viceroy's camp at Agra, the latter being lent for the occasion. There were races, dinners,

a splendid ball to the Duke and Duchess, and an evening party at the Lieutenant-Governor's. At the latter Syed Ahmed was presented to the Duke, and he afterwards came over to my tent in the camp, I having left the evening party early. We talked till the small hours, and in the course of a conversation on Egypt, he said, "Our position in Egypt reminds me of the story of the man who lived by picking up flotsam and jetsam on the Indus. One day he was sitting with some of his friends, when he saw something black floating down the river which looked like a black blanket. He swam out and seized it, but found, to his horror, that it was a black bear, which at once hugged him. The man struggled hard, but could not escape, and was going down, when his friends saw his struggles, and thinking that the blanket was too heavy for him, called out to him to let it go. 'All very well,' cried the despairing man, 'but the blanket won't let me go!' England," said Syed Ahmed, "is the man, and Egypt the bear."

On the 17th October 1884, Nawab Salar Jang, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, paid Syed Ahmed a visit to inspect the college, of which he was a visitor, as was his lamented and distinguished father, Sir Salar Jang. I went over for the occasion. That night we dined quietly at Syed Ahmed's,—the Nawab, who is a very tall and powerfully framed man of only twenty-three—suite of six, and three Englishmen. The next day, at 4.15 p.m., the Nawab drove with his party to the college, where he was received with cheers by the students. A large number of European and native gentlemen were present. Syed Ahmed—like Prime Minister Pitt, at that early age—read the address, and in reply his Excellency said: "If I were to arrogate all the kind things which you have said of me, I should be vain indeed. What you have said is out of your friendship for me, and I need not assure you how much I value it. You speak of the decline of the Mohammedans and their fortunes. Gentlemen, it is a sad story; but it is we ourselves who are mainly responsible for it, and the remedy you have devised is the only one for the evils which have come upon us. I quite agree with you that it is only the order and good government of the British power that have made the success of schemes such as you name possible in India. It is, then, our duty to be grateful to those who have enabled us to benefit ourselves and thus improve our condition. The work you have undertaken is one that cannot fail to have friends and supporters among all classes in India. As for us Mohammedans, it is our duty to help it, and see that the fine tree planted by you bears good fruit. You mention my father's services to your institution: it is very kind of you to do so. Those services were another proof of his great philanthropy and the good that he did in his day. Truly, gentlemen, his life was spent in benefiting others, and his good name is known throughout the world. What I have seen here—the crowded class-rooms, the boarding-house, the teaching-staff, the

numerous buildings connected with the college, the arrangements regarding board, lodging, and instruction—are all worthy of the highest praise; but as in enterprises of such moment the stronger the sinews of war the greater always the chances of success. I think it but right that, seeing the good work you have done, I should announce to you here the resolution of his Highness the Nizam's Government to increase the endowment from Hyderabad by Rs. 3000 a-year. I have no doubt that when I return to Hyderabad and represent to my sovereign and master what I have seen and heard here, his Highness, who takes great interest in matters of education, will confirm the grant. I shall conclude my reply with the wish that this institution may become a great seat of learning in India, and that its founder may live long enough to see the results of the good he has done, and gather with his own hands the fruit of the tree he has planted."

His Excellency's speech was enthusiastically applauded by the students. In the evening about fifty English and Mohammedan gentlemen dined with the members of the College Committee in the Salar Manzil (so named after Sir Salar Jang), the dining-hall of the college, to meet his Excellency Salar Jang. The road up to the hall was illuminated. After dinner, the healths of the Queen-Empress, Lord Ripon, and the Nizam were proposed and heartily received. The Hon. Justice Mahmud then proposed the health of the guest of the evening as follows:

"Gentlemen, I rise on behalf of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Committee, of which I have the honour of being a member, to propose a toast, which, judging by my own feelings, will, I am sure, be heartily received. I wish to propose the health of our distinguished guest, his Excellency Nawab Ahmed-as-Saltanat Salar Jang Bahadur, who has honoured the college with a visit. I feel sure that there is no one round this table who does not feel the significance of to-night. Gentlemen, people of different races and creeds are assembled here to-night to welcome an illustrious guest, and the event has to us, friends and supporters of the college, a mark of special importance. Not many years ago some of our number, feeling the importance which education must necessarily possess in every country, co-operated with hearts full of hope to provide means for the education of the younger members of the Mohammedan community, who had by a combination of causes fallen behind the age. Our endeavours began among difficulties such as can be understood fully only by those who are acquainted with the inner conditions of Mohammedan life in British India. We were British subjects endeavouring to make our community worthy citizens by inspiring them with a desire to prepare the younger generation for being worthy subjects of the British empire. The difficulties are fully known to ourselves; but we felt that our endeavours could never be crowned

with success without the help of men of our own race and creed, whose prominence in the commonwealth would carry greater weight than any endeavours of our own could possibly claim. It was then that the illustrious father of our honoured guest gave us a helping hand by assisting us not only with money but with that which we appreciate and prize much higher—his genuine sympathy for the cause of Mohammedan education. It would be out of place here to say anything in connection with the administrative reforms which Sir Salar Jang introduced in Hyderabad; but I think I may say with confidence, that among the glorious deeds which will keep him illustrious in history, his interest in the cause of education and enlightenment will not be the least significant. It was due to that interest that the College Committee won the sympathy of the greatest Indian administrator of the time, illustrious as a governor, distinguished not only among the Mohammedans but also among people of other races. Our distinguished guest to-night, a son and successor of an illustrious administrator, has, in inheriting the rank and position of his noble ancestor, inherited also what we, as you may well imagine, appreciate deeply a genuine interest in the cause of education. I will say nothing in connection with the magnificent increase of endowment which his Excellency, in reply to our address, announced to-day; but I think we have the privilege of saying, even in his Excellency's presence, that his visit to us will live as a historical event in the annals of this college. Gentlemen, our college is an institution which has for its aim and ambition the promotion of education among Mohammedans—education which we hope will make them worthy subjects of the British Crown; and it is to us a matter of special satisfaction that the long subsisting friendship which has existed between the Government of the Queen-Empress and the Hyderabad State has been evinced in our case by the pecuniary help and genuine sympathy which we have received from his Highness the Nizam's Government. As British subjects we owe allegiance to the British Crown; but in connection with a matter like education, which has a permanent bearing upon the progress of the empire, I feel—and I think his Excellency will agree with me—the two Governments have common interests. The presence here to-night of people of different races and religions is in itself to us a mark of the interest which education has, and must necessarily have, in connection with the progress of India. And, gentlemen, I am sure that, meeting here as we have done round the same table in honour of our distinguished guest, you will agree with me in the feeling that his Excellency the Nawab—who, with his great responsibilities, has, I am sure we all hope, a long career before him—may follow the example of his illustrious father, and help the cause of enlightenment, of security and public welfare, which, even in the most trying times, proved true to the interests of the empire of the Queen-Empress. Gentlemen, I ask you

to drink to the health of his Excellency Nawab Salar Jang, with all good wishes for his long life and prosperity, with the heartiness of the feeling which animates me at the present moment.

The toast was drunk with enthusiasm. His Excellency replied as follows :

Mr President and gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the kind manner in which you have proposed and received my health. I should have felt myself unworthy of the honour you have done me to-night, had I not felt that in honouring me you were honouring the memory of my illustrious father. Of him it may be truly said that his good deeds have not been interred with his bones. Wherever I go, and whichever way I turn, I am greeted with witnesses of his greatness and the good name he has left behind him, and they are to me an unfailing source of support and encouragement. Thus I receive the handsome tribute you have paid to his memory as another admonition to me to follow in his footsteps. You have spoken of the help rendered by my father to this institution in connection with the friendly relations that subsist between his Highness and the paramount Power. Gentlemen, history has developed itself wonderfully during the last fifty years. Every native prince and native ruler is beginning to think himself a part and parcel of the empire, which, I sincerely believe, has a great destiny before it. Our progress and our prosperity are bound up with the progress and prosperity of the empire. In helping, therefore, an institution like the one you have founded here, my father was only helping the good of the empire, which is the good of all of us who form part of it. This is the view I take of all philanthropic undertakings, in whatever part of India they may be started, and my opinion is founded on true patriotism, and a just estimate of our position in contemporary history. In going over the college and grounds yesterday, I could not help wondering at the speed with which your institution has developed itself. Undertakings of this kind are necessarily of slow growth, but the progress you have made needs to be seen in order to be believed. I have seen the colleges at the great seats of learning in England, and your institution, I venture to say, has got in it the same element that has led to their greatness and renown. The ground we are treading to-day will, I have no doubt, in some no distant future become classic ground; and it is not at all chimerical to imagine that under the shade of the fine trees you have planted, some Indian Bacon will one day formulate thoughts that are destined to change our philosophy, some Indian Newton will evolve problems which will revolutionise our science. While thanking you again for the honour you have done me to-night, I shall ask you to drink the health of our esteemed friend Syed Ahmed Khan, coupled with that of prosperity to the

college. His services to his country and to his Government are too well known to need any comment; and long after those present here are dead and gone, the Mohammedan College at Allygurh will stand a living witness of his philanthropy.

Syed Ahmed replied in a short but feeling speech, and was warmly cheered when he sat down. Of the Nawab Salar Jang I may here repeat what I said of him in the 'Pioneer': "The impression left by the young Prime Minister—he is only three-and-twenty—is a most pleasing one. Of a commanding presence, courteous and self-possessed, he has inherited the qualities and manners which, for more than a quarter of a century made the late Sir Salar Jang so great a favourite, not only with those in high positions but with the European community at large." After dinner, on my asking the Nawab for his speech, he said he had no copy, but he asked me to go with him into the dining-hall, which by that time was nearly clear, saying that he would dictate it to me there. As I thought there was too little time to allow of my doing so, his Excellency having to start for Hyderabad by a train leaving shortly after, I said so; upon which the Nawab said he would telegraph it to me from Cawnpore. After some conversation I left him, and found afterwards that, on my leaving him, he had at once got a friend of mine to go into the dining-room with him, dictated his speech, and had it duly taken down. His last words to me as I saw him into his carriage were, "Remember, Mr— —has it." I got it in due course.

On the 18th November the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, paid Syed Ahmed a flying visit *en route* from Simla to Agra. Syed Ahmed asked me to be present, and I went over on the evening of the 17th. The Viceroy reached Allygurh about midday on the 18th, and was received by all the officials and principal native gentlemen. He drove at once to the college, where he was received by the Hon. Justice Mahmud, in Cambridge cap and gown, and Mr Theodore Beck, the able Principal of the College (late President of the Cambridge University Union Society), also in Cambridge cap and gown, and the members of the College Committee. His lordship went over the whole of the college, and was evidently struck with what he saw. An episode afterwards occurred, and Lord Ripon received an honour that has never yet been bestowed upon any former Viceroy. The party had to cross an open space to get to the Strachey Hall, in which his Excellency was to receive an address; and a number of native gentlemen came forward begging to be allowed to carry his lordship across in a *tonjon*, or species of sedan-chair. This was equivalent to their taking the horses out of his carriage and dragging the carriage themselves. Lord Ripon consented, and was duly carried across in state, the native gentlemen having their hands all round on the *tonjon*, which was, however, really carried by stalwart

bearers in red uniform.

In the Strachey Hall, Lord Ripon received an address from the Committee of the College, and replied in due course. The 'Pioneer' said of this occasion:

"Of Lord Ripon's many public appearances during the last fortnight, his visit to the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Allygurh last Tuesday, is in many respects the most important. We publish below the full text of his Excellency's speech on the occasion, as well as the address presented him on behalf of the college, in itself a remarkable document, which ran as follows:

"We, the members of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Committee, approach your Excellency with feelings of sincere gratitude for the honour which your lordship has conferred upon us to-day by visiting the scene of our humble labours to promote the cause of education among the Mohammedan community. Upon an occasion so auspicious, we feel that it will not be out of place to mention briefly the origin of the movement which has resulted in the foundation of the college, the progress which the institution has made, and the prospects it has in the future.

"Among the numerous blessings which the British rule has conferred upon India, we are convinced there is none which can rank higher than the inauguration of a system of education based upon Western methods, and having for its aim the moral and intellectual progress of the native population. The educational policy adopted by the Government of India about half a century ago—a policy with which the great name of Lord Macaulay will always be associated—was emphasised in 1854, and has since produced results which find no parallel in the history of the world. For never before in the history of mankind has there been a spectacle like the British rule in India, where, along with the establishment of peace, the administration of justice, the introduction of the ordinary comforts of civilised life, one of the main principles of Government is to promote education and to advance enlightenment among a vast population whom Providence has placed under the administration of statesmen of a foreign race and creed. Impressed with the stupendous significance of these facts, and seeing the progress which, in consequence, the various races in India were making, some of the members of the Mohammedan community could not help observing, with feelings of regret and anxiety, the painful circumstance that their own coreligionists did not adequately participate in the great benefits which the system of State education impartially offered to the various sections of her Majesty's subjects in British India. It is happily no longer necessary for us to dwell upon the lamentable causes which have prevented our coreligionists from

fully availing themselves of the education imparted in Government colleges and schools; but it is impossible, in connection with the history of this college, to refrain from a passing allusion to the special condition of our community, the socio-political traditions of our race, the religious feelings and national prejudices which for so long operated as obstacles to the advancement of European thought and appreciation of English education among our coreligionists. Those were obstacles which were beginning to assume inordinate magnitude, according as time advanced and the progress made by the other classes of her Majesty's Indian subjects threw back the Mohammedan population in the race of life, by making them less worthy of citizenship of the empire. Aware of the existing state of things, apprehensive of the dangers which threatened the future of our race in India, and anxious to make the growing generation of Mohammedans worthy of British citizenship—loyal and useful subjects of the British Crown—some of the members of our community formed themselves into a Committee to investigate and ascertain the exact causes which operated to produce such unsatisfactory effects on the social, political, and economical condition of the Mohammedan community in India. Among other measures taken by the Committee, they offered prizes for essays on the subject of Mohammedan education. No less than thirty-two essays were sent to them; and as the result of their final deliberations, the Committee came to the conclusion that the foundation of a college, independent in its internal organisation and management, calculated to meet the educational needs of the Mohammedan community in particular, was absolutely necessary to give practical effect to the conclusions at which they had arrived. With this object in view, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee was formed in the year 1871, for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to raise necessary funds for founding the proposed institution. They publicly declared that one of the main objects of the proposed college was to bring a knowledge of European science and literature home to the Mohammedans of India, and to combine religious with secular education in a manner which they regarded was not practicable in any institution maintained solely by the State. To the masses of the Mohammedan population the idea of the introduction of European methods of thought into the minds of the growing generation of their race appeared as an unwelcome departure from their old and traditional attitude of mind, and our endeavours at the outset were met with an opposition which, though not unexpected by us, seemed no doubt formidable. Whilst our early endeavours were beset with difficulties raised by our own coreligionists, we had, though we would fain forget it, no uniform sympathy at that time from persons in local authority, whose cordial sympathy might have facilitated our task in a large measure. The friends and supporters of the movement, however, con-

tinued their endeavours with firmness and patience, and their efforts were crowned with speedy success. Whilst subscriptions were being collected from our own countrymen in various parts of India, foremost among those in high position who came forward to countenance the movement was your Excellency's predecessor, Lord Northbrook, whose handsome donation of Rs. 10,000 forms an endowment devoted to scholarships called after his name. Sir William Muir, at the time Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, and Sir John Strachey, who soon after succeeded him in that high office, also personally helped us with munificent donations, and showed sympathy towards our undertaking—a sympathy which went far to remove those suspicions as to the exact nature of the movement which the novelty of our endeavours had unhappily aroused in some quarters. With such funds as we were able to raise in four years, we opened classes for elementary education in 1875; and on the 8th of January 1877, the foundation-stone of the college buildings was laid by Lord Lytton, who at our humble request graciously consented to preside at the ceremony. Since that time we have expended about Rs. 182,000 on buildings, and the progress which we have made encourages us to hope that the day is not far off when we shall be in possession of funds to complete all the projected buildings. Our annual income during the current year approximates Rs. 44,000, and will increase during the next year by at least Rs. 3,000 which is the increase of endowment recently announced on behalf of the Hyderabad State by his Excellency Nawab Salar Jang on the occasion of his recent visit to the college. Our income next year is thus expected to amount to nearly Rs. 47,000; but our full scheme would require an annual income of Rs. 60,000, and it is to the public generosity that we look for further endowments. The past encourages us to hope that that generosity will not be found wanting in the future. And it is here that we crave your lordship's permission to mention the names of a few of our benefactors whose liberality has afforded us pecuniary aid and given encouragement to our undertaking. The Earl of Lytton, who during his stay in India was pleased to take a personal interest in our college, generously gave us pecuniary help which proved valuable to us in time of need, and his name will always be associated with the college as one of its early benefactors. To the benevolence of the Government we are indebted for the greater portion of the spacious grounds upon which the college buildings have been erected; and the generosity of the State, which began in 1875 with Rs. 4,200 per annum as grant-in-aid, has now, under the administration of our present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alfred Lyall, been increased by Rs. 12,000. From English friends, both in England and in India, the college has received pecuniary help, which we have deeply appreciated and highly valued as a guarantee of the sympathy which we sincerely hope will, with the advance of education, grow between the ruling race and the

people of India. Conspicuous among our Hindu supporters is the name of the late Maharajah of Patialla, whose magnificent endowment heads the list, which includes the names of the Maharajahs of Benares and Vizianagram, and many other liberal-minded Hindu gentlemen who have favoured our cause. The difference of race and creed has not deterred them from helping us; and it is a matter of especial gratification to us that among our Hindu supporters we have the name of that philanthropic lady, Maharani Surnomoyee. By far the greater portion of our funds and endowments is, however, naturally derived from members of our own race and creed. Foremost among them will always stand the name of the late Sir Salar Jang, whose untimely death is lamented by us as a great blow to the cause of the spread of education, enlightenment, and civilisation among the Mohammedans of India. His name will live and remain illustrious in history, and distinguished among the munificent benefactors of this college. To his Highness the Nizam's Government we are indebted for a princely donation, besides the endowment of Rs. 6000 per annum, which has quite recently been increased to Rs. 9000 per annum, as was announced to us by the present enlightened Minister of Hyderabad. His Highness the Nawab of Rampur has also liberally helped us with a generous hand. The names of other prominent coreligionists in all parts of India who have heartily joined our endeavours and come forward with pecuniary help, are too numerous to be enumerated here; but among the *raises* living in the vicinity of Allygurh we may mention the names of Koer Lutf Ali Khan of Talignagar, Rajah Bakar Ali Khan, C.I.E., of Pindrawal, Mahomed Enayatullah Khan of Bhikampur, and Mahomed Ismail Khan of Datauli, all of whom have shown a warm appreciation of the cause of education among our community.

“ My lord, we have recounted these facts because we are proud to feel that the principle of self-help is still in some measure alive in our community, because we are anxious to give public expression to the feeling of loyalty and gratitude with which the help and sympathy of Government in our undertaking have inspired us, also because we cannot forget how much we are indebted to public generosity for the success which our humble endeavours have hitherto attained. Our subscription was opened in 1871; in 1875 we opened the school with only eleven students on the rolls, and an income of Rs. 5500 per annum. In January 1877 the foundation-stone of the college was laid; and soon after the standard of instruction was raised, the college, by gradual steps, was affiliated to the Calcutta University, and for the last two years we have educated up to the standard of the degree of Bachelor of Arts. During this period our annual income has risen to nearly Rs. 44,000; the number of our students has risen to 270, and 96 of them have at various times succeeded in the examinations of the Calcutta University. But training for univer-

sity examinations is not the distinguishing feature of the college, for in that respect it differs but little from other institutions. The college is the practical outcome of the principle of self-help. It is maintained under native management in which the European members of the college staff afford valuable co-operation. Its curriculum combines religious with secular education. The authorities of the college exercise supervision over the personal habits and private life of the students. Along with intellectual and moral training, manly sports are encouraged. The system of boarding-houses renders the institution available to students from distant parts of the country, and we are proud to feel that no institution in India exercises its influence over a vaster area of the country than this seat of education. The college is the outcome of national feeling, it aims at supplying the educational needs and meeting the religious wishes of the Mohammedan community at large; and we have on our rolls students whom the special benefits of our institution have attracted from distant places such as Peshawar in the north, Hyderabad and Mysore in the south, Calcutta and Patna in the east, and Kathiawar in the west. It has been our aim to render the college as far as possible similar in principle to the system on which the public schools of England and the colleges at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford are based; and one of the special features of the institution is to prepare students for completing their education in England. Five of our students have already proceeded to England for education; two of them have taken honours at the University of Cambridge, and the connection which we have thus established with the educational system of England will, we hope, grow much closer in time; and we look forward to the day when the intellectual vigour and moral influence of the centres of learning in England will be appreciably felt by the Mohammedan community in India. My lord, we feel that to compare this college with the educational institutions of England is to compare small things with great. But the greatest educational institutions in England had at one time a small beginning, and the glorious success which they have achieved encourages us to hope that Providence may bless our endeavours with success similar to that which it has bestowed upon the philanthropic efforts of those who founded the great colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. The British rule in India has united a vast and multifarious population under one sceptre; and the peace, toleration, and security which it has established, furnish an ample basis for the intellectual and moral progress of the various peoples inhabiting this vast continent. Among them the Mohammedan community is slowly but steadily freeing itself from those illusory traditions of the past which hampered them in the race of life and made them unworthy subjects of the British Crown. The founders of this college have before them the aim of extending their scheme to places other than Allypore. For the purposes of higher education this college will continue

to supply the special needs of the Mohammedan population; but for primary education the friends and supporters of the college intend to induce their coreligionists in various parts of India to establish schools to prepare young students for the higher classes of the college. Some day, when our endowments are richer and our schemes are completed, we hope to be in a position to ask the great representative in India of her Majesty the Queen-Empress to confer upon us the legal status of an independent university.

“My lord, if we dwell upon the future prospects of the institution, it is because we are convinced that nothing can be achieved without hope, that nothing great can be accomplished without high aspirations. The aspirations of the founders of this college are purely educational, but from education spring those social, political, and economical blessings which civilisation brings in its train. The time has happily passed when the Mohammedans of India looked upon their condition as hopeless, when they regarded the past with feelings of mournful sorrow. Their hopes are now inclined to the prospects of the future: their hearts, full of loyalty to the rule of the Queen-Empress, aspire to finding distinction and prominence among the various races of the vast empire over which her Majesty holds sway. It is to help the realisation of these aspirations that this college has been founded, and we fervently hope that among the results which may flow from our system of education, not the least important will be the promotion of friendly feelings of social intercourse and interchange of amenities of life between the English community in India and the Mohammedan population. The distinctions of race, language, and creed have unhappily combined, with other less natural causes, to maintain an immiscibility of character among the various sections of the population of India. But we are convinced that the progress of education will mitigate those causes; that with the advance of general enlightenment, civilisation will furnish a common platform of social intercourse; that race distinctions will sink into insignificance; and, regardless of petty considerations, the Englishman and the native will unite with equal loyalty and equal patriotism to advance the peace, the prosperity, and general welfare of the great Indian empire. India owes it to the noble and magnanimous policy which your Excellency inaugurated—the real steps towards the attainment of the great aims to which we have referred. It does not befit us, in the capacity in which we approach your Excellency to-day, to speak of the great effect upon peace, progress, and prosperity which your Excellency's noble endeavours will have upon the future welfare of the people of India. With matters purely political or purely administrative we are only but indirectly concerned. But concerned as we are with education in particular, we claim it as our right, and we value it as our privilege, to express even in your lordship's presence those feelings of

deep appreciation and loyal gratitude with which the people of India will always regard the measures which your Excellency's administration has adopted in connection with the great subject of education. The late Commission appointed to investigate and report upon the results which the educational policy of Government had produced during a period of more than a quarter of a century, the searching inquiry which the Commission instituted, the principles of future policy which your Excellency's Government has recently announced, will live in the history of India and the hearts of her people as one of the many illustrious facts of your Excellency's Viceroyalty of India. To us, the friends and supporters of the cause of education among Mohammedans, your Excellency's personal munificence in contributing to the funds of this college will remain a lasting memorial of that generosity and large-heartedness with which the people of India have learnt to credit the nobility and gentry of the distant land of Great Britain. Your Excellency's visit to-day will ever be a historical event in the annals of our college, and a magnificent illustration of the sympathy which the British rule and the great statesmen who guide its affairs have shown towards the spread of enlightenment and civilisation in India. But with all that we feel about the past, with all that we feel about the present, with all the hopes and aspirations which animate us about the future, we feel, and feel in common with the millions that inhabit the British empire in India, a feeling of deep and heartfelt sorrow at your lordship's approaching departure from India. That the teeming millions that inhabit India have a great future before them, greater even than the most glorious days of their past—that that future will be the outcome of the noble efforts which the British rule is making in their behalf—cannot be doubted by any but those who are unacquainted with the history of mankind. The British rule in India is the most wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world, and the guidance of its great principles a task beset with difficulties of no ordinary moment. With those difficulties your lordship's Administration had to contend. But the lapse of time or the vicissitudes of administrative policy will be equally powerless to obliterate the great and noble principles, the recognition of which your lordship's Administration has secured for this country. Your Excellency's name will remain illustrious in the history of India as one of the greatest benefactors of the Indian people; but even more illustrious than the record of history, will live impressed upon the living hearts of living millions the recollection of an Administration magnanimous in its policy, philanthropic in its aims, and having justice as its sole guide amid contending interests and conflicting claims.

“ My lord, while thanking you for the honour which you have conferred upon us to-day, and the sympathy which you have evinced towards our humble efforts in behalf of education, we cannot refrain from

expressing a heartfelt hope that, notwithstanding the dis severance of your Excellency's connection with the Government of India, your lordship will continue to take an interest in the destinies of her people; and we fervently pray to the Almighty Creator of all nations, that the career of distinction which is still open to you may be distinguished with long life, health, and prosperity.'

“His Excellency the Viceroy then rose, and spoke as follows:

“Gentlemen, I can assure you that it is a great pleasure to me to have been able to visit this interesting institution upon the present occasion, and to have received from you so cordial a greeting. My attention has long been called to this college, and I have watched its progress with much interest. To-day I have had the honour of actually seeing the buildings which have been erected and the work which is going on here; and I have been greatly gratified to observe the progress which has already been made, the comforts which you have provided for your students, and the ample means of instruction which you have placed at their disposal. The success which has up to this time attended your efforts is to me a source of great satisfaction, not only because of the interest which I have long taken in this college on account of its connection with my esteemed friend Syed Ahmed, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making on my first arrival in India, but also because I see in that success a proof of what can be done in this country in the matter of education by the power of private enterprise and individual personal influence; for I am strongly convinced that it is only by private munificence and private management supplementing the efforts of the Government that we can hope to solve the difficult and important problem of public education in India in a complete and thorough manner.

“You, gentlemen, have said in your address that self-help is still alive in your community. You cannot have a better augury of the success which is likely to attend your efforts. You tell me that one of the main objects of the founders of this institution was to combine religious and secular education. With that object, as I think you know, I heartily sympathise; for I hold the belief, which is not perhaps very common in these days, that the division between those two branches of education which go by the name of religious and secular is altogether an artificial division, and that a complete education can only be secured by their close and intimate union.

“Again, gentlemen, in your address I find mention made of another object which you have set before you, with which I most cordially sympathise. You say that it is one of the special features of this institution to prepare students for completing their education in England. To my mind that is a very great object of public and political import-

ance. The more able and intelligent young men from India can be induced to go to England to complete the education there in the schools and universities of that country, the better both for India and for England. Those who go there will learn what are the true sentiments of the English people towards the people of India, and I venture to assure them that they will find them friendly and sympathetic; while Englishmen will derive much benefit from knowing what are the abilities, the feelings, and the aspirations of educated natives of this country.

"Gentlemen, I have derived great pleasure from the manner in which you have spoken at the beginning of this address with respect to the educational policy of the British Government. Your words are well worth repeating, and therefore I will read them again. You say: "The educational policy adopted by the Government of India about half a century ago—a policy with which the great name of Lord Macaulay will always be associated—was emphasised in 1854, and has since produced results which find no parallel in the history of the world. For never before in the history of mankind has there been a spectacle like the British rule in India, where along with the establishment of peace, the administration of justice, the introduction of the ordinary comforts of civilised life, one of the main principles of Government is to promote education and to advance enlightenment among a vast population whom Providence has placed under the administration of statesmen of a foreign race and creed." That description of the British policy in this country is, I am proud to think, a just description, and there is no part of our administration in this great peninsula upon which we may more fairly rest our claim to the thanks of the people of India. It is indeed, gentlemen, as you remark, a striking spectacle—unique, I believe, in history—that a Government such as the English Government in this country should deliberately and of its own freewill conduct its administration under the criticism of a free press, and that it should make it one of its chief objects to promote to the widest possible extent the education of all classes of the people. That England should have done, and should be doing this, is, to my mind, one of her highest titles to honour among the nations of the world, and one which I earnestly hope she will never forfeit. Gentlemen, the work which has been done during the last thirty or forty years in India in the matter of secondary and higher education must not on any account be slackened—on the contrary, it must be extended and developed to the utmost, and with that view we must call in to help in that great work all agencies of every description; and I see in the success of this institution the hope and the promise that assistance will be given to the Government by private munificence and religious zeal. But it is not only for the instruction of the higher and the middle classes that we have to provide. The benefits of our teaching must nowadays be carried down to the masses of the population,

and it was with the object of ascertaining how that could best be done that the Government two years ago appointed an Education Commission, which has taken a complete survey of the educational condition of the country, and it is naturally to that object that the resolution which we have recently issued has mainly been directed. Here, too, we must appeal to the co-operation of all classes of the community, and especially to those to whom God has given a larger share of wealth, and who therefore are bound to come forward and aid in the instruction of their poorer countrymen.

“Gentlemen, having spoken of our recent resolution, there is a matter connected with it on which I should like to say a few words, because it relates to a question in which the majority of those who are present here to-day naturally feel a deep interest. In that resolution we have spoken of the question of expanding and improving the education of the Mohammedan community as a special question. Now, gentlemen, when we called that question a special question, we did not mean thereby that we contemplated giving any advantages to the Mohammedan community inconsistent with perfect fairness and equality towards all other classes of the people. I am quite sure that you yourselves would be the last to desire anything of the kind. What we mean is, that in consequence of those circumstances in the past to which you have alluded in your address, your position in regard to this great question is somewhat special and peculiar, and that therefore we are prepared, in applying the general principles of our educational policy, which must be alike for all, to your community, to consider how far the application which we make of them, should in any degree be special and different to that which may be suitable for other classes. It is a source of regret to me, gentlemen, that I have not myself been able to deal with this particular branch of the question before I leave India. I might, of course, have composed half-a-dozen paragraphs out of my own head and inserted them in the recent resolution, or I might have resorted to the able pen of our excellent Home Secretary, Mr Mackenzie, and asked him to draft a few sentences on the subject. He would have done so admirably, I have not the smallest doubt; but it appeared to me that this matter was eminently one upon which it was essentially necessary that, before taking any action, the Government should consult the representative men of the Mohammedan community. The less inclined we are to give you special privileges, the less able we are to spend large sums of money upon any particular branch of education, the more necessary is it that we should consult with those who understand the matter thoroughly themselves, the wants and the feelings of their community, before we determine on the course to be taken. Well, for that purpose there was not time, and therefore I have reluctantly been obliged to leave the question unsettled during my tenure of office in

India. But, gentlemen, I leave that, as I leave all other Indian questions, in excellent hands, when I leave it in the hands of my old friend Lord Dufferin, who, I know, will deal with it, as he will deal with all the subjects which come before him, with that ability, that justice, and that judgment for which he is so eminently distinguished.

“I was particularly struck, gentlemen, at the circumstance mentioned in your address that a considerable number of Hindu chiefs and gentlemen had contributed to the establishment and support of this college. I rejoice greatly at that circumstance; I hold it to be most fortunate for the future prospects of India. Foremost among the names of those who have done so I find that of the late Maharajah of Patialla, the Maharajah of Benares, the Maharajah of Vizianagram; and last, but certainly not least, is found the name of a lady, the Maharani Surnomoyee. It was doubtless natural that you should obtain much support from Mohammedan princes, chiefs, and gentlemen, but still I cannot help expressing my great satisfaction at finding the cordial interest which is taken in this institution by his Highness the Nizam. I shall always feel a very deep and special interest in the prosperity of that young Prince. The fact that it fell to my lot to install him the other day and to be the first Viceroy of India who had ever visited Hyderabad, apart from his own personal merits, will always make me watch his career with the keenest sympathy. Next on the honourable roll of your supporters I find the name of that distinguished statesman whom India has lately lost, my friend Sir Salar Jang, whose premature and untimely death was a misfortune alike to the State which he ruled and to the British Government in India. But he has left behind him a representative in his son, of whom I have high hopes. I trust that he will walk in the footsteps of his father, and will prove himself a worthy son. To the Nizam and to his Ministers the cordial and hearty support of the Government of India is fully ensured. The Nawab of Rampur has been also a liberal supporter of this institution, and I observe his name in the list with satisfaction. It would take too long if I were to go through the roll of those chiefs and gentlemen who in a lesser degree have aided in this great work, but I cannot help expressing my great satisfaction at finding upon the list of your benefactors the names of some of my most distinguished countrymen, as Lord Northbrook, Lord Lytton, Sir William Muir, and Sir John Strachey. I have had brought to my notice, gentlemen, the assistance which has been given in many ways to this institution by Moulvie Sami-ullah Khan; and I am very glad to have this opportunity of returning him my own thanks, and I have no doubt that I may return him the thanks of all present on this occasion, for his valuable services to the college. Gentlemen, you are all aware that when Lord Northbrook was lately sent to Egypt he asked that he might have the assistance upon his staff of a Mohammedan gentleman from this

country. The Moulvie was selected for that purpose, and I am quite sure that he discharged ably the duties which were entrusted to him. But it is not merely for the purpose of thanking him that I have drawn attention to that fact. It is that I may ask you to observe the proof which this circumstance affords of the readiness of the British Government to employ natives of India outside their own country upon suitable occasions as opportunity may offer; and I would also hope that you will see in the fact of Lord Northbrook's desire to have such assistance, a sign of the confidence which your Governor General learnt while he was in India to place in the native gentlemen of this country.

"Gentlemen, towards the close of your address you speak in warm and friendly terms of the general character of my administration. That men so intelligent and so experienced as those from whom this address emanates should have formed so favourable an estimate of the course which I have pursued in India is very gratifying to me. I cannot, indeed, conceal from myself that your friendly sentiments have unduly heightened the colours of the picture which you have drawn, but you have rightly understood the principles by which I have been guided and the objects at which I have aimed. Foremost among those objects has been the desire to promote public education in the fullest and widest sense of the word—the intellectual, the political, and the moral education of the people. You, in your own sphere and manner, are working for the same great end, supported by all the brilliant memories of the Mohamadan civilisation of the past, and enlightened by the wider and more liberal spirit of modern times. You are engaged here, I am convinced, upon a great work of public utility, and therefore it is right that I, before I lay down my office, should follow the example of my predecessors, and should come here to acknowledge your services and to encourage you in your labours. I do so most heartily, and I confidently believe that there lies before this institution a long and shining course of usefulness and success.

"Gentlemen, I heartily wish you farewell."

After the ceremony we drove to Syed Ahmed's house, where a splendid luncheon was awaiting the Viceroy and a few guests. Syed Ahmed was on the Viceroy's left, the Hon. Justice Mahmud on Lord Ripon's right; and it was to me, who had known the former as a subordinate judge in the small station of Ghazipore, and the latter as a boy at school, a right pleasant sight to see father and son in such honourable positions. There is not another family in India, and there is not likely again to be one, that has a father in Council and a son a Judge of the High Court at one and the same time. As Lord Ripon had still to receive several of the hundreds of addresses which poured in upon him during his journey from Simla to Calcutta and Bombay, the luncheon was more

hurried than those who are fond of the good things of this life, including pomphret and oysters from Bombay, and dry champagne, quite relished. But a Viceroy's time is not his own, and the public convenience has to be attended to, so we all drove off to the hall of the Scientific Society, of which Syed Ahmed and I are Life Honorary Secretaries, where the Viceroy and party were photographed, and the addresses were read. The Viceroy left soon after for Agra, amid a roar of cheers from the vast crowd of natives assembled to see him off. Syed Ahmed was not one of the least vigorous of the cheerers. I have seen seven Viceroys—Lords Canning, Elgin, Lawrence, Mayo, Northbrook, Lytton, and Ripon—come and go, and certainly none of them have evoked such general enthusiasm and regard from the native community as the last. To those at home who are interested in India, I would recommend the perusal of an article—'If it be real, what does it mean?'—which appeared in the 'Pioneer' of December 12, 1884, the author being, as is an open secret, Sir Auckland Colvin. . . . Its sale in a separate form has been enormous amongst both natives and Europeans. Its ability and far-seeing statesmanship add much to the already great reputation of its author. The writer of the "thoughtful article" in the 'Allypore Institute Gazette' of the 25th November was the Hon. Mr Justice Mahmud. How men like himself must regard some of the English in India is evident from a story which he told me. He happened to visit the Madras Club with the Chief Justice, Sir Charles Turner, who is a great friend of his. They had only been a few minutes inside when one of the members came up to Sir Charles and told him, before Syed Mahmud, that no native was allowed in the Club. They left it. People at home will scarcely believe this; but it is a fact, and the sooner we alter this behaviour of ours to the natives, the better for the stability of our rule in India.

Syed Ahmed and two of his friends being in Agra last November, I asked them to dinner at the Club, they being the first Mohammedan gentlemen who have ever dined there. After dinner, as we were sitting smoking and chatting in the reading-room, Syed Ahmed turned to me and said, "Would that it were like this all over India! What a pleasant land it would then be for us!" The time is coming. If all men were like Syed Ahmed it would have come long ago.

On the 24th December 1884, a cricket-match was played at Allypore between the College and Station. Lunch was held in a large tent, and a novel feature was the joining of the college students in the station tiffin. At one of the three tables Mrs Aikman, wife of my friend the Judge, entertained the College eleven, herself sitting at one end, and Mr Beck, the Principal of the College, at the other. Syed Ahmed, in an account of the match published in the 'Allypore Institute Gazette,' said, "The students will not readily forget the courtesy and kindness shown them on this occasion by an English lady."

After tiffin, Syed Ahmed, who was at another table, rose and said, "I should not like to incur the displeasure of the cricketers by detaining them from their game by a long speech. I will therefore put what I have to say in a few words. On behalf of the College Committee, I must most cordially thank Mrs Aikman for the favour she has so kindly shown to the boys of our College. Every nation has appointed certain ceremonies to be observed on the day their New Year commences. The New Year's day for the natives of India will, I believe, be the day when ceremonies are performed showing unity, love, and sympathy between them and Europeans. I therefore regard today as our New Year's Day. I propose that, in honour of Mrs Aikman, a gold medal, called after her, be given every year to the best cricketer in the (College) Club, to keep alive the memory of her kindness today. To provide for it, I shall deposit a sum enough to give a yearly interest sufficient for the purpose." "Mrs Aikman very kindly," writes Syed Ahmed, "consented"; and the match was resumed, and resulted in a victory for the Station.

Syed Ahmed has now resided for many years in his comfortable house in Allygurh, which was purchased and furnished for him in European style by his son, the Hon. Syed Mahmud. Here he entertains his numerous guests who visit him from all parts of India—Mohammedans, Sikhs, Hindus, and Englishmen. The doors are always open. The whole atmosphere is redolent of literature. His sitting-room, in which he passes most of the day at the desk, is full of books and papers; the walls of his dining-room are covered with bookcases filled with standard English works; and his library—a splendid room—is stocked with a vast variety of books, including numerous theological works used by him in writing his Commentary on the Bible, Koran, &c. One of the not least interesting books to me is Syed Mahmud's prize taken at Cambridge for the best English essay! In the drawing-room is the diploma making Syed Ahmed a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which he is particularly proud. On the wall opposite is a full-length portrait in oil of his friend Sir John Strachey, a lifelike likeness. There are also portraits of Sir Salar Jang, Lord Lytton, and his Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. The days for him pass pleasantly and quickly. One of his great characteristics is his untiring energy. In addition to great breadth of views on questions of national importance, he possesses a power of work as regards minute details which is astonishing. Up at 4 a.m., he writes his newspaper articles, his books and pamphlets—sees visitors, official and private—and conducts the onerous duties of his secretaryship to the College Committees not only by day, but not unfrequently far into the night. With him mental labour of the higher kind tends to long life and sound health. His meals are served in European style, and he is a rigid abstainer from all liquor except Adam's ale. At and after dinner

friends drop in. The topics of conversation range from discussions on metaphysics, religion, and politics, to quotations from Persian poets and humorous anecdotes. He is of middle height and of massive build, weighing upwards of nineteen stone. His face is leonine—a rugged witness to his determination and energy. If, however, rather stern and forbidding when at rest, it lights up genially when speaking, reflecting the warmth of heart which he so largely possesses. He has a hearty laugh, and enjoys a joke as much as any man. He will put his stick under the table at dinner, and suddenly frighten those present by pretending to see a snake. Or again, the subject of conversation is the reform of his nation. One of his listeners is sleepy and nods. The Syed is anxious that all should attend. The sleepy member says he hears everything, but he presently nods again. All of a sudden a terrific shout of alarm is heard which makes every one jump, including the sleepy one; but all they see is the old Syed in roars of laughter! He has been a widower for many years, and has only had one wife. He informed me the other day, with a twinkle in his eye, that “he might marry again! But,” said he, “she must be English, in order that I may mix more freely in English society, and she must be eighty years old, and have lost all her teeth!” He is a born orator. His delivery, when he warms to his subject, resembles that of Mr Gladstone. His lips quiver with suppressed emotion; the voice and figure follow suit,—and those evidences of intense feeling communicate themselves with electric rapidity to his audience. He is intensely cosmopolitan. To substitute “Mohammedan” for “Englishman” in eloquent words used lately in describing the late Lord Ampthil: “It is an exceedingly rare thing for an ordinary Mohammedan, even of the better sort, thoroughly to realise the fact, however emphatically he admits the theory, that Mohammedans and other races are of the same flesh and blood, and are amenable to the same passions and impulses. It is still rarer to a Mohammedan who not only understands this to be the case but proves his perception of it in practice. Syed Ahmed is so completely master of this art that national distinctions disappear before him, and rising above all accidental conditions of climate and race, of latitude, longitude, and ethnic idiosyncrasy, he gazes, by dint of his own power of judicious generalisation, upon an image which is none other than that of human nature itself. He preserves the patriotism and pride of the stock from which he is sprung, and has divested himself of all its prejudices.” There was not another Mohammedan in India so fitted to take the lead in the great Mohammedan educational movement as he; no other Mohammedan gentleman possessed the ability, the eloquence, the great reputation, the cosmopolitanism, and the intense energy and perseverance of the subject of this sketch. Had it not been for his great efforts, the Mohammedan would have been far further be-

hind the Hindu community as regards education than it now is; and if the movement increases with the rapidity which has hitherto characterised it, the Mohammedans will soon be abreast of the Hindus. Amongst the mighty forces which have been silently changing the aspect of affairs in India during the last forty years, Syed Ahmed Khan's name will, to future generations, occupy a conspicuous place.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE,
ALLYGURH (BY THEODORE BEEK)

At the final result of his determination to do his utmost to benefit his country, and especially the Mohammedans of India, Syed Ahmed Khan decided to found a college. India, he considered, stood less in need of political than of social reform. Laws and institutions were of small importance compared with trained men. And while this was true of India as a whole, the need of education in his own community was more pressing still. Syed Ahmed had been profoundly touched by the ruin of the noble Mussulman families at the time of the Mutiny. He saw the remnant of this mighty race too proud and too prejudiced to adopt English education, and being left every day further behind in the race of life with the Hindu. A sullen despondency was spreading itself over the Mussulman community. Moulvies who depended for their livelihood on their knowledge of Persian, were supplanted by the English-knowing Bengali. Everywhere the decay of the Mohammedans in wealth and influence was marked—a fact not only deplorable in itself but very dangerous to the peace of the empire. Could a community which was itself thus fast losing ground, becoming every day more powerless, more poverty-stricken—a community which cherishes great traditions of a time not very long past, and which can point the noblest buildings in India, palaces and tombs, as the trophies of its former empire—be expected to be enthusiastically loyal? To turn the tide of misfortune was the task Syed Ahmed set before himself. It seemed, it still seems, an almost impossible one; though the unexpected success that has attended his efforts may well awaken feelings of hope.

But while his first object, as the name of the college implies, was to benefit the Mohammedans, Syed Ahmed had at the same time a wider aim. He wished to introduce into India a new model of education. The Government system, while perhaps the only one open to Government to adopt, has manifest drawbacks. The training of the students from their earliest years is intellectual only. Manners, morals, and religion are left to take care of themselves, and in consequence fare badly. The boys live scattered throughout the town, separated by caste prejudices, and enjoying little of healthy school-life. The master's duty begins and ends with the class-room. The whole thing is mechanical. The beautiful Eastern tradition, common alike to Hindu and Mussulman, of the parental relation between teacher and pupil, is lost sight of. The love of learning for its own sake, a love which still draws many poor students from distant parts of the Indian continent to the old schools of Arabic and Sanskrit, gives place to the sordid ambition of passing an examination and obtaining a clerkship in a Government office. For this purpose the

most abject system of cramming and learning by rote is adopted, at the end of which the intellect itself is but little benefited. Meanwhile manners have suffered a marked deterioration. The student thinks his knowledge of English justifies his looking down on the old Eastern gentleman. The latter, for the dignity of his bearing and the charm of his courtesy, excels anything we can show in modern England. Our system has as yet chiefly affected the lower classes, and the students are apt to assert their newly found independence by an offensive absence of politeness. The result of this is to embitter the race prejudices which are the bane of India. Morals, too, are not attended to, and very little is done to check the vices of lying and deceit. We do not mean to deny the great benefits that have arisen from the noble effort of Government to educate the people of India. We wish solely to point out some of the deficiencies in the system which led Syed Ahmed to base his college on a different principle from that adopted in the ordinary Government institution. He determined to attach to his college a good boarding-house, to subject the students to careful supervision, and to give Mohammedan boys religious instruction.

In order to carry out his project of founding a college many requisites were necessary, two of the most essential being money and power of organisation. The latter Syed Ahmed brought in abundance; the former was wanting. How to obtain it? There were wealthy men in the community, but they were blind to the benefits of English education, nay, they were bitterly opposed to it. So insuperable, therefore, did this difficulty appear, that the scheme was laughed at as chimerical. His friends thought him a madman, his enemies a devil. There were some who supposed he was Antichrist. Nevertheless he prepared a book for subscriptions, wrote down his own name and his son's and collected what money he could. Government, advised by Sir John Strachey, gave him a large piece of waste land. At length, in May 1875, a master, Mr Siddons, was engaged and a few small boys, the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen, and personal friends of Syed Ahmed, were collected to receive instruction from him. . . . When Mr Siddons arrived, he had no notion of the magnitude of Syed Ahmed's intentions. He found the Syed encamped on the jungle that Government had given him, and was amazed when he drew out from a box the plans of a magnificent building which he said it was his hope to erect.

At the age of fifty-eight Syed Ahmed had now commenced the great work of his life, by which his name will be handed down to posterity as a benefactor of his countrymen. From that time to this the old man has stuck to his object with indomitable pluck and untiring energy. Little by little, by a hundred devices, he has collected money. Through the press and on the platform he has advocated his cause. And although, up to the present, not more than a quarter of the required building has

been erected, what has been done is wonderful, and is full of promise for the future.

The buildings, when complete, will form a large quadrangle, whose interior dimensions will be 1004 feet by 576 feet. The size of this may be best realised by comparing it with the quadrangle of an English college. This will be divided in two by a row of buildings down the middle—a hall, library, museum, and lecture-rooms. Adjacent to these, at either end, will be a group of class-rooms. At the corners will be two dining-halls, and two mosques, one for the Sunnis and one for the Shias.

In describing what has been already done, we will take the reader through an imaginary tour of inspection, stopping here and there to express such thoughts as the place suggests.

The first thing we notice is a handsome stone-wall enclosing the hundred acres or so that constitute the college grounds. This wall is built in sections seven or eight feet long, and on every section a name is engraved. The name is that of the donor of the section. A section costs Rs. 20. This plan of inscribing the name of a subscriber on the building he has erected has been adopted throughout. It has a double advantage. It acts as an incentive to the giver, and it invests the place with associations; the more so as many of the names are of men who will be remembered in history. If you walk round the wall you will find written in the graceful curves of the Persian character the names of people from all parts of India, of Englishmen, of English-women who have never visited the country, and even of Hindustani ladies who pass their lives behind the purda. The wall, when finished—it is now about half subscribed for—will thus be, as it were, a long scroll of the names of the supporters and well-wishers of the institution.

Within the wall, surrounded by their own gardens, are three bungalows occupied by the Englishmen on the staff—the Principal, the Professor of English Literature, and the Headmaster. Driving past two of them, we enter the college grounds and come upon a large straggling bungalow, where the school classes are for the present held. Syed Ahmed's institution is called a college, but in England we should call it a school and college combined. Both are equally needed by the Mohammedan community, and it is difficult to say which is as yet the more important. The ages of the students range from seven to twenty-three. There are at present 215 students in the school department and 40 in the college. Of these there are 70 Hindus, 184 Mohammedans, and one native Christian; 158 are boarders.

Next we come to six small bungalows, containing each four rooms, in which the Hindu boarders reside. Farther to the left is the house of the resident native doctor. Ahead of us is the building of the Siddons Union Club, the students' debating society, named after the first Principal of the College. The club contains a debating room, and rooms

for a library and newspapers. It is founded on the model of the Cambridge Union. Debates are held twice a month in English, and once a month in Hindustani. The students take to the art of public speaking with zest—although the Mussulman, as contrasted with the Bengali, boasts a preference for the sword rather than the tongue. At the foundation of the club an interchange of greetings with the Cambridge Society took place. The following message was sent from Allygurh to Cambridge:

"The President of the Siddons Union Club of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College presents his compliments to the President of the Cambridge University Union Society, and begs to inform him that the Cambridge University Union Society has given birth to a similar, though at present small, Society in the far East. He invites the sympathy of members of the ancient and flourishing society at Cambridge for the youthful club founded by men who, though different in race, are citizens of the same great empire. The creed of Allygurh is, that the relationship of Englishman and Indian should be that of brothers. He hopes that if any member of the C.U.U.S. should visit Allygurh he will experience a practical exemplification of that aim."

To this the following reply was received:

"At the first private business meeting of this term, the following resolution was proposed by the President of the Society (Mr W. Howard Stables, Trinity College), and seconded by Mr J. Austen Chamberlain, Trinity College, and carried with one dissentient:

"That the Cambridge University Union Society desires to express its satisfaction that a Society based on the same principles as itself has been founded at Allygurh by one of its ex-Presidents; and as a means of displaying its sense of the brotherhood which exists between all subjects of our Sovereign, and also of the close ties that binds the two Societies together, herein sends its heartfelt sympathy and congratulation to the President and members of that Society."

It is the wish of Syed Ahmed Khan to make as intimate as possible the connection between his college and the University of Cambridge, and it is his hope that some day the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College may be formally affiliated to the University.

Leaving the Union, we pass round a large bed of roses to the main building of the college. We ascend some steps that lead on to a semi-circular verandah, and walk the chief lecture-room. Let into the wall are two slabs of marble, stating, the one in English and the other in Persian, that the cost of the room was defrayed by two Nawabs of Hyderabad, who erected it in honour of their uncle, the "Nawab Mahomad RafiUddin Khan Bahadur Namwar Jang Umdat-ud-Dowlah, Umdat-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-Dowlah Shams-ul-Mulk Shams-ul-Umara, Amir-i-Kabir, in connection with the science of astronomy, of

which he was up to the last a zealous student."

On each side of this lecture-room are four others, half of which contain the names of great supporters of the college, the other half bearing vacant slabs ready for others who may come forward. The four men whose names are here preserved are: Maulvi Sami Ullah Khan Bahadur, C.M.G., who accompanied Lord Northbrook to Egypt, Syed Ahmed's right-hand man, Raja Syed Baker Ali Khan, C.I.E., a great Shia; Koer Luff Ali Khan, member of a great Rajput family who were some generations ago converted to Islam; and Naulvi Mahdi Ali, finance secretary of the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad.

Adjoining this block of buildings are two more lecture-rooms in honour of the last-mentioned gentleman.

We now enter the boarding-house, which, as at an English college, forms the main part of the quadrangle. It is built of red brick, and consists of rows of rooms with a corridor in front supported on beautiful Saracenic arches, and approached by steps. As yet not quite half one quadrangle has been built, while the other has been enclosed with a temporary erection to accommodate students until money can be collected for the permanent building. What has been built, however, has a most pleasing architectural effect, which is heightened by elegant gardens and fine old trees. A set of rooms by consists of a sitting-room 16 feet square, and a bed-room half the size. They are high and airy, and will compare favourably with the rooms Oxford and Cambridge. Those who are familiar with Eastern houses will understand that to live in these clean and commodious apartments is in itself an education. As in England, it is a first lesson in decoration for the student to furnish his room, except that here it teaches more, for the main article of furniture in a purely Indian house is the carpet. In the students' rooms here, large pictures of the Queen and the Prince of Wales are conspicuous.

Every set of rooms has above it a stone tablet inscribed with the name of the donor, each set costing Rs. 1500. Among the names of Mohammedan landlords and Hindu rajas we find two English gentlemen, Mr C.A. Elliott, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of Assam, and the Hon. W. W. Hunter, member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Thus the very stones of his building bear witness to the aspiration of Syed Ahmed Khan, that Englishmen and natives should work side by side as brothers. The fact here made conspicuous, that the Indians have been helped in their own enterprise by the private generosity of Englishmen, cannot but exert a loyal influence on the youths who are brought up within the college walls. A very different political atmosphere from that of Calcutta is indeed observable in Allygurh. Loyalty to a united empire is inculcated as an active sentiment, and among that people—the Muslims—who naturally most dislike our rule.

Walking along the corridor we come to the Salar Manzil or dining-room of the first-class boarders. This is named after the great Sir Salar Jang, who was a warm supporter of the college, giving it Rs. 10,500 from his own pocket, and an estate worth Rs. 1200 a-year. His untimely death was a great blow not only for the college but for the whole Mohammedan community. The room is made use of for dinners on important occasions. When the present Nawab Salar Jang visited the college there was a dinner-party here of fifty people, half English and half Mohammedan. Speeches were given, and the proceedings were characterised by hearty and friendly intercourse between Englishmen and Eastern. Sometimes, too, there are college feasts. There was one when the cricket team returned victorious from a tour in the Panjab. There was another when some return matches were played, and the college was full of students from other places. There was a third when a student returned from England, where he had been to finish his education and join the Bar. It is only in a community where caste does not prevail that such entertainments can occur, and hence they are not found in other Indian colleges.

At the Salar Manzil there is a gate which leads us out of the quadrangle. Here we face a large well called the *Chah Akhwannus Safa*, or well of true brethren. The cost was defrayed by thirty-two men, each of whom gave Rs. 50. Their names are inscribed on a stone tablet, last of all coming "their servant, Syed Ahmed." The supporters of the college are chiefly the followers of Syed Ahmed in his religious, political, and social reforms. They are a comparatively small body of men, but are spread over a large tract of country, and many are of considerable influence. The students of the college come from places as distant as Hyderabad, Mysore, Bombay, Kathiawar, Karachi, Peshawar, Calcutta, and Chittagong. Little boys are brought by their fathers railway journeys of four or five days and left at the boarding-house. Once two came with an English governess. All this argues a great future for the institution when the trying days of its infancy are past. At present, although there is a marked decrease in the opposition, the great bulk of the Mohammedan community has not been reconciled to the movement. The political importance of effecting the revolution initiated by Syed Ahmed Khan in the most martial and most united people in India, it is difficult to exaggerate. Government has recognised it by giving an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 12,000, and by the personal support of three successive Viceroys. The confidence felt by Government is also manifested by its sending several wards of Court to be educated here.

From the well we may walk into the Muir Park, passing two small palm-trees brought from Arabia, and re-enter the quadrangle by a gate which will, when finished, be the main entrance. The money for this was collected especially for the purpose of founding a memorial to Syed

Ahmed Khan. We may now proceed to the centre of the quadrangle and inspect a large temporary building, to be called when built the Strachey Hall, in honour of Sir John Strachey. In this all grand meetings will be held, as well as examinations. An effort is now being made to raise subscriptions and build it. The total cost will be Rs. 50,000; and it is hoped that a hundred people will be found who will each give Rs. 500. Here is placed the foundation-stone laid by Lord Lytton in 1877. Under the stone are deposited a copy of the address given to Lord Lytton enclosed in a bottle, some coins, and a short account of the ceremony engraved on a copper plate.

On either side of this building are the foundations of the Nizam Museum and Library.

We have now taken our reader round all the chief buildings, and may finish our tour with a visit to the cricket-field. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College is famous for its cricket. Its eleven has beaten the best native teams in Upper India. In November they went on a tour into the Panjab, playing at Meerut, Amritsar, Lahore, Meean Meer, Jalandhar, and Deldi—being beaten only once by a team of British officers. Several matches have also been played with varying success against the English eleven of Allygurh. The last two were characterised by a most agreeable feature that is quite novel in India: the ladies and gentlemen of the station invited the students to lunch with them in a large tent on the ground. By such means, and not by violent agitation, the relations of Englishman and native can be greatly improved. The table at which the students sat was presided over by Mrs Aikman, wife of the Judge of Allygurh. Syed Ahmed sat at another; and as he observed the kindness shown by Mrs Aikman towards the boys of his nation, his heart glowed with the hope of a happier day for India. He rose after lunch and made a short speech. He said that every nation performed certain ceremonies on the day that it took to be the New Year's Day. He thought that on the New Year's Day of the natives of India ceremonies should be performed showing love and goodwill between them and the English. He therefore regarded this day as their New Year's Day. He intended to keep alive the memory of Mrs Aikman in the college by founding a gold medal, named after her, to be given every year to the best cricketer of the season.

We left our reader in the cricket-field. We will now drive him out of the grounds, through a gate erected by Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan, late Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Jeypore, and hope that the next time we invite him to inspect the buildings of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College we may be able to point them out to him in a state of completion.

ARABIAN MILITARY STATISTICS

In the 17th volume of the *Zeitschrifter Deutschen Morgenlandschen Gesellschaft*, printed in Leipzig 1862, we find an article under the title "Ein Beitrag Zur Statistik Von Arabien," by Dr A. Sprenger.* In this article the learned writer has given the statistics in 1818 of the Arabian people who could carry arms, and has enumerated the different tribes of Yaman, San'a, Tihama, Hijaz, Najd, Bahrain, Iraq, Mesopotamia, and Aleppo with their military capacity. This statistical table was translated from an original work in Arabic, composed in 1818, and gives, besides other historical information, a description of some places as they were then.

As it may be of some interest to those who want to know something about the Arab nation, I have translated it from the German of Dr Sprenger, and present it to the reader as follows.

A CONTRIBUTION TO ARABIAN STATISTICS

In the British Museum, add. ms. 7358 we find an Arabic manuscript, in which we read the following note by J. Rich:

"An account of the Arabian tribes as they exist at present drawn up for me from the best information by Shaikh Muhammad al Bassam of the Banu Tamim."

Baghdad 1818.

The author Muhammad Bassam was a native of Najd, and the Wahabi war offered him an exceptional opportunity of learning about the tribes. In the numbers are only included the men capable of carrying arms and not the peasants.

I. TRIBES OF YAMAN

	<i>Cavalry</i>	<i>Infantry</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1. In Hadramaut lived the Banu Tamim ...	1,000	4,000	
2. Al Kasir. They possess many horses ...	—	1,500	

*Dr Sprenger, at one time Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, came to India in the East India Company's Medical Service in 1833. He became in succession Principal of the Mohammedan College at Delhi, Assistant Resident in Lucknow, Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, Principal of the Mohammedan College at Hughli and Persian Translator to Government. He retired in 1857; was Professor of Oriental Languages at Berne, and died in Heidelberg on the 19th December, 1863. He is said to have known twenty-five languages.

3. Banu Nahd	...	205	1,000	Archers
4. Banu Ja'da	...	500	1,000	
5. Adham	...	1,200	1,500	
6. As Sai'ariyun	...	800	1,500	

II. TRIBES OF SAN'A

7. Dawi Husain	...	3,000	5,000	Archers
8. Dawi Muhammad	...	2,000	5,200	
9. As Salatin	...	3,000	3,000	Armed with arrows
10. An Nawi in the Highlands	...	1,000	2,000	
11. The tribe of Subaihiya	...	2,000	1,400 (?)	

Besides the above he mentions many other tribes which are not named. They are mostly under the Imam Mahmud bin Ahmad.

III. THE TRIBES OF TIHAMA

They are under the leadership of Hamud b. Muhammad Abu Mismar Husainy.

12. Adwan. Their places of abode have a moderate temperature	...	2,000	4,000	
13. Az Zarayiq	...	1,000	5,000	
14. Al-Mufid	...	1,000	2,000	
15. In Wady of Najran live	...	5,000	2,000	
16. Dawi Rashid, on the other side of mountain	...	2,000	1,000	
17. 'Abidah, whose leader is Ibn Kharmala	...	4,000	2,000	
18. Alam	...	500	2,000	
19. Asir. It is probably the name of a mountain in which they live. They are mostly armed with muskets. The wars of the Wahabis compelled them to emigrate to Ommqasr. Their leader, whose name is Tami, was taken prisoner by Ahmad Tarosun Pasha, a son and general of Mohammad Ali Pasha of Egypt. This				

ARABIAN MILITARY STATISTICS

	general made also the following shaikhs prisoner ...	5,000	30,000
	Usman Mudayif. His army amounted to ...	8,000	25,000
	and Sayyid Sharif Masud b. Madiyun of Mecca who lived in Hijaz in the holy city (Madina)		
20.	Ibn al Asmar ...	1,800	3,000
21.	Banu al Asfar ...	4,000	6,000
22.	Sanham. Their commander is Abu La'sa ...	3,000	10,000
23.	Habbab. Their leader is called Rafdah. They serve as guides in the deserts and know the watering places. They live specially in Durra. The men carry black Rida, and the women carry nothing but a black apron on the waist, two dira (yards) long and one yard broad ...	500	5,000
24.	Azhar ...	1,000	3,000
25.	Ibn Dahman ...	1,000	5,000
26.	Zohran. They often make war against each other; unite however against outward foes ...	6,000	25,000
27.	Gamid. Their leader is Hata-mil; they are divided into many tribes. They know the desert well ...	6,000	20,000
28.	Shahran. Their leader is Ibn Marwan ...	2,000	15,000
29.	Al-Kalb. Their leader is Ibn Shakban ...	2,000	10,000
30.	Bani (<i>sic</i>) Wahib. Their leader is called al-Fuwaih ...	3,000	20,000
31.	The troops of Ibn Shakban ...	2,000	20,000
32.	Al-Faza. Their leader is called Schalan ...	1,000	5,000
33.	Qahtan, and al Asim and al Qadir and Bani Hajir. The leader of Qadir is—(?) The leader of Asim is called Hashr ...	7,000	30,000

34. Al Mahlaf. Their leader is as-Sa'ili. They set before their guests the coarse food, namely Durra, from which bread is made. Meat or milk, butter and so on, are never put in place of their bread	...	1,000	5,000
35. Al Mihdi	...	1,000	5,000

These are the so-called Asyr tribes of which different divisions have separate names. The tribe on the sea border stands under the Badl Abu Nuqta, and another division stands under the Hero, Hamud Abu Mismar. Because they are unfortunately very jealous of one another, there is very seldom friendship between them. The same tribes are also called Abu Nuqta and Abu Mismar. Abu Nuqta felt himself weaker and submitted to the Wahabis to obtain their assistance. By the order of Abdul Wahhab he attacked Abu Mismar but was defeated and killed. The army of Abu Nuqta in this struggle amounted to 30,000 infantry and cavalry, while Abu Mismar had only 10,000 soldiers.

36. Banu Marwa	...	200	2,000
37. Mu'awiya	...	500	3,000
38. Al Abal Qarm	...	1,000	6,000
39. Nasira, armed with muskets, swords and lances	...	330	2,000
40. Banu Asad	...	500	or 3,050
41. Bani Dubab	...	1,000	more 5,000
42. Ash Sharf. Their land produces much coffee	...	200	20,000
43. Ad Dawasir	...	200	20,000
44. Burham. Their leader is Sultan b. Rabi	...	—	10,000
45. Banu Shaddad. Their leader is Barduqani	...	—	5,000
46. Bani Janb	...	500	10,000
47. Wadia	...	300	4,000
48. Banu Quraida. They also carry on commerce by sea	...	500	6,000
49. Al Murra. Their leader is Ibn Naqqadan	...	2,000	15,000
50. Inhabitants of Saba who are mentioned in the Quran. The author did not know the			

	names of the tribes and their leaders ...	Nil	40,000
51.	Inhabitants of Shahr and Makalla. Their shaikh is called Abdul Hamid b. Malfa'i ...	—	30,000

IV. TRIBES OF HIJAZ

52.	Juhaina ...	500	10,000
53.	'Utaiba ...	100	10,000
54.	Saqif: a small remnant for this tribe belongs to Hajjaj ...	3,800	—
55.	Al Baqum. This tribe was ruled by a woman by name Galiya and drew their provisions from Ta'if, and Mecca. As Muhammad Ali Pasha approached, she concluded an alliance with the Wahabis and Faisal who came to her assistance. At last the allies lost the battle and Faisal fled. She defended herself in her castle, Tarbah, but was compelled to surrender. According to one report she fled to Dar'iyah to the Wahabis...	7,000	—
56.	Hudail. They live on the mountain ...	8,000	—
57.	Harb. They fall in four divisions: the Banu Ali, the Farma, the Mudiyyin and the Daiba. They live between Madina and Khaibar. In all there are ...	10,000	40,000
58.	Banu Salul ...	—	4,000
59.	Banu Makhzum ...	1,300	10,000
60.	Banu Munabbih ...	500	6,000
61.	Hashid and Bakil, two divisions of a tribe ...	1,000	8,000
62.	Adwan. Their leader is 'Usman Mudayifi, whom the Pasha of Egypt has taken as a prisoner. To him belonged		

	the town of Ta'if	...	800	25,000
63.	Zubaid	...	500	3,000
64.	Sabi	...	800	10,000
65.	Banu Salim	...	500	8,000
66.	Banu Nasa	...	—	9,000
67.	Banu Sa'ad	...	—	5,000
68.	Shararat	...	1,000	20,000
69.	Salim and Yafi, two similar tribes numbering from 100 to 200 cavalry and 20,000 or more infantry			
70.	Ar Ramsain	...	100	20,000
71.	Bali	...	7,000	30,000
72.	Davi Rashid	...	—	10,000
73.	Banu Mas'ud	...	3,000	10,000
74.	Wuld Sulaiman. They were reckoned as belonging to 'Aneza, and they live in Khaibar	...	—	3,000
75.	Al Aidi and the Shamlan. These tribes also live in Khaibar, which contains two fertile Wadis (valleys). Also the Fasar, which belongs to 'Aneza, live there. The country about Khaibar is also called al Auja and Auham	...	700	4,000

Najd is 45 days' journey distant and the countries (upon which there are dwellings) are divided in six parts: al 'Arid al Qasim, al Washm mountain Shammar, Sudir and the south. The south is divided into two parts: al Kharj, and Wadi ad Dawasir. In al 'Arid are the following towns: Dar'iyā, which is the capital of all Arabia, ar Riyad, Manfuha, al 'Abina and Huraimala. These are the most celebrated and important towns. Besides there are many villages as Huta Banu Tamin, al Hariq, ad Dalam and al Yamama. Wadi and Dawasir have two towns, which are called Alfaj. In Washm are Shaqra, Shaiqar, Sadiq, Sarmad, Darma and al Qasab.

Note.—Sadiq is remarkable for its sandy deserts, the like of which are not found near any other town. Shatar, which belongs to it, is buried in sand, but some remaining part lies high. Also at Shaqra there is sand, but not as at Sadiq or Shatar. The inhabitants surpass all their countrymen in religious zeal. Also in Sarmad there is sand, but besides the above-mentioned towns, there is no town in

Najd which abounds in sand. The deepest is the sand of Sadiq, because there are mountains of sand, which are twice or thrice as high as a town Minara. This is the home of the author according to Dar'aiya.

Sadair.—The towns are Harma, al Majma'a Jalajul, al Rawda, al 'Auda, al Husun, az Zulfa, al Gatad, Dakhila and al 'Ashira.

Qasim.—Towns are Rass, Onaiza, Buraida, al Khabar, at Tanumal, al Mudnab and al Oyun. Besides there are many villages. The ruler is called Hujailan b. Ahmad. He is a hundred years old and lives in Onaiza. Qasim is the richest province of Najd.

Mountain Shammar.—There are three towns: Hayil, Qaffar, and Mauqaq, to which belong several dependent towns. The ruler is called Muhammad and belongs to the family of Ibn 'Ali. He refused to submit to the Pasha of Egypt and he still continues to reign.

In Jauf al 'Umar there are two towns, which both possess date-palms, specially Dauma and Sukaka. Other places also belong to it.

These are the well-known towns which are included under the name of Najd. This country is more homogeneous than any other as regards climate, the quality of the soil, the health of the inhabitants, mental activity, acuteness, fervour, religious zeal, and fanaticism towards unbelievers. One who has the same faith with them is regarded as their brother whatever his parents may have been, but the unbeliever is regarded as a dog. The translator here remarks that a faqir related to him that he had never found a better man anywhere than in Najd. When he came to the house of the Shaikh of a village, the Shaikh enquired of him if he were a Moslem (i.e. Sunni). When he replied affirmatively, the Shaikh examined his arms, because the Sunnis perform their ablutions by rubbing the right hand over the forearm of the left hand downward. The Shi'as do it in a contrary direction, and one can therefore see from the position of the hair to which sect a man belongs. When he had convinced the Shaikh that he was a Sunni, he found the keenest reception and at his departure there were given him letters of recommendation for the next village, and he lived throughout his travel in Najd comfortably. An altogether different description is given to me by Iqbal ud Dawla, a prince of the royal house of Oudh, who was in Baghdad in the year 1855. As he is a Shi'a, he was imprisoned and was in danger of being executed. As an instance of inhumanity he related to me the following: I had a very valuable sword. The brother of the Shaikh came to me and noticed it. He asked me for how much I would sell it. I answered: "I will not sell it, but I am thy prisoner: do what pleases thee." He took it and departed. After some time he came again bespattered with blood. I said: "I hope nothing has happened to thee; hast thou perhaps wounded thyself?" "No," replied he; "I rode out into the open, where I met a female slave who tended sheep and on whom I tried thy sword, which I then found to be altogether excellent."

There are here specially many palm-trees; and in this respect no other country can be compared with Najd. When the Pasha of Egypt invaded Najd and the inhabitants did not want to submit to him, he ordered the date-trees to be cut down, because he knew that they could not live without them.

In al Rass above fifty thousand date-trees were cut down. He put a price of two rial for the cutting down of each tree and the men therefore emulated each other in their endeavour to fell them. An eye-witness related to me that one man had cut down eight trees in one hour. There were in all 80,000 date and other fruit trees felled.

	<i>Cavalry</i>	<i>Infantry</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
76. Dawasir ...	1,500	8,000	
77. As Subul ...	800	3,000	
78. Banu Husain descended from the grandson of Muhammad			
79. Za'b ...	700	3,000	
80. 'Otaiba (different from the already named) ...	500	1,000	
81. Subi (different from the already named) ...	800	2,000	
82. Al Kasir (different from the already named) ...	800	2,500	
83. Al Fudul ...	1,000	3,000	
84. Mutair ...	700	3,000	
85. Al-Dahamisha ...	2,000	7,000	
86. Az Zafir ...	1,000	4,000	
87. 'Adwan (different from the already named) ...	2,000	7,000	
88. As Saur; they live in the mountain Shammar and belong to the 'Aneza tribe ...	500	2,000	
89. 'Adba (different from the already named) ...	500	1,500	
90. Zaubal ...	1,000	3,000	
91. Al Aalam ...	1,000	5,000	
92. Ash Shararat (different from the already named) ...	1,000	2,000	
	500	3,000	

VI. WANDERING TRIBES OF 'OMAN AND THE COAST

93. Ayas ...	—	5,000	
94. Banu Katab. They use neither			

	musket nor bows but use lances and swords. They ride on camels and not on horses	—	5,000
95.	Al Manasir. They also use swords and lances	...	2,000
96.	Banu Zahir	...	3,000

There are still other tribes in 'Oman, which the author did not know.

VII. TRIBES OF LAHSA WHICH FORMERLY WAS CALLED BAHRAIN

The Banu Khalid is the ruling family, yet for 40 years the country was under the Wahabis until the Pasha of Egypt gave it back to Banu Khalid. Qatif is a well-known sea-port, but under this name, besides the town, the whole district as far as Kuwait is included. The following are the wandering tribes:

97.	Al 'Amayir	...	700	4,000
98.	Al Mahashir	...	300	1,000
99.	As Sabaih	...	300	1,500
100.	Al 'Omur	...	200	2,000
101.	Al Jabur	...	200	200

VIII. TRIBES OF IRAQ

The principal tribe is Muntafiq, whose Shaikh is called Hamud. They are divided into many divisions as:

102.	Ash Shahib, which is divided into four divisions of which one is called al Muhammad, Altogether the number they have is	...	2,000	3,000
	To these are added 8,000 adherents of the tribes who live in the villages and belong to Banu Mansur, Banu Khaiqan and so on.			
103.	Banu Malik or the proper Muntafiq. They possess cows and sheep but no camels	...	1,500	5,000
104.	Banu Malik. They are the best of Muntafiq; possess cows and sheep	...	2,000	4,000

105.	Banu Sa'id	...	1,000	2,000
106.	Al Bawiya. Their Shaikh is called Ka'b: they live to the west of Basra	...	1,000.	—
107.	Banu Hakim. They live between Samawa and Dairatal-Muntafiq	...	500	2,000
108.	Al-Khaza'il. They live to the west of Samawa and are divided into four tribes: Shabib as Saqqar, Hajj 'Abdallah and al Ganem. But all the tribes are descended from one father. There belong to them also the tribes of 'Afak, al Agra', Khalija and al Qatla. Each of them has 2,000 infantry. These tribes engage in agriculture and carry on trade continually on the neighbouring rivers	...	4,000	6,000
109.	Al Baij. They live between the Khaza'il and Mashhad	...	800	2,000
110.	Al Wadi	...	200	500
111.	Al Qash'am. They do not use the musket	...	500	2,000
112.	Az Zaqarit, near the burial place of Husain	...	300	500
113.	Zabid, between Hilla and Khaza'il. They consist of three tribes: Juhaish, Sultan and Sa'id	...	1,500	6,000
114.	Al Rafi. They possess horses and camels	...	300	400
115.	Al Hamid	...	300	500
116.	Rabia between Wasit and Bagdad	...	120	2,000
117.	Rauba	...	200	2,000
118.	Shammar, west of Tigris. Their leader is called Hamd al Bardi. They use no musket	...	1,000	2,000
119.	Bani Lam. They consist of al Balasim and al Ahd al Khan. Their Shaikhs are Arar	...		

	and Ali Khan ...	2,000	3,000
120.	Al Kasir (to be distinguished from the tribe already named); they live between al Huwaiza and Tigris ...		
		1,200	2,000
121.	Banu Tamim (to be distinguished from the tribe already named). Their place of abode is called Diyala ...	700	2,000
122.	Ad Dalaim west of Euphrates. They are divided into four divisions: Al Bu Radini, Al Bu 'Alwan, and al Mahamid. Each division has 250 cavalry and a thousand infantry; therefore ...	1,000	4,000
123.	Al Janabiyin ...	200	1,000
124.	(Name omitted) east of Tigris between Bagdad and Karkul*	500	—
125.	Al 'Anbaqiya. They use no musket ...	—	300
126.	Al Kuruma. They live behind the mountain Harin ...	800	—
127.	Al Biyat. They live between Bagdad and Karkul ...	600	—

IX. ARABS IN MESOPOTAMIA NAMELY BETWEEN BAGDAD AND 'ORFA AND BETWEEN AL BIRA (BIRAJUK) AND MARIDIN

128.	Al 'Obaid. The tribe consists of four divisions: Al Bu Shahir, Al Bu Ahmad, Al Bu Ohia. They live between Bagdad and Musal and use no musket ...	2,000	—
129.	Tayy, descendants of Hatim. They live between Musal and Maridin. They use no musket ...	2,000	—
130.	Shammar. They are descended likewise from Hatim: their Shaikh is called 'Omar al Jarba ...	1,200	2,000

*I heard in their neighbourhood of the Soba tribe; and perhaps this is the omitted name.

131. As Sailah: another tribe of Shammar ...	1,000	2,000
132. Al Oqaidat; on the Syrian boundary ...	800	2,000
133. Al Baqqara ...	500	1,000
134. Al Bu Sha'ban ...	200	500
135. Al Afadira and al Wulda: on the Syrian boundary ...	1,200	2,000
136. Al Bu Muhammad ...	200	500
137. Banu Sa'id. Their Amir is Fahl al-Khalil ...	1,500	3,000

X. TRIBES OF ALEPPO, NAMELY THE 'ANEZA TRIBE AND OTHERS

138. Al Mawali. They live near Hama. Formerly they had 10,000 but the 'Aneza have almost destroyed them. Their chief is Muhammad bin Kharfan ...	1,800	—
139. Al Haid. They live on the mountain al Akhass and their wealth consists of sheep and donkeys ...	—	4,000
140. Al Fud'an, and 'Aneza tribe. They consist of four camps, namely, al Ghabin, al Kharsa al Wuld and al-Mabin. Each tribe consists of 2,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry: therefore they are ...	4,000	8,000
141. Ibn Hadal ...	1,000	3,000
142. As Sab'a ...	1,000	1,500
143. Al Fadil. They stood formerly at the head of 'Aneza ...	—	500
144. Al 'Omur (different from the tribe already named). This tribe lives between Damascus and Aleppo and belongs to 'Aneza ...	—	500
145. Wuld 'Ali. Their Shaikh is called Dukhi: they protect the Hajj ...	2,000	4,000
146. As Sawalama, a tribe of		

	'Aneza, of the tribe of Durai'i	500	1,000
147.	Al Ashayi'aan 'Aneza tribe: their Shaikh is called Mu'jil	600	5,000
148.	'Abd Allah ...	300	500
149.	Ar Rawla. Their Shaikh is called Durani'l. All these tribes live between Basra and Damascus ...	1,500	—
150.	As Saruya. They accompany the pilgrims (Hajj) but have been oppressed by the 'Aneza	500	—
151.	Banu Sakhar. They protect the Hajj ...	500	1,000
152.	As Sarhan ...	500	1,000
153.	Al 'Isa ...	800	1,500

M. HEDAYAT HOSAIN

MOHAMMEDAN MASS EDUCATION IN BENGAL

In order to cope fully with the existing difficulties in connection with Mohammedan Mass Education in Bengal, the best thing which the

In order to make a scheme of Mohammedan Mass Education of Bengal, the suggestions of the Education Commission of 1885 should be acted upon. The carrying out of these suggestions would involve the establishment of *maktabs*—the three different classes of *maktabs* at present in existence.

Government can do is to follow the suggestions of the Education Commission of 1885, with such modifications and alterations as circumstances, incidental to the wants of particular localities and sections of people, might require. The following are the suggestions of the said Committee in brief :

1. That special standards for Mohammedan primary schools be prescribed.

2. That Hindustani be the principal medium for imparting instruction to Mohammedans in Primary and Middle Schools, except in localities where the Mohammedan community desire that some other language be adopted.

3. That the official vernacular in places where it is not Hindustani, be added as a voluntary subject to the curriculum of Primary and Middle Schools for Mohammedans maintained from public funds.

In order to work out the aims set forth in these suggestions, the establishment of *maktabs* corresponding to all intents and purposes, to the ever prolific *patshahas*, is needful. Such *maktabs* must not be mere Koranic schools, teaching, as in the days of yore, mere Islamic ritual, but should be so adapted as to have scope for teaching the full departmental standard of the Lower and Upper Primary examinations, as well as for imparting the necessary religious instruction. Such a system will work admirably well, as secular and religious instruction will go hand in hand. There are, no doubt, some *maktabs* still in existence at Bengal, but their number is microscopic, and they do not aim in imparting secular education. The *maktabs* now in existence throughout the length and breadth of Bengal may be classified as follows :

1. *Maktabs* teaching in addition to the Koran the ritual of Islam through the Urdu language.

2. *Maktabs* teaching Urdu or Persian or both (with or without Koran and ritual) and also a certain elementary standard in Bengali and arithmetic.

3. *Maktabs* teaching the full departmental standards, Lower and Upper Primary, in the vernacular, and Urdu or Persian as an additional language.

Of these three classes of *maktabs* the last is alone the type of institution that comes up to the ideal which I advocate.

The third class of *Maktabs* is the only desirable institution of its kind, but instead of teaching a third language as proposed, religious instruction should be imparted. Some Bengali religious books may be prescribed.

In the Urdu-speaking districts, of course, religious instruction will be imparted through the medium of the Urdu language; and in order to facilitate teaching, the series of religious readers published by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, wonderfully progressive and simple as it is, may be adopted for the Lower and Upper Primary classes. There is no doubt a paucity of such books in Bengali, but till similar books are published in Bengali, "Islam" by Munshi Abdur Rahim, the "Nimaz Sikkha" by Munshi Reazuddin, the "Iduzzuha" by Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, and portions of translations of the Koran in Bengali, might serve the purpose.

In those districts of Bengal in which the Mohammedan population predominates up to 90 per cent, *maktabs* may well replace the *patshalas* now in existence, and the numerically small proportion of Hindu boys may attend the secular education given in the *maktabs*. If Government intends that some sort of religious instruction should also be given to the Hindu boys, it may appoint a special *guru* for the purpose. And, *mutatis mutandis*, in those districts in Bengal where the percentage of Hindu population is higher than that of the Mohammedans, *patshalas* may continue to exist as now, and Mohammedan boys should attend the secular portion of the education imparted there, and a Mohammedan *mianji* should be appointed to impart religious instruction to them. In order to save time and expense, this *mianji* may well attend two or three *patshalas* in the same village, or one or more adjoining villages during the day. In the case of those districts or sub-districts, where the percentages of Hindu and Mohammedan population are on a par, two sets of institutions—*maktabs* and *patshalas*—may exist side by side, Musalmans attending the *maktabs* and the Hindus the *patshalas*.

Under the system now in vogue in Bengal, the *patshalas* are

generally maintained by Zamindars, though, of course, District Boards grant some sort of aid here and there, Mohammedan Zamindars have in most places been superseded by Hindu Zamindars. These Hindu Zamindars count a majority of Mohammedan tenants, who are generally agriculturists and peasants. Civilisation has not yet worked so far as to root out race-prejudice and sectarian hatred from the hearts of some of

Government supervision and encouragement necessary in order to make the *maktab* system a success in localities where educational institutions are entirely managed by Hindu Zamindars.

these Mofussil Hindu Zamindars, generally aloof as they have been from culture and liberal education. Naturally, therefore, these Hindu Zamindars cannot be expected to provide for the religious instruction of the Mohammedans or to keep separate establishments like *maktabs* for them. Until provision has been made, and the report of a proposal to this effect is already afloat, for making primary education free in this country, as it is in all other civilised countries in the world, Government would do well to provide for a more minute and closer inspection of primary education, so that the needs of the Musalmans may be adequately met. If the Education Department issues circulars requiring the establishment of *maktabs* on the lines indicated above, the demoralising and demoralising tendencies that are at work in the case of the Mohammedan peasant boys may, to some extent, be checked.

So much about *maktabs* in Bengali-speaking districts.

In some important centres, however, e.g. Calcutta and Dacca, it would be necessary to establish some *maktabs* where the medium of instruction should be Urdu, though the official vernacular of these two places is Bengali, because a majority of the Mohammedans both among the lower and the higher classes speak Urdu. The course of studies for such *maktabs* should be the same as that prescribed for the Lower and Upper Primary students in the Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions. For the better supervision of these *maktabs*, it would be desirable to create additional posts of Inspecting Munshis corresponding to Inspecting Pandits, in places where there are no good Urdu-speaking Mohammedan Sub-Inspectors. These inspecting officers should induce the *mianjis* (corresponding to *gurus*) in charge of *maktabs* to direct as much of their attention to the teaching of the secular as of the religious subjects.

Bengali being the official vernacular of the two capitals, Calcutta and Dacca, it would be improper, it may be said, to keep the masses thoroughly ignorant of Bengali. Indeed, it would be improper, as the aim of primary education is to help the common populace in their dealings with the landlords and the courts. To remove this objection Bengali may be made an optional subject in these *maktabs*.

As a remodelled *maktab* will be a new institution of its kind, it should be so conducted as not to be a hotbed of those tendencies that are generally noticed in a boy turned out by a *patshala*. The effect of the modern-day *patshala* education is simply disastrous. As soon as a peasant boy enters the precincts of a

Maktabs in Urdu-speaking districts in Bengal and the course of studies therein.

Bengali as an optional subject in these Urdu-speaking districts in Bengal, where Bengali is the official vernacular.

Effect of primary education under the existing system on *patshala* boys—the growth of a hatred for their profession and of fashionable ideas.

patshala he forgets his birth, and coming in contact with the superior polish of the tutor and the boys of more respectable families, tries to ape the manners and customs of the gentry, looks down upon his ancestry and shuns the society of his own people as degrading and obnoxious. After finishing his *patshala* education he feels it quite derogatory to return to his plough or the profession of his father. He conceals the name of his father and tries to change his own. The alchemy of *patshala* education transmutes him from a *Mandal* to a *Sarcar*. This little *patshala* learning becomes a dangerous thing for him. Unfit for the plough, he becomes unfit also for anything better than the post of a village accountant. His low birth induces him in course of time to become a Court sharper in the form of a professional scribe, and he indulges in the delinquencies of forgers and perjurers. These upstarts, far from being a help to their parents and family, become rather a curse to them, and squander everything,—their small ancestral tenures not excepted—that descend to them as a heritage. Such dire consequences have led many wise peasants to withhold their children from *patshalas*.

It has been a serious question with many a thinking mind how to counteract the growing tendency of fashionable life among school-going peasant boys. The only answer that can be returned to such a question is: "Make primary education among the masses more or less agricultural or technical." Lord Curzon, who could thoroughly grasp the situation, justly says in his great Resolution on Indian Educational Policy: "The reading books should deal with topics associated with rural life." That is to say, the infant imagination of a peasant boy should not be permitted to be dazzled and blasted with the lurid glare of the external polish and refinement obtaining in societies above his own. The object of education should be to bring him under character and efficiency, and ultimately confirm and extend his usefulness in his own society. This agricultural education, in order to be effective, should be accompanied by practical lessons and experiments. Arrangements should be made to instruct the pupils of village schools in practical agriculture and horticulture. What the village pupils should learn must be practical, and not so much from books. This instruction should be on manures, nature of soils required for different plants, different kinds of grafting, modes of germination, successful growth, preservation, etc. In every village there should be an agricultural school for children. There should be attached to each school a sufficient quantity of low and high lands for agricultural and horticultural purposes. In the morning, from 7 to 10, the children may be employed on the field or on the garden under the superintendence of

How to counteract the growth of such ideas—Lord Curzon's suggestion—Make education practical and experimental. Necessity of opening experimental farms.

a practical agriculturist. After 10, they may be allowed to go home. At 2 in the afternoon they should be required to assemble in the school-room, where, besides the three "R's" they should be taught practical agriculture, agricultural chemistry, lessons on things etc.

By whom, it may naturally be asked, should such instruction be given and how can this object be most economically carried out? To this I would reply that there is a body of intelligent agriculturists, *malcoes* and nursery-men in every village, whose services should be secured for Rs. 12 to Rs. 16 a month; and one or two of them may be employed experimentally till the utility of extending this mode of tuition is established beyond doubt. Such a system of recruiting teachers from the class that represents the art or profession to be taught, will also be materially helpful in eradicating that feeling of hatred which is generally engendered in peasant boys entering a *patshala*.

The new Kindergarten system of primary education, inaugurated under the benign auspices of Sir Alexander Pedler, C.I.E., has, no doubt, been a good beginning in the reform of the system of primary education previously in vogue, but it still has the many defects reviewed in the foregoing paragraphs. Attempts are being made to make scientific teaching as much experimental as possible; but the methods are yet too tentative. In the Primary and Vernacular Examinations, the examination in science has hitherto been a written one. The effect of this written examination has been to encourage learning by rote. Small boys, who are not yet well-grounded in their vernacular language of the Science Primer, without entering into the spirit and significance and composition, generally get by heart the language of the subject. In order to put a stop to such a baneful practice, which will gradually degenerate into the condemned system of cramming, which, among other things, necessitated the recent University Reform, the examination in science should be oral, and as far as possible practical. Boys should be encouraged to answer questions in their own words.

The curricula of studies are also defective under the present system, so far as Sanitary and Veterinary Sciences are concerned. The masses are utterly ignorant of the laws of health. They build low houses on damp places and drink the water of most filthy pools. Bengal villages are generally supposed to be the birthplaces of the fell diseases, cholera and malaria, but the fault lies not in the villages, but in the people that inhabit them. Even in many cases the rich are equally

Recruitment of teachers from the castes that represent the art or profession to be taught.

men in every village,

Rs. 16 a month;

experimentally till the utility of extending this mode of tuition is established beyond doubt.

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The new Kindergarten system of teaching. Its existing defects so far as science teaching goes.

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The curricula of studies for the Lower and Upper Primary Standards should include Sanitary Science and Veterinary Science.

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Such a system of recruiting teachers from the class that represents the art or profession to be taught,

will also be materially helpful in eradicating that feeling of hatred which is generally engendered in peasant boys entering a *patshala*.

The new Kindergarten system of primary education, inaugurated under the benign auspices of Sir Alexander Pedler,

C.I.E., has, no doubt, been a good beginning in the reform of the system of primary education

previously in vogue, but it still has the many defects reviewed in the foregoing paragraphs.

Attempts are being made to make scientific teaching as much experimental as possible;

but the methods are yet too tentative.

In the Primary and Vernacular Examinations, the examination in science has hitherto been a written one.

The effect of this written examination has been to encourage learning by rote.

Small boys, who are not yet well-grounded in their vernacular language of the Science Primer,

without entering into the spirit and significance and composition, generally get by heart the language of the subject.

In order to put a stop to such a baneful practice, which will gradually degenerate into the condemned system of cramming, which, among other things, necessitated the recent University Reform,

the examination in science should be oral, and as far as possible practical.

Boys should be encouraged to answer questions in their own words.

ignorant of the laws of health. Open drains, reeking with filth, often surround the mansions of Bengali millionaires. Filthy water which the rustics have not the sense to distinguish from pure, and blocked-up channels which the villagers, high and low, have not the intelligence to cut, have to account for the frightful mortality every year; and this is due to preventible causes.

In order to enable the villagers, who depend for the cultivation of their soil mainly upon cattle, to provide against cattle diseases, it is necessary that a little Veterinary Science should also be taught them, either separately or jointly. It is on account of the ignorance of this science among villagers, that many heads of cattle are annually carried away by some preventible cause or other; and to carry on cultivation the peasants have to borrow money from village Shylocks at exorbitant rates of interest; or if they happened to be wise enough, to apply to the District Collector for agricultural loans. The benign Government has in some districts—at least I know of one—distributed books and pamphlets on cattle diseases through its District and Sub-Divisional Officers; and the people should for this kindness accord their best thanks to Government. But a widespread instruction on Veterinary Science, as a part and parcel of primary education, will obviate the necessity of such random distribution of pamphlets on cattle diseases.

While considering the question of mass education and the way it should be carried on, the subject of the salaries of teachers naturally arises, in connection with the appointment of well-trained and well-qualified teachers, which a healthy scheme of popular education will naturally entail. On this subject the remark of the Honourable Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry Khan Bahadur in his speech on "Primary Education in Rural Areas" may most aptly be quoted: "I regret to observe," says he, "that the sad efficiency of teachers in Bengal is the direct result of the practice of the Education Department of Bengal, of paying extremely small remuneration to the teachers, and the unwisdom of the practice becomes all the more glaring when it is considered that the cost per pupil in Bengal is Rs. 2-7 while it is Rs. 6-4 in Bombay as stated in para 4 of the Government Resolution." Indeed the present low pay of *gurus* is simply ridiculous. It is inconsistent even with the sense of gentlemanliness or decorum. It will be a sheer waste of money if the funds be frittered away in the establishment of small schools with teachers on Rs. 5 or 6 a month. It is preposterous to expect that a person receiving a wretched salary of less than the earnings of a common

Beneficent effect of a little knowledge of the Veterinary Science on the part of the agriculturists.

Present low pay of teachers—its evil consequences—good teachers cannot be attracted—the importance of having very able teachers for primary schools—an Englishman's view of German village schools.

cooly or peon, should be capable of undertaking:

“The delightful task to rear the tender thought,
To teach the young idea how to shoot,
And pour the fresh instruction o'er the mind.”

Such low and absurd pay scares away many well-read and competent persons who find a better field and higher remuneration elsewhere. This is a fact to be noted that the duties of a primary schoolmaster are more difficult, more responsible, more important, and more arduous than those attaching to any other profession. He has to mould the mind of the future man, and on him depends the hopes of the nation and the happiness and comfort of society in general. I cannot impress more strongly on the Government the importance of employing efficient teachers, on respectable salaries, to conduct primary schools for the instruction of the labouring classes, than by extracting here the following passage from an article I happened to read in an English periodical sometime ago: “The conclusion I draw from these German village schools is that they educate, train, pay and provide a much larger number of much higher class men to teach village schools than we do. We give a high class man to a large school in a large town, a low class man we think good enough for a small school in a small village of poor people. There it is not so. The pay and the qualifications of the village schoolmaster are as high as those of any larger and richer establishment. The truth is recognised that it is neither the ability to pay for education, the intelligence of the parents, nor the wealth of the place that gives a right to good or bad teaching. It is agreed to be the business of the community, of the state, and of the Government, that the rising generation shall be trained in the best way for the duties of good citizens, and to make good husbands and good wives and good workmen, and that the common good of all can be best promoted by rendering each the best capable of performing the duties of our common life.”

SYED ABDUL LATIF

Patuakhali, Backerganj.

**THE CAUSE OF THE BACKWARDNESS OF THE
MOHAMMEDANS OF BENGAL IN EDUCATION***

*This paper was written in December 1890 for the Thirteenth Session of the Mohammedan Education Conference, which held its sittings in Calcutta.

In the following article I wish to deal with the question of Mohammedan education, as far as it concerns Bengal, from an ethnographical point of view; but I may say that the observations which I shall make may be regarded as applicable, more or less, to the Mohammedans of other parts of India.

Why are the Mohammedans in Bengal so slow in acquiring a fair acquaintance with the English language, and adapting themselves to the requirements of the age, country and Government? I would answer the query by asking another one. Who are the Mohammedans of Bengal? What were they before the eventful battle of Plassey which was fought on the bank of the Bhagirati in 1757?

Let me answer. In 1203 A.D. Mohammed Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered Bengal. Except the eastern and southern districts, i.e. Banga and the southern portions of Rar and Bagri (or the Presidency) he became master of the whole country.

But there is evidence that as early as the eighth century A.D., Arab traders used to trade with Eastern Bengal; and it is believed that some of them had established a colony of their own.

From the conquest of Bengal in 1203 by Bakhtiyar Khilji during the reign of Qutubuddin Aibak, the then Emperor of Delhi, to the battle of Plassey in 1757 and the defeat of Sirajuddaulah in the reign of Alamgir II and the establishment of the East India Company's Government—or during a period of nearly 600 years,—Bengal was ruled by various dynasties—Khilji, Ghori, Pathan, Mughal, Shaikh, and Saiyid. Some of them were independent Sultans, while others were subadars of the Delhi Emperors; but many were nominally subject to the Delhi sovereigns.

Now these conquerors and masters, Sultans and Nazims of Bengal, whose capitals were at Lakhnauti, Gaur, Tanda, Dacca, and Murshidabad, were accompanied by, or compelled to bring, persons of their own tribes and supporters of their own dynasties. The hosts of Mohammedan families that had been pouring in, ever since the invasion of Bengal in 1203 A.D., may be roughly divided under the following heads:

First.—Persons who came to fight the battles or support the rule of their own tribal chiefs and dynasties, or to take part in internecine conflicts and internal feuds. These contests and conflicts were, at times, very keen and protracted.

Secondly.—Civilians, or those who were employed as Qazis, Muftis, writers, poets, and artisans, and sometimes beggars, who lived on

the bounties of princes and grandees.

Thirdly.—A large number of other eminent men illustrious by birth and renowned in literature and science, sometimes scions of sovereigns of Asia,—who were compelled to leave the country of their birth and fame, viz. the shores of the Oxus and the valley of the Euphrates, and to come and live in the Upper Provinces of Hindustan, or in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the sake of greater security or in quest of fortune.

Fourthly.—Various families—warriors of renown, ecclesiastics and preachers—who were banished and sent away as an Imperial policy to remote places, especially to Bengal. Sometimes rebellious lords, with their retinue, used to raise the standard of rebellion, and when defeated, or when the cause for which they were contending was found to be unattainable, they would take shelter in swampy tracts or mountainous retreats. Others were forced to come to Bengal on account of famines that sometimes broke out in Delhi and Upper India.

If one should turn to the pages of *Firishta*, *Badayuni*, *Badshanama*, *Akbarnama*, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* and *Riyazus-Salatin* or take the trouble of studying the accounts of various Mohammedan families of Bengal in the *Farmans*, *Sanads*, *Parwanas*, and *Hasbulhukms*, etc., or in the inscriptions on tombstones, mosques or serais, one would at once come to the conclusion that almost the entire Mohammedan population of Bengal had been recruited from the above sources. There are, as there must be, a considerable number that are offspring of intermarriages with the native population, or converts to Islam.

Let us consider for a moment the original stock from which the Bengal Mohammedans of the day (nay, even of other provinces in India) have been drawn. On account of the long administration of Bengal by Turanian or Iranian rulers from Central Asia, Afghanistan and Baluchistan the majority of the civilians as well as the military, with the rank and file, that came to Bengal, were of their own race or clan. Even the Arab masters—*Saiyids* and *Shaikhs*—were not only frequently compelled to wear the sword for the safety of their person and property but often were forced to employ as a matter of necessity or policy, persons of Afghan and Turkish origin. It is unnecessary to say that these followers of *Khilji*, *Ghori*, *Pathan*, *Mughal* and other rulers and administrators were of the same race and tribe that accompanied *Mahmud*, *Taimur*, *Nadir*, and *Ahmad Shah*, or, to come to more recent times, of that race with which our own British masters have been fighting from the time of the First Afghan War to the campaign at *Tirah* and *Bargai*. They were so many and so varied that I am unable to enumerate their names here.

It is known to every Oriental traveller and historian that some of

these tribes live in tents or lead unsettled and predatory lives. They are superstitious and almost illiterate. They obey their own tribal chiefs and none else.

The little learning that may be found among them is confined to Mullas and Shaikhs who are their spiritual guides. An eminent writer thus speaks of some of these tribes:

"The Northern Kara-Kirghiz are not bound together by the slightest bond of union. The numerous tribes are completely disserved and constantly at war with each other; each individual tribe even subdivides into smaller branches, and thus in a like manner engages in internecine feuds. In this manner their martial strength becomes absorbed by endless internal conflicts, as well as by frequent disputes with Kazaks, so that in spite of their internal fierce courage, they have been subjugated with difficulty by the Chinese and Kokanese. Consequently, in recent times, one tribe after another, with but few exceptions, has willingly accepted the sovereignty of Russia."

Although I admit, as observed by the above writer and others, that all the Central and Southern Asian clans and tribes are not like the above, yet the observation is applicable to almost all of them, as regards their culture and habits—if not to their willingness without a struggle to obey the supremacy of a foreign master.

It was with such materials that former rulers of Bengal effected its subjugation, and held it for so many centuries. It was with them that Tughan Khan waged war; Tughral assumed the insignia of Royalty; Balban defeated Tughral, and Sher Shah and his Afghans established their power. Again it was because of these fierce people that Mughul Generals, during the reign of Akbar, had so much difficulty in subduing Majnun Khan Qaqshal, Masum Khan Kabuli, Qatlu Khan, Isa Khan, and other Jagirdars and their rebellious followers. During the time of Ibrahim Khan, Sobha Singh and Rahim Khan were enabled with such an army to raise the standard of revolt.

From the above narrative, one thing is clear, that after the destruction of the Afghan Empire, corps of these people were taken into the service of the Hindu Princes and Mughul Generals. They were esteemed to be brave troops, but were very unsteady and mutinous. Long residence in Bengal and its climate have softened their courage, and most of them, in the absence of something better to do, have taken to cultivating the land as a means of livelihood.

It was only the Sadat and Mashaikh, that is, the learned families of Iran, Turan, and Afghanistan, the Qazis, Muftis, Mullas, Mansabdars, Akhundjis, and Khundkars, who guided the reins of Government in its manifold branches—that cared for education for its own sake and of

necessity. No Mohammedan can be respected by the Moslem community unless he be educated in Persian or Arabic. Otherwise his influence will be nil. It was these people, the selected few, whom, after Plassey, our present masters, the English, found fit and willing to serve as Sarrishtadars, Munsiffs, Sadar Amins, Sadar Alas, Qazi Adalats, Muftis, Mir Munshis, Professors of Arabic, Teachers of Persian, Kotwals, Darogas, Bakhshis, Vakils, and Mukhtarkars, etc. When the "Calcutta Madrasah" was established in 1781, it was the scions of these men that flocked to Calcutta to take diplomas and titles, or to compete for service examinations. They are to be found in all parts of Bengal, in select localities in Bardwan, Murshidabad, Hugly, Bibhum, Midnapur, the 24-Parganas, Jessore, Dacca, Mymensing, Chittagong and other districts and tracts. Their families are well known, and though some of them have been ruined, people still remember their former exploits. It may here be stated that no more peace-loving and loyal subjects of the King-Emperor exist on the face of the earth than they. Free from all pernicious or heterodox beliefs, their motto has been "sabr-o-shukr", or "Live and let live."

But on account of the changed policy of the Government (1) with regard to land-tenures and freeholds—Milks, Aimas, Madad-i-Maash, and Altamghas, and (2) with reference to the qualification in the English tongue being a *sine qua non* for employment, these old families, the backbone of the society, have well-nigh been wrecked and ruined. Let me give briefly a resume of the above two-fold policy.

As early as 1772 when the British understood the direct management of the collection of the land revenue, all invalid grants of an earlier date formed the subject of an enquiry. In 1793 certain rent-free holdings were resumed, as the occupiers could not produce royal Sanads. Under the Regulation of 1819, popularly called Doem Qanun, no Farman of the Delhi Court, nor any other document, was considered valid unless verified from official records; or proved by living witnesses. On account of the above Regulation many well-to-do families who could not but fail after the lapse of centuries to produce the required evidence were ruined. The reservation, observes Mr Westland, made in favour of lands dedicated to religious purposes, was very narrowly construed by the Board. It is needless to say that these Regulations proved more injurious to Mohammedans than to Hindus, as will be seen from the sequel.

On the other hand, as early as the fourth decade of the last century, various orders and circulars were issued that thenceforth the court language should be Bengali in lieu of Urdu or Persian. By and by, Persian and Hindi were swept away from the courts and offices, and English and Bengali were made compulsory for all posts. The posts of Qazis and Muftis were abolished, and English versions of Arabic Law books came to be used. The ancient Mohammedan families of Bengal,

till then trusted and employed by Government, could not but see with pain and remorse this changed policy of our paternal Government. Having lived in Bengal for centuries, whither their forefathers had come to serve, or to seek peace in the jungle, or in swampy tracts, and amidst unpleasant and uncongenial surroundings, they were accustomed to consider the Gangetic plain and the valley of the Brahmaputra their permanent home. They biled with delight the advent of the British, stood by them during the beginning and infancy of the British rule, and have never swerved from the path of loyalty and duty since. They were satisfied with the liberal and tolerant policy of the Government, and were thankful for the advantages they derived beyond their expectation under them, by getting Government employment more than others. The sudden reversal of this policy at once nipped their future hopes in the bud. Like the English, the Mohammedans had very little concern with the management of zamindaris. They were managed, then as now, by Hindus. Trades they had not much liking for. Their only hope lay in Government service. They were, therefore, quite unprepared for this change of policy—for change it was for them indeed, inasmuch as they had to neglect their cherished studies and languages in order to learn and cultivate a language which was foreign, to their tastes and views. Such was not the case with the Bengal Hindus, who had to unlearn one alien language, in order to learn another.

In the early period of the British administration there existed no Government English Schools. Those that existed were maintained by European missionaries. But when the Government started schools, the curriculum of studies consisted of Sanskrit, English, and Bengali; and in these schools Mohammedan youths, who had any regard for their religion and nationality, could not acquire even a smattering of Persian or Urdu, not to say of religious instruction. In these schools, there could not be Musalman teachers. Hence it is evident that these schools were almost exclusively resorted to by Hindu youths. What Government apparently thought was this, that Hindus and Musalmans being inhabitants of the same country, the same course of studies that was suited for the one was also suited for the other. The consequence was very disastrous for the Mohammedans. While one community suffered loss, another gained undue advantage. It is to be regretted that only at the present moment, scions of good and once well-to-do families, after most of them have been ruined, or have got mixed with the masses, have taken seriously to acquiring an English education, or passing the University or competitive examinations. But they have commenced too late.

The conclusion that I arrive at, after the above long introduction, is as follows:

I. That a limited number of Bengal Musalmans, viz. the scions of higher and literate classes who live in particular localities, had all the learning among themselves, during their own Government; or in other words, before the battle of Plassey was fought and Bengal passed from Mohammedan to English rule.

II. That after the British undertook the direct administration of the country and the "Calcutta Madrasah" was established, in order to give the Mohammedans, after they had produced their Sharafatnama, such a knowledge of Arabic literature and law as would qualify them to help Government in the administration of justice, the members of the aforesaid families came in large numbers to qualify themselves for employment in Civil and Criminal Departments and Law Courts, which were established on the principle and basis of the law of the country. Need I say, that an education of the kind served a two-fold purpose, viz. it gave secular as well as religious advantages—a thing so dear to every good Mohammedan. It is significant that the majority of the employees of the time were Mohammedans of good families.

III. That since the substitution of English and Bengali for Persian and Urdu in the curriculum of studies and the raising of the qualifications for Government service to the University standard, or a high proficiency in English and Mathematics, and owing to keen competition with other races, coupled with the prejudice of genteel Mohammedan families against acquiring a foreign language, especially in Missionary institutions or Hindu seminaries, which were supposed by them, rightly or wrongly, to be detrimental to their best interests, national and religious, most of these families have been ruined, or live in penury and misery. The members of the present generation have, indeed, on account of these changes, lost the distinguishing badge of their family, by forgetting their own national language and science (*ulum* and *fazail*), and by losing worldly prosperity in neglecting the modern and University education.

This change in the policy of our rulers and the consequent decadence of ancient families have wrought a mighty revolution in Mohammedan society. Persons of low birth and of no education are offering themselves, in villages and hamlets, as religious teachers. It also sometimes happens that none is forthcoming who can officiate in religious services, or read funeral prayers. Boys are growing up with no education, or with so little that it may be considered as dangerous.

IV. That agriculture and agricultural produce, e.g. paddy, jute, turmeric, pepper, pulses, and oilseeds, etc., having received a great stimulus of late, the cultivators of the land, a large percentage of whom are Musalmans, are now making great profits, and acquiring such prosperity and sufficiency, that they consider modern education rather as a fashion of the day than as a means to wealth. Hence, they cut off

the education of their sons when they have scarcely begun it. Such incomplete education is very injurious to the country and does no good to the learners.

The modern Bengali tradesmen and money-lenders who belong mostly to low castes—for no Musalmans of ancient family are big tradesmen in Bengal—are apt to disregard the best interests of the members of old and illustrious families. The latter have generally to borrow money from these money-lenders, and cultivators of the land. Consequently the little property which they have inherited is passing away from their hands, by sale, mortgage, and permanent lease, to tradesmen and money-lenders. A large number of these money-lenders are non-Mohammedans.

V. The lower order of Mohammedans, who even during the Mohammedan rule had nothing better to do than to fight their master's battles, or to serve as paiks or valets, and whose descendants are to be found in large numbers in every nook and corner of Bengal, and who being mostly the offspring of a fighting and marauding stock that never cared for learning or had any capacity of thinking for the morrow, have till now kept aloof from the advantages of the Vernacular Schools, with Guru Mahasais or Pandits.

It is quite natural that those whose former profession was learning should care for it now, to maintain their position, and for the sake of learning and the class who never cared for it before should be slow to appreciate its advantages and for long keep aloof from Schools and Colleges. Hence it is that so few Musalmans are to be met with in our English and Vernacular institutions. We can verify the above proposition from the educational progress made by our Hindu fellow countrymen. Among them, too, the higher castes, more than the lower ones, have taken readily to acquiring an English education.

In conclusion, I am happy to state that the Mohammedans of the lower order have now begun to learn Bengali and English, and are now bestirring to qualify themselves for services. But let me say, without fear of contradiction, that the Mohammedan gentry of Bengal as a distinct class, revered and venerated for their blue blood, higher culture, love of learning and religion, benevolent disposition, zeal, veracity, piety, conscientiousness and sincerity have well-nigh disappeared, and with them their mode of dress, speaking and of interchange of courtesies and dealings with others. In this respect the Bengal Mohammedans of the day, unlike their coreligionists in other parts of the Indian Empire, are at a great disadvantage. By tradition, by heredity, and perhaps on account of long residence in the pestilential climate of Bengal, the scions of Mohammedan Ashrafs were ill-prepared for the altered policy of the Government, as also for agricultural and

commercial pursuits, for which they had no aptitude or means.

It is to be hoped that the present race of Bengal Musalmans, the progeny of the middle and lower order of old-comers from beyond the Himalayas and the descendants of the Ashrafs not yet tainted, will try to recover the ground already lost, and avail themselves fully of the advantages of modern education, which is at once necessary to maintain their position and gain prosperity. At the same time it is incumbent on us as a community to see that some sort of moral and technical training should be given to the youths so that they grow up more useful members of our society, and may not be a burden to the country and Government. We pray that Government will stretch forth its helping hand to ameliorate our condition, and to recover the ground already, unfortunately, lost. For Government, I repeat, can find no more loyal and peace-loving subjects than the Musalmans of Bengal.

In this article I have tried to explain as plainly and succinctly as I could some of the reasons of the decadence of our community and the policy of our Government, so that there may be no mistakes in understanding our real aim and objects as a community and what we ask the Government to do.

—ABDUL WALI

Ranchi

ADDRESS PRESENTED TO LORD MINTO, VICEROY
AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA

by

A DEPUTATION OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF INDIA
ON 1 OCTOBER 1906 AT SIMLA

AND LORD MINTO'S REPLY

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, taluqdars, zamindars, merchants and others representing a large body of the Mahomedan subjects of his Majesty the King-Emperor in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

We fully realise and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to diverse races and professing diverse religions who form the population of the vast continent of India, and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive, and that India will in the future occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has so far as possible been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion which forms such an important feature of all Indian progress.

CLAIMS OF THE COMMUNITY

Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commercial organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance, and finally by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and above all in the Legislative Chambers of the country. This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by your Excellency with the view of giving it further extension, and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community, that we have ventured to approach your Excellency on the present occasion.

PAST TRADITIONS

The Mahomedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two million or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of his Majesty's Indian dominions, and if a reduction be made for the uncivilised portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animist and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus but properly speaking are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mahomedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We, therefore, desire to submit that under any system of representation extended or limited a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first-class European power except Russia, may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State.

We venture, indeed, with your Excellency's permission to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Mahomedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the empire, and we also hope that your Excellency will in this connection be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than hundred years ago and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

The Mahomedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterised their rulers, and have in consequence abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing but earnestly as we desire that the Mahomedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of Mahomedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

We therefore pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our coreligionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with your Excellency's earnest attention.

EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

We hope your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian people; many of the most thoughtful members of our community in fact

consider that the greatest care, forethought and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious and political conditions obtaining in India, and that in the absence of such care and caution their adoption is likely, among other evils, to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathetic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the Government of the country, we Mahomedans cannot any longer, in justice to our own national interests, hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mahomedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of your Excellency and your illustrious predecessor in office and the heads of Local Governments by whom the Mahomedan members of Legislative Chambers have almost without exception been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably under existing circumstances unavoidable, for while on the one hand the number of nominations to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection on the other hand of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy.

THE RESULTS OF ELECTION

As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the name of any Mahomedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we in fairness find fault with the desire of our non-Muslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority on whose goodwill they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence in our Legislative Chambers of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality.

A DISTINCT COMMUNITY

Still, it cannot be denied that we Mahomedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mahomedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might without unfairness be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent, in the Punjab, but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mahomedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due.

EMPLOYMENT IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

We therefore pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces a due proportion of Mahomedans shall always find place. Orders of like import have at times been issued by Local Governments in some provinces, but have not, unfortunately, in all cases been strictly observed on the ground that qualified Mahomedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well-founded it may have been at one time, is, we submit, no longer tenable now, and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting, the supply of qualified Mahomedans, we are happy to be able to assure your Excellency, is equal to the demand.

THE COMPETITIVE ELEMENT

Since, however, the number of qualified Mahomedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw your Excellency's attention to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mohammedan educationists have from the very outset of the educational movement among them been strenuously directed towards the development of

character, and this we venture to think is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of good public servants.

MAHOMEDANS ON THE BENCH

We venture to submit that the generality of Mahomedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mahomedan Judges are not more frequently appointed to the High Courts and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts, only three Mahomedan lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mahomedan Judge sitting on the Bench of any of these Courts, while there are three Hindu Judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mahomedans in the population is very large, and two in the Chief Court of the Punjab, where the Mahomedans form the majority of the population. It is not, therefore, an extravagant request on our part that a Mahomedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the High Courts and Chief Courts. Qualified Mahomedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one province, then in another. We beg permission further to submit that the presence on the Bench of these Courts of a Judge learned in the Mahomedan Law will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION

As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit for a moment your Excellency's attention to the position of Mahomedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people, yet the position of Mahomedans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mahomedan Commissioner, and the same principle we understand is adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere, but in a good many places the Mahomedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the local authority should in every case be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mahomedans entitled

to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

FELLOWS OF UNIVERSITIES

We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with, that is to say, there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mahomedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

NOMINATION TO PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most respectfully suggest that as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards, the proportion of Mahomedan representatives entitled to seats should be determined and declared with due regard to the important considerations which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address, and that the important Mahomedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests, the Mohamedan members of District Boards and Municipalities and the Mahomedan graduates of universities of a certain standing, say five years, should be formed into Electoral Colleges and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

THE VICEROY'S COUNCIL

With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council whereon the due representation of Mahomedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest (1) that in the cadre of the Council the proportion of Mahomedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the community, and that in any case the Mahomedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority; (2) that as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination; (3) that for the purpose of choosing Mahomedan members, Mahomedan landowners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by your Excellency's Government, Mahomedan

members of the Provincial Councils and Mahomedan fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointment being made we beg that the claims of Mahomedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mahomedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

A MAHOMEDAN UNIVERSITY

We beg to approach your Excellency on a subject which must closely affect our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mahomedan University which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We therefore most respectfully pray that your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

In conclusion, we beg to assure your Excellency that in assisting the Mahomedan subjects of his Majesty at this stage in the development of Indian affairs in the directions indicated in the present address, your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come, and we feel confident that your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers. We have the honour to subscribe ourselves, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servants,

Those who formed the Deputation were: (1) His Highness Aga Sir Sultan Mahomed Shah Aga Khan, G.C.I.E. (Bombay); (2) Shahzadah Bakhtiar Shah, O.L.E., Head of the Royal Mysore family, Calcutta; (3) Hon'ble Malik Omar Hayat Khan, C.I.E. Lieutenant, 17th Prince of Wales' Tiwana Lancers, Tiwana, Shahpur (Punjab); (4) Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Mian Mahomed Shah Din, Bar-at-Law, Lahore; (5) Hon'ble Maulvi Sharafuddin, Bar-at-Law, Patna; (6) Khan Bahadur Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury, Mymensingh (Eastern Bengal); (7) Nawab Bahadur Syed Amir Husan Khan, C.I.E. Calcutta; (8) Naseer Hussain Khan Khayal, Calcutta; (9) Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg, Persian Consul-General, Murshidabad, Calcutta (Bengal); (10) Syed Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law,

Patna (Bihar); (11) Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Patna (Bihar); (12) Khan Bahadur Ahmed Mohiuddin Khan, Stipendiary of the Carnatic family (Madras); (13) Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed, Bar-at-Law (Bombay); (14) Ebrahimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy, General Merchant (Bombay); (15) Mr Abdur Rahim, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta; (16) Syed Allahdad Shah, Special Magistrate and Vice-President, Zamindars' Association, Khairpore (Sindh); (17) Maulana H.M. Malak, Head of Mehdi Bazh Bohras, Nagpur (Central Provinces); (18) Mushir-ud-Doula Mumtaz-ul-Mulk Khan Bahadur Khalifa Syed Mahomed Hussain, Member of the State Council of Patiala (Punjab); (19) Khan Bahadur Col. Abdul Majid Khan, Foreign Minister, Patiala (Punjab); (20) Khan Bahadur Khwaja Yusuf Shah Hony. Magistrate, Amritsar (Punjab); (21) Mian Mahomed Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Lahore (Punjab); (22) Shaikh Ghulam Sadik, Amritsar (Punjab); (23) Hakim Mahomed Ajmal Khan, Delhi; (24) Munshi Ihtisham Ali, Zamindar and Rais, Kakori (Oudh); (25) Syed Nabi Ullah, Bar-at-Law, Rais, Kara, Dist. Allahabad; (26) Maulvi Syed Karamat Hussain, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad; (27) Syed Abdulraoof, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad; (28) Munshi Abdus Salam Khan, retired Sub-Judge, Rampur; (29) Khan Bahadur Mahomed Muzammil Ullah Khan, Zamindar, Secretary, Zamindars' Association, United Provinces, and Joint Secretary, M.A.O. College Trustees, Aligarh; (25) Haji Mahomed Ismail Khan, Zamindar, Aligarh; (26) Sabibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh; (27) Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, Rais, Amroha (United Provinces); (28) Maulvi Habibur Rahaman Khan, Zamindar, Bhikhampur (United Provinces); (29) Nawab Syed Sirdar Ali Khan, son of the late Nawab Sirdar Diler-ul-Mulk Bahadur, C.I.E., Hyderabad (Deccan); (30) Maulvi Syed Mahdee Ally Khan (Munsir-ul-Mulk), Hony. Secretary, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, Etawah, (United Provinces).

The following gentlemen intended to have attended the presentation of the address to the Viceroy, but were prevented by illness or other causes: (1) Hon'ble Nawab Khwaja Salimulla, Nawab of Dacca, (2) Hon'ble Nawab Haji Mahomed Fatch Ali Khan, Qazilbash, Lahore; (3) Hon'ble Syed Zainul-Edros, Surat; (4) Khan Bahadur Kasim Mir Ghayasuddin Peerzadah of Broach; (5) Khan Bahadur Raja Jahandad of Hazara and (6) Shaikh Shahid Hussain of Lucknow.

LORD MINTO'S REPLY

YOUR HIGHNESS AND GENTLEMEN,—Allow me, before I attempt to reply to the many considerations your address embodies, to welcome you heartily to Simla. Your presence here to-day is very full of meaning. To the document which you have presented me are attached the signatures of nobles, of Ministers of various States, of great landowners, of lawyers,

of merchants and of many others of his Majesty's subjects. I welcome the representative character of your deputation as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Muslim community of India. I feel that all you have said emanates from a representative body basing its opinions on a matured consideration of the existing political conditions of India, totally apart from the small personal or political sympathies and antipathies of scattered localities, and I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just aims of the followers of Islam and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire.

As your Viceroy, I am proud of the recognition you express of the benefits conferred by British rule on the diverse races of many creeds who got to form the population of this huge continent. You yourselves, the descendants of a conquering and ruling race, have told me to-day of your gratitude for the personal freedom, the liberty of worship, the general peace and the hopeful future which British administration has secured for India.

HELP IN THE PAST

It is interesting to look back on early British efforts to assist the Mahomedan population to qualify themselves for the public service. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassah with the intention of enabling its students to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government. In 1811 my ancestor, Lord Minto, advocated improvements in the Madrassah and the establishment of Mahomedan Colleges at other places throughout India. In later years the efforts of the Mohamedan Association led to the Government resolution of 1885 dealing with the educational position of the Mahomedan community and their employment in the public service, whilst Mahomedan educational effort has culminated in the College of Aligarh, that great institution which the noble and broad-minded devotion of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has dedicated to his coreligionists.

THE ALIGARH COLLEGE

It was in July 1877 that Lord Lytton laid the foundation-stone of Aligarh College, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed these memorable words to the Viceroy: "The personal honour which you have done me assures me of a great fact and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you who upon this occasion represent the British rule, have sympathies with our labours and this assurance is very valuable and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which

has been for many years, and is now the sole object of my life has roused on the one hand the energies of my own countrymen, and on the other has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers, so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the College will still prosper and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life."

SIR SYED'S INFLUENCE

Aligarh has won its laurels. Its students have gone forth to fight the battle of life, strong in the tenets of their own religion, strong in the precepts of loyalty and patriotism, and now when there is much that is critical in the political future of India the inspiration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the teachings of Aligarh shine forth brilliantly in the pride of Mahomedan history, in the loyalty, common sense and sound reasoning so eloquently expressed in your address. But, gentlemen, you go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealings of your rulers, you cannot but be aware that "recent events" have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mahomedans which might "pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance."

POLICY IN EASTERN BENGAL

Now I have no intention of entering into any discussion upon the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam, yet I hope that without offence to anyone I may thank the Mahomedan community of the new Province for the moderation and self-restraint they have shown under conditions which were new to them, and as to which there has been inevitably much misunderstanding, and that I may at the same time sympathise with all that is sincere in Bengali sentiments. But, above all, what I would ask you to believe is that, the course the Viceroy and the Government of India have pursued in connection with the affairs of the new Province, the future of which is now I hope assured, has been dictated solely by a regard for what has appeared best for the present and future populations as a whole, irrespective of race or creed, and that the Mahomedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam can rely as firmly as ever on British justice and fairplay for the appreciation of its loyalty and the safeguarding of its interests.

THE UNREST IN INDIA

You have addressed me, gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence; hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them—we should be wrong to wish to do so—but to what is all this unrest due? Not to the discontent of mis-governed millions—I defy anyone honestly to assert that—not to say uprising of a disaffected people.

FRUITS OF WESTERN EDUCATION

It is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct. There may be many tares in the harvest we are now reaping. The Western grain which we have sown may not be entirely suitable to the requirements of the people of India but the educational harvest will increase as years go on, and the healthiness of the nourishment it gives will depend on the careful administration and distribution of its products. You need not ask my pardon, gentlemen, for telling me that "Representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India" or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care. I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world amongst the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races. Western breadth of thought, the teachings of Western civilisation, the freedom of British individuality can do much for the people of India, but I recognise with you that they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence of the acceptance of political methods.

POLITICAL FUTURE OF MAHOMEDANS

And now, gentlemen, I come to your own position in respect to the political future; the position of the Mahomedan community for whom you speak. You will, I feel sure, recognise that it is impossible for me to follow you through any detailed consideration of the conditions and the share the community has a right to claim in the administration of public affairs. I can at present only deal with generalities. The points which you have raised are before the Committee, which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of presentation [? representation] and I will take care that your address is submitted to them, but at the same time I hope I may be able to reply to the general tenor of your remarks without in any way forestalling the Committee's report.

To Fate

WHY will you vex me with your futile combat;
Why will you strive with me, O foolish Fate?
You cannot stay me with your subtle hate . . .
For all the cruel folly you pursue,
I will not cry with suppliant hands to you,
You may, perchance, wreck in your bitter malice
That radiant empire of mine eager eyes . . .
Say, can you rob my memory's dear dominion
O'er sunlit mountains and sidereal skies?
In my enduring treasuries I hold
Their ageless splendour of undying gold.
You may usurp the kingdoms of my hearing . . .
Say, shall my listening spirit cease to hear
The bridal rapture of the blowing valley,
The lyric pageant of the passing year?
The sounding odes and surging harmonies
Of battling tempests and unconquered seas?
Yea, you may smite my mouth to throbbing silence,
Pluck from my lips power of articulate words . . .
Say, shall my heart lack its familiar language,
While earth has bowers for her mellifluous birds?
Shall my impassioned heart forget to sing
With the ten thousand voices of the spring?
Or you may quell my blood with sudden anguish,
And daunt my limbs with some compelling pain . . .
How will you stay my free far-journeying fancy
That rides upon the pinions of the rain?
How will you tether my triumphant mind,
Rival and fearless comrade of the wind?
Though you deny the hope of all my being,
Betray my love, my sweetest dream destroy,

THE QUESTION OF REPRESENTATION

The pith of your address, as I understand, is a claim that in any system of representation whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies, as now constituted, cannot be expected to return a Mahomedan candidate, and that if by chance they did so it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your numerical strength both in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire entitle you to consideration. I am entirely in accord with you; please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people.

AN ASSURANCE

In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mahomedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganisation with which I am concerned and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of his Majesty's Indian Empire.

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the unique opportunity your deputation has given me of meeting so many distinguished and representative Mahomedans. I deeply appreciate the energy and interest in public affairs which have brought you here from great distances, and I only regret that your visit to Simla is necessarily so short.

PART II

Yet will I slake my individual sorrow
At the deep source of universal joy . . .
O Fate, in vain you hanker to control
My proud, serene, indomitable soul.

—*Sarojini Naidu*
(*Comrade*, 22 July 1911)

RARE DOCUMENTS

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MAY, 1967

GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me in inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League at one of the most critical moments in the history of Muslim political thought and activity in India. I have no doubt that in this great assembly there are men whose political experience is far more extensive than mine, and for whose knowledge of affairs I have the highest respect. It will, therefore, be presumptuous on my part to claim to guide an assembly of such men in the political decisions which they are called upon to make to-day. I lead no party; I follow no leader. I have given the best part of my life to a careful study of Islam, its law and polity, its culture, its history and its literature. This constant contact with the spirit of Islam, as it unfolds itself in time, has, I think, given me a kind of insight into its significance as a world-fact. It is in the light of this insight, whatever its value, that, while assuming that the Muslims of India are determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam, I propose, not to guide you in your decisions, but to attempt the humbler task of bringing clearly to your consciousness the main principle which, in my opinion, should determine the general character of these decisions.

Islam and Nationalism

It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity—by which expression I mean a social structure, regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal—has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best. In India, as elsewhere, the structure of Islam as a society is almost entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by a specific ethical ideal. What I mean to say is that Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unit, has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam. The ideas set free by European political thinking, however, are now rapidly changing the outlook of the present generation of Muslims both in India and outside India. Our younger men, inspired by these ideas, are anxious to see them as living forces in their own

countries, without any critical appreciation of the facts which have determined their evolution in Europe. In Europe, Christianity was understood to be a purely monastic order which gradually developed into a Church-organisation. The protest of Luther was directed against this Church-organisation, not against any system of polity of a secular nature, for the obvious reason that there was no such polity associated with Christianity and Luther was perfectly justified in rising in revolt against this organisation; though, I think, he did not realise that in the peculiar conditions which obtained in Europe his revolt would eventually mean the complete displacement of universal ethics of Jesus by the growth of a plurality of national and hence narrower systems of ethics. Thus the upshot of the intellectual movement initiated by such men as Rousseau and Luther was the break-up of the one into a mutually ill-adjusted many, the transformation of a human into a national outlook, requiring a more realistic foundation, such as the notion of country, and finding expression through varying systems of polity evolved on national lines, i.e. on lines which recognize territory as the only principle of political solidarity. If you begin with the conception of religion as complete other-worldliness, then what has happened to Christianity in Europe is perfectly natural. The universal ethics of Jesus is displaced by national systems of ethics and polity. The conclusion to which Europe is consequently driven is that religion is a private affair of the individual, and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other. Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time. Europe uncritically accepted the duality of spirit and matter probably from Mannichæan thought. Her best thinkers are realising this initial mistake to-day, but her statements are indirectly forcing the world to accept it as an unquestionable dogma. It is, then, this mistaken separation of spiritual and temporal which has largely influenced European religious and political thought, and has resulted practically in the total exclusion of Christianity from the life of European states. The result is a set of mutually ill-adjusted states dominated by interests, not human but national. And these mutually ill-adjusted, states, after trampling over the moral and religious convictions of Christianity, are to-day feeling the need of a federated Europe, i.e. the need of a unity which the Christian Church-organisation originally gave them, but which, instead of reconstructing in the light of Christ's vision of human brotherhood, they considered it fit to destroy under the inspiration of Luther. A Luther in the world of Islam, however, is

an impossible phenomenon; for here there is no Church-organisation, similar to that of Christianity in the middle ages, inviting a destroyer. In the world of Islam we have a universal polity whose fundamentals are believed to have been revealed, but whose structure, owing to our legists' want of contact with the modern world, stands to-day in need of renewed power by fresh adjustments. I do not know what will be the final fate of the national idea in the world of Islam. Whether Islam will assimilate and transform it, as it has assimilated and transformed before many ideas expressive of a different spirit, or allow a radical transformation of its own structure by the force of this idea, is hard to predict. Professor Wensinck of Leiden (Holland) wrote to me the other day: "It seems to me that Islam is entering upon a crisis through which Christianity has been passing for more than a century. The great difficulty is how to save the foundations of religion when many antiquated notions have to be given up. It seems to me scarcely possible to state what the outcome will be for Christianity, still less what it will be for Islam." At the present moment the national idea is racialising the outlook of Muslims, and thus materially counteracting the humanising work of Islam. And the growth of racial consciousness may mean the growth of standards different and even opposed to the standards of Islam. I hope you will pardon me for this apparently academic discussion. To address this session of the All-India Muslim League you have selected a man who is not despaired of Islam as a living force for freeing the outlook of man from its geographical limitations, who believes that religion is a power of the utmost importance in the life of individuals, as well as states, and finally who believes that Islam is itself Destiny and will not suffer a destiny! Such a man cannot but look at matters from his own point of view. Do not think that the problem I am indicating is a purely theoretical one. It is a very living and practical problem calculated to affect the very fabric of Islam as a system of life and conduct. On a proper solution of it alone depends your future as a distinct cultural unit in India. Never in our history Islam has had to stand a greater trial than the one which confronts it to-day. It is open to a people to modify, reinterpret or reject the foundational principles of their social structure; but it is absolutely necessary for them to see clearly what they are doing before they undertake to try a fresh experiment. Nor should the way in which I am approaching this important problem lead anybody to think that I intend to quarrel with those who happen to think differently. You are a Muslim assembly and, I suppose, anxious to remain true to the spirit and ideals of Islam. My sole desire, therefore, is to tell you frankly what I honestly believe to be the truth about the present situation. In this way alone it is possible for me to illuminate, according to my light, the avenues of your political action.

What, then, is the problem and its implications? Is religion [a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet's religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experient and necessitating no reactions on its social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of soidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India. "Man," says Renan, "is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation." Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically re-making men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however, unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize

facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her people have cultural affinities with nations in the East, and part with nations in the middle and West of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India it will bring peace and mutual good-will to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions, and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. There are communalisms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feeling of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognize the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no communal provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view point that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements

India and Islam. For India it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilise its law, its education, its culture, and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of modern times.

Federal States

Thus it is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous states, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interest, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular assembly, and makes it an assembly of the representatives of federal states. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my whole-hearted support to this view of the matter, and venture to suggest that the redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a band of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

The Simon Report

But in so far as the question of the powers of the Central Federal State is concerned, there is a subtle difference of motive in the constitutions proposed by the Pandits of India and the

Pandits of England. The Pandits of India do not disturb the central authority as it stands at present. All that they desire is that this authority should become fully responsible to the Central Legislature which they maintain intact, and where their majority will become further reinforced on the nominated element ceasing to exist. The Pandits of England, on the other hand, realizing that democracy in the centre tends to work contrary to their interests, and is likely to absorb the whole power now in their hands, in case a further advance is made towards responsible government, have shifted the experiment of democracy from the centre to the provinces. No doubt, they introduce the principle of federation and appear to have made a beginning by making certain proposals, yet their evaluation of this principle is determined by considerations wholly different to those which determine its value in the eyes of Muslim India. The Muslims demand federation because it is pre-eminently a solution of India's most difficult problem i.e. the communal problem. The Royal Commissioner's view of federation though sound in principle, does not seem to aim at responsible government for federal states. Indeed it does not go beyond providing means of escape from the situation which the introduction of democracy in India has created for the British, and wholly disregards the communal problem by leaving it where it was.

Thus it is clear that, in so far as real federation is concerned, the Simon Report virtually negatives the principle of federation in its true significance. The Nehru Report realizing Hindu Majority in the Central Assembly reaches a unitary form of government because such an institution secures Hindu dominance throughout India; the Simon Report retains the present British dominance behind the thin veneer of an unreal federation, partly because the British are naturally unwilling to part with the power they have so long wielded, and partly because it is possible for them, in the absence of an inter-communal understanding in India, to make out a plausible case for the retention of that power in their own hands. To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

Hindu Machinations

The necessity for a structural change in the Central Government was seen probably long before the British discovered the most effective

however, genuine may be the desire, and however earnest the endeavour to work for this transformation the over-riding conditions so forcibly expressed by the Skeen Committee (whose members, apart from the Chairman and the Army Secretary, were Indian gentlemen) in the words, "progress . . . must be contingent upon success being secured at each stage and upon military efficiency being maintained through must in any case render such development measured and slow. A higher command cannot be evolved at short notice out of existing cadres of Indian officers, all of junior rank and limited experience. Not until the slender trickle of suitable Indian recruits for the officer class—and we earnestly desire an increase in their numbers—flows in much greater volume, not until sufficient Indians have attained the experience and training requisite to provide all the officers for, at any rate, some Indian regiments, not until such units have stood the only test which can possibly determine their efficiency, and not until Indian officers have qualified by a successful army career for high command, will it be possible to develop the policy of Indianisation to a point which will bring a completely Indianised army within sight. Even then years must elapse before the process could be completed."

Now I venture to ask who is responsible for the present state of things? Is it due to some inherent incapacity of our martial races, or to the slowness of the process of military training? The Military capacity of our martial races is undeniable. The process of military training may be slow as compared to other processes of human training. I am no military expert to judge this matter. But as a layman I feel that the argument, as stated, assumes the process to be practically endless. This means perpetual bondage for India, and makes it all the more necessary that the Frontier Army, as suggested by the Nehru Report, be entrusted to the charge of a committee of defence the personnel of which may be settled by mutual understanding.

Again it is significant that the Simon Report has given extraordinary importance to question of India's land frontier, but has made only passing references to its naval position. India has doubtless had to face invasions from her land frontier but it is obvious that her present masters took possession of her on account of her defenceless sea coast. A self-governing and free India, will, in these days, have to take greater care of her sea coast than land frontiers.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal Rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian

administration of the army. "India and Britain," say the Commissioners, "are so related that India's defence cannot now or in any future which is within sight, be regarded as a matter of purely Indian concern. The control and direction of such an army must rest in the hands of agents of the Imperial Government. Now, does it necessarily follow from this that further progress towards the realization of responsible Government in British India is barred until the work of defence can be adequately discharged without the help of British officers and British troops? As things are, there is a block on the line of constitutional advance. All hopes of evolution in the Central Government towards the ultimate goal described in the declaration of 20th August, 1917 are in danger of being indefinitely frustrated if the attitude illustrated by the Nehru Report is maintained that any future change involves the putting of the administration of the army under the authority of an elected Indian Legislature." Further to fortify their argument they emphasize the fact of competing religions and rival races of widely different capacity, and try to make the problem look insoluble by remarking that "the obvious fact, that India is not, in the ordinary and natural sense, a single nation is nowhere made more plain than in considering the difference between the martial races of India and the rest." These features of the question have been emphasized in order to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace but are to demonstrate that the British are not only keeping India secure from foreign menace but are also the "neutral guardians" of internal security. However, in federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i.e. external defence. Apart from provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army, composed of Units recruited from all provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities. I know that India is not in possession of efficient military officers, and this fact is exploited by the Royal Commissioners in the interest of an argument for Imperial administration. On this point I cannot but quote another passage from the Report which, to my mind, furnishes the best argument against the position taken up by the Commissioners. "At the present moment," says the Report, "no Indian holding the king's Commission is of higher army rank than a captain. There are, we believe, 39 captains of whom 25 are in ordinary regimental employ. Some of them are of an age which would prevent their attaining much higher rank, even if they passed the necessary examination before retirement. Most of these have not been through Sandhurst, but got their Commissions during the Great War. Now,

frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals, I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.

The Alternative

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought, in my opinion, to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand of a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 per cent representation in any Central Legislature. There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian nationalism, and deprived the Muslims of India from chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow-visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interests of what may be called Punjab Ruralism resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal.

The Simon Report does great injustice to the Muslims in not recommending a statutory majority for the Punjab and Bengal. It would either make the Muslims stick to the Lucknow Pact or agree to a scheme of joint electorates. The Despatch of the Government of India on the Simon Report admits that since the publication of that document the Muslim community has not expressed its willingness to accept any of the alternatives proposed by the Report. The Despatch recognizes that it may be a legitimate grievance to deprive the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal of representation in the councils in proportion to their population merely because of weightage allowed to Muslim minorities elsewhere. But the Despatch of the Government of India fails to correct the injustice of the Simon Report. In so far as the Punjab is concerned—and this is the most crucial point—it endorses the so-called carefully balanced scheme worked out by the official members of the Punjab Government which gives the Punjab Muslims a

majority of two over Hindus and Sikhs combined, and a proportion of 49 per cent of the House as a whole. It is obvious that the Punjab Muslims cannot be satisfied with less than a clear majority in the total House. However, Lord Irwin and his Government do recognize that the justification for communal electorates for majority communities would not cease unless and until by the extension of franchise their voting strength more correctly reflect their population; and further unless a two-third majority of the Muslim members in a provincial council unanimously agree to surrender the right of separate representation. I cannot, however, understand why the Government of India, having recognized the legitimacy of the Muslim grievance, have not had the courage to recommend a statutory majority for the the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal.

Nor can the Muslims of India agree to any such changes which fail to create at least Sind as a separate province, and treat the North-West Frontier Province as a province of inferior political status. I see no reason why Sind should not be united with Baluchistan and turned into a separate province. It has nothing in common with the Bombay Presidency. In point of life and civilization the Royal Commissioners find it more akin to Mesopotamia and Arabia than India. The Muslim geographer Mas'udi noticed this kinship long ago when he said, "Sind is a country nearer to the dominions of Islam". The first Omayyad ruler is reported to have said of Egypt—"Egypt has her back towards Africa and face towards Arabia". With necessary alterations the same remark describes the exact situation of Sind. She has her back towards India and face towards Central Asia. Considering further the nature of her agricultural problems which can invoke no sympathy from the Bombay Government, and her infinite commercial possibilities, dependent on the inevitable growth of Karachi into a second metropolis of India, it is unwise to keep her attached to a Presidency which, though friendly to-day, is likely to become a rival at no distant period. Financial difficulties, we are told, stand in the way of separation. I do not know of any definite authoritative pronouncement on the matter. But assuming there are any such difficulties, I see no reason why the Government of India should not give temporary financial help to a promising province in her struggle for independent progress.

As to the North-West Frontier Province it is painful to note that the Royal Commissioners have practically denied that the people of this province have any right to reform. They fall far short of the Bray Committee, and the council recommended by them is merely a screen to hide the autocracy of the Chief Commissioner. The inherent right of the Afghan to light a cigarette is curtailed merely because he happens to

be living in a powder house. The Royal Commissioners' epigrammatic argument is pleasant enough, but far from convincing. Political reform is light, not fire; and to light every human being is entitled whether he happens to live in a powder house or a coal mine. Brave, shrewd and determined to suffer for his legitimate aspirations, the Afghan is sure to resent any attempt to deprive him of opportunities of full self-development. To keep such a people contented is in the best interest of both England and India. What has recently happened in that unfortunate province is the result of a step-motherly treatment shown to the people since the introduction of the principle of self-government in the rest of India I only hope that British statesmanship will not obscure its view of the situation by hoodwinking itself into the belief that the present unrest in the province is due to any extraneous causes.

The recommendation for the introduction of a measure of reform in the N.-W. F. P. made in the Government of India's despatch is also unsatisfactory. No doubt the despatch goes further than the Simon Report in recommending a sort of representative Council and a semi-representative cabinet, but it fails to treat this important Muslim province on equal footing with other Indian Provinces. Indeed the Afghan is, by instinct, more fitted for democratic institutions than any other people in India.

I think I am now called upon to make a few observations on the Round Table Conference. Personally, I do not feel optimistic as to the results of this Conference. It was hoped that away from the actual scene of communal strife, and in a changed atmosphere better counsels would prevail, and a genuine settlement of the differences between the major communities of India would bring India's freedom within sight. Actual events, however, tell a different tale. Indeed the discussion of the communal question in London has demonstrated more clearly than ever the essential disparity between the two great cultural units of India. Yet the Prime Minister of England apparently refuses to see that the problem of India is international and not national. He is reported to have said that "his Government would find it difficult to submit to Parliament proposals for the maintenance of separate electorates, since joint electorates were much more in accordance with British democratic sentiments". Obviously he does not see that the model of British democracy cannot be of any use in a land of many nations; and that a system of separate electorates is only a poor substitute for a territorial solution of the problem. Nor is the Minorities Sub-Committee likely to reach a satisfactory settlement. The whole question will have to go before the British Parliament; and we can only hope that the keen-sighted representatives of the British nation, unlike most of our Indian politicians, will be able to pierce through the surface of things and see clearly the true fundamentals of peace and security in a country

like India. To base a constitution on the concept of a homogeneous India, or to apply to India principles dictated by British democratic sentiments, is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war. As far as I can see, there will be no peace in the country until the various people that constitute India are given opportunities of free self-development on modern lines without abruptly breaking with their past.

I am glad to be able to say that our Muslim delegates fully realize the importance of a proper solution on what I call Indian international problem. They are perfectly justified in pressing for a solution of the communal question before the question of responsibility in the Central Government is finally settled. No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word-communalism expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are seventy millions, and for more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i.e. territorial lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the 'people of the Book'. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the 'people of the Book'. A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of a Muslim by touching it, and the Law of Islam allows intermarriage with the 'people of the Book'. Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares, "O people of the Book! Come let us join together on the 'wod (Unity of God), that is common to us all". The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. To-day it is being gradually realized

in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

It is hardly necessary for me to add that the sole test of the success of our delegates is the extent to which they are able to get the non-Muslim delegates of the Conference to agree to our demands as embodied in the Delhi Resolution. If these demands are not agreed to, then a question of a very great and far-reaching importance will arise for the community. Then will arrive the moment for an independent and concerted political action by the Muslims of India. If you are at all serious about your ideals and aspirations you must be ready for such an action. Our leading men have done a good deal of political thinking, and their thought has certainly made us, more or less, sensitive to the forces which are now shaping the destinies of peoples in India and outside India. But I ask, has this thinking prepared us for the kind of action demanded by the situation which may arise in the near future? Let me tell you frankly that, at the present moment, the Muslims of India are suffering from two evils. The first is the want of personalities. Sir Malcolm Hailey and Lord Irwin were perfectly correct in their diagnosis when they told the Aligarh University that the community had failed to produce leaders. By leaders I mean men who, by Divine gift or experience, possess a keen perception of the spirit and destiny of Islam, along with an equally keen perception of the trend of modern history. Such men are really the driving forces of a people, but they are God's gift and cannot be made to order. The second evil from which the Muslims of India are suffering is that the community is fast losing what is called the herd instinct. This makes it possible for individuals and groups to start independent careers without contributing to the general thought and activity of the community. We are doing to-day in the domain of politics what we have been doing for centuries in the domain of religion. But sectional bickerings in religion do not do much harm to our solidarity. They at least indicate an interest in what makes the sole principle of our structure as a people. Moreover, this principle is so broadly conceived that it is almost impossible for a group to become rebellious to the extent of wholly detaching itself from the general body of Islam. But diversity in political action, at a moment when concerted action is needed in the best interests of the very life of our people, may prove fatal. How shall we, then, remedy these two evils? The remedy of the first evil is not in our hands. As to the second evil I think it is possible to discover a remedy. I have got definite views on subject; but I think it is proper to postpone their expression till the apprehended situation actually arises. In case it does arise leading Muslims of all shades of opinion will have to meet

together, not to pass resolutions, but finally to determine the Muslim attitude and to show the path to tangible achievement. In this address I mention this alternative only because I wish that you may keep it in mind, and give some serious thought to it in the meantime.

The Conclusion

Gentlemen, I have finished. In conclusion I cannot but impress upon you that the present crisis in the history of India demands complete organisation and unity of will and purpose in the Muslim community, both in your own interest as a community, and in the interest of India as a whole. The political bondage of India has been and is a source of infinite misery to the whole of Asia. It has suppressed the spirit of the East, and wholly deprived her of that joy of self-expression which once made her the creator of a great and glorious culture. We have a duty towards India where we are destined to live and die. We have a duty towards Asia, especially Muslim Asia, and since seventy millions of Muslims in a single country constitute a far more valuable asset to Islam than all the countries of Muslim Asia put together, we must look at the Indian problem not only from the Muslim point of view but also from the standpoint of the Indian Muslim as such. Our duty towards Asia and India cannot be loyally performed without an organised will fixed on a definite purpose. In your own interest, as a political entity among other political entities of India, such an equipment is an absolute necessity. Our disorganised condition has already confused political issues vital to the life of the community. I am not hopeless of an intercommunal understanding, but I cannot conceal from you the feeling that in the near future our community may be called upon to adopt an independent line of action to cope with the present crisis. And an independent line of political action in such a crisis, is possible only to a determined people, possessing a will focalised by a single purpose. Is it possible for you to achieve the organic wholeness of a unified will? Yes, it is. Rise above sectional interests and private ambitions, and learn to determine the value of your individual and collective action, however directed on material ends, in the light of the ideal which you are supposed to represent. Pass from matter to spirit. Matter is diversity; spirit is light, life and unity. One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa. If to-day you focus your vision on Islam and seek inspiration from the ever-vitalising idea embodied in it, you will be only reassembling your scattered forces regaining your lost integrity, and thereby saving yourself from total destruction. One of

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT
THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE ALL-INDIA
MUSLIM CONFERENCE AT LAHORE
ON THE 21st MARCH 1932

the profoundest verses in the Holy Quran teaches us that the birth and rebirth of the whole of humanity is like the birth and rebirth of a single individual. Why cannot you who, as a people, can well claim to be the first practical exponents of this superb conception of humanity, live and move and have your being as a single individual? I do not wish to mystify anybody when I say that things in India are not what they appear to be. The meaning of this, however, will dawn upon you only when you have achieved a real collective ego to look at them. In the words of the Quran, "Hold fast to yourself; no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided". (5 : 104)

Gentlemen, the Muslims of India have listened to so many addresses from their political platforms that the more impatient of them have already begun to suspect our deliberations which, they think, tend to enfeeble, and eventually to kill, the spirit of action that lies dormant in the heart of Islam. "The present situation in the country," said one of them, "whets our appetite for action; and if our leaders fail to point to a definite course of action suitable to the peculiar position of the Indian Muslims, the sheer force of imitation will do its work, and make our youth thoughtlessly plunge into the stream of events". "Action," said another with characteristic youthful impatience, "does not need a previously thought out plan; it is not subject to the logic of schools, but develops its own peculiar logic as it emerges out of the heart of man into open space." Such is the present psychology of our youth. I am grateful to you for the confidence you have placed in me at this critical moment; but I certainly cannot congratulate you on your choice of a man who is nothing more than a visionary idealist. Perhaps you think you need a visionary at this juncture; for where there is no vision the people perish. Perhaps you think I am better equipped for the presidential chair of this assembly after my experiences at the London Conference. To reveal an ideal freed from its temporal limitations is one function; to show the way how ideals can be transformed into living actualities is quite another. If a man is temperamentally fit for the former function his task is comparatively easy, for it involves a clean jump over temporal limitations which way lay the practical politician at every step. The man who has got the courage to migrate from the former to the latter function has constantly to take stock of, and often yield to, the force of those very limitations which he has been in the habit of ignoring. Such a man has the misfortune of living in the midst of perpetual mental conflict and can be easily accused of self-contradiction. However, I gladly accept the difficult position in which you have placed me, not because I consider myself fit for that position, but because the issues have fortunately become so clear that the whole thing now depends not so much on the guidance of one particular individual as on the force of all the individual wills focussed on a single purpose.

Political ideals have their roots in the spiritual life of man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or if you like, civic church. It is because present-day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics.

I am opposed to nationalism as it is understood in Europe, not because, if it is allowed to develop in India, it is likely to bring less material gain to Muslims. I am opposed to it because I see in it the germs of atheistic materialism which I look upon as the greatest danger to modern humanity. Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of man. Yet that which really matters is a man's faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are the things which, in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated. In view of the visible and invisible points of contact between the various communities of India I do believe in the possibility of constructing a harmonious whole whose unity cannot be disturbed by the rich diversity which it must carry within its bosom. The problem of ancient Indian thought was how the one became many without sacrificing its oneness. Today this problem has come down from its ethical heights to the grosser plane of our political life, and we have to solve it in its reversed form, i.e., how the many can become one without sacrificing its plural character. In so far then as the fundamentals of our policy are concerned, I have got nothing fresh to offer. Regarding these I have already expressed my views in my address to the All-India Muslim League. In the present address I propose, among other things, to help you, in the first place, in arriving at a correct view of the situation as it emerged from a rather hesitating behaviour of our delegation at the final stages of the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. In the second place, I shall try, according to my lights, to show how far it is desirable to construct a fresh policy now that the Premier's announcement at the last London Conference has again necessitated a careful survey of the whole situation. Let me begin with a brief history of the work of our delegation.

The first two meetings of the Minorities Committee were held on the 28th of September and the 1st of October 1931, respectively. On both occasions the meeting was adjourned for a private settlement of the communal problem. Mahatma Gandhi first told the Muslim delegation that matters could not proceed until the Muslim delegation had lifted the embargo on Dr. Ansari. Failing in this, he gave the Muslim delegation to understand that he would personally agree to Muslim demands and would try to persuade the Congress, the Hindus and the Sikhs to agree to them, provided the Muslims agreed to three things: (i) adult suffrage; (ii) no special representation for the Untouchables; and (iii) Congress demand for complete independence. The Mahatma declined to refer the matter to the Congress and failed in his efforts to get the Hindus and the Sikhs to agree to this arrangement. On the 7th of October, two prominent Hindu leaders proposed

that the whole matter might be referred to a board of seven arbitrators. This too was rejected by Hindu and Sikh representatives. On the 8th the Minorities Committee met for the third time. In this Meeting Mahatma Gandhi set to the account of the British Government his failure to bring about a communal settlement, since, according to him, they had deliberately chosen for the British Indian delegation men who, as he said, had no representative character. On behalf of the Muslim delegation, the late Sir Muhammad Shafi refuted the Mahatma's uncalled for remarks questioning the representative character of the various delegations, and opposed the proposals put forward by him. The meeting came to end, and, owing to the British general elections, could not meet till the 12th of November. In the meantime, private conversations recommenced on the 15th October. A prominent feature of these conversations was Sir Geoffrey Corbett's scheme relating to the Punjab. This scheme, very similar to the one I had suggested in my address to the All-India Muslim League, proposed the adoption of joint electorates with the exclusion of the Ambala Division from the Punjab. It, too, was rejected by Sikh and Hindu representatives who could not tolerate a Muslim majority in the Punjab even with a system of joint electorates. These conversations also remaining fruitless, the representatives of the Indian minorities which constitute nearly half of India, began to consult one another on the possibility of an Indian Minorities Pact. On the 12th of November all these minorities, with the exception of Sikhs, signed a pact, which was formerly handed over to the British Premier in the last meeting of the Minorities Committee held on the 13th of November.

This brief account of our informal conversations speaks for itself. It is obvious that our delegates did their best to arrive at a communal settlement. The only thing which is a mystery to me, and which will perhaps ever remain a mystery, is the declaration made on the 26th of November by our spokesmen in the Federal Structure Committee to the effect that they agreed to the simultaneous introduction of provincial autonomy and central responsibility. Whether this was due to their anxiety for conciliation and political advance of the country, or to some conflicting influences which operated on their minds, I cannot say. On the 15th of November, the day on which I dissociated from our delegation, Muslim delegates had decided not to participate in the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee. Why did they participate then in these discussions contrary to their own decision? Were our spokesmen on the Federal Structure Committee authorised to make the declaration of 26th November? I am not in a position to answer these questions. All that I can say is that the Muslim Community considers the declaration a very grave error and I have no doubt that

this Conference will give an emphatic expression to their views on this important matter. In my address to the All-India Muslim League I raised my voice against the idea of an all-India federation. Subsequent events have shown that it is working only as a drag on the political advance of India. If the introduction of central responsibility is dependent on the completion of an all-India federation, which I fear will take a fairly long time, then the Government should immediately introduce responsible government in the British Indian Provinces, so that the foundation thus delineated may, till the coming of central responsibility fully prepare itself by experience to bear the weight of the federal superstructure. A great deal of spade work is needed before we can have a really modern federal state.

I have reason to believe, and had suspected this some days before I dissociated myself from our delegation, that our spokesmen were badly advised by certain English politicians in rejecting the immediate introduction of responsible government in the provinces of British India. Recently Lieutenant-Commander Kenworthy has expressed the same view. He says: "I understand that the moderate leaders in London were badly advised on this matter by certain English politicians, that they listened too readily to their advice and rejected the great instalment of provincial autonomy. And the curious thing is that the Mahatma was apparently ready to consider this instalment sympathetically." Who are the moderate leaders alluded to by the Lieutenant-Commander? In view of the attitude taken up by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in London and now in the Consultative Committee regarding the immediate introduction of provincial autonomy, it is obvious that the writer of the passage quoted could not have meant Hindu Liberals. I think he probably means Muslim moderate leaders whose declaration in the Federal Structure Committee on the 26th of November seems to me to be really responsible for the British Premier's announcement regarding the simultaneous introduction of central and provincial responsibility. And since immediate introduction of responsible government in the provinces would have involved a definite announcement regarding the demands of our community as to majority rights in the Punjab and Bengal, we must not forget, while judging the present situation, that the conduct of our own leaders is mainly responsible for the British Premier's silence which has raised all sorts of suspicions in the mind of the Muslim community.

The next question is to explore the possibilities of shaping, if necessary, a new policy after the disappointing announcement made by the British Premier at the close of the last London Conference. Muslims have naturally grown apprehensive of Government's attitude towards the problem of communal settlement. They suspect that the Government will purchase congress co-operation at any cost, and that

its delay in conceding Muslim demands is only a cover for the possibility of finding some basis for negotiations with that body. The policy of trusting the Government in regard to political issues seems to be rapidly losing its hold on the mind of the community. The Franchise Committee has postponed consideration of matters relating to the formation of constituencies. As for the promised provisional settlement, it is obvious that no communal settlement, provisional or permanent, can satisfy the Muslim community, which does not recognise, as its basic principle, the right of the community to enjoy majority rights in provinces where it happens to be in actual majority. The continuance of separate electorates and the status of the Frontier Province are no doubt assured, but complete provincial autonomy, transfer of power from Parliament to Indian provinces, equality of federal units, classification of subjects not into federal, central and provincial, but into federal and provincial only, majority rights in the Punjab and Bengal, unconditional separation of Sind, and one-third share in the centre, constitute no less essential elements of our demand. The Premier's silence on these points has only resulted in the unsound policy of war with the Congress and no peace with the rest of the country. Shall we then join the Congress in their present campaign? My answer without a moment's hesitation is "No". A careful reading of the underlying motives of this movement will make it perfectly clear.

To my mind this movement has its roots in fear and resentment. The Congress leaders claim that they are the sole representatives of the peoples of India. The last Round Table Conference made it abundantly clear that they were not. This they naturally resent. They know that the British people and the rest of the world now fully realise the importance of communal settlement in India. They further know that the minorities of India have arrived at a pact, and that the British Government have given a notice to enforce a provisional settlement of their own, in case the Indians themselves failed to arrive at one. The Congress leaders fear that the British Government in their provisional settlement of the communal problem may concede to the minorities what they demand. They have, therefore, started the present campaign to bolster up a claim which has no foundation in fact, to defeat a pact which, they fear, may find a place in the coming constitution, and to force the Government to settle the matter of minorities with the Congress alone. The Congress resolution in pursuance of which the civil disobedience campaign was launched made it perfectly clear that since Government had refused to regard Mahatma Gandhi as the sole representative of the country, the Congress decided on civil disobedience. How can then a minority join a campaign which is directed as much against itself as against Government?

them unwilling to recognise the safeguards which we can forego at the risk of complete extinction as a nation determined to live its own life. The alternative was to hope for justice from the British who, ever since they took the country from the Muslims, have claimed, as I have said above, to function as an impartial holder of balance in India. In their case, too, we find that the old British courage and straightforwardness are replaced by a constantly shifting policy which can inspire no confidence and seems to be calculated only to facilitate their own position in India. The Muslim community is thus brought to face the question whether it is in the interest of the community that their present policy which has so far obviated British difficulties and brought no gain to the community shall continue for any further period of time. This is a question for the open Conference to decide. All that I can say at the present stage is that, if you decide to discontinue this policy, your immediate duty is to prepare the whole community for the kind of self-sacrifice without which no self-respecting people can live an honourable life. The most critical moment in the history of the Indian Muslims has arrived. Do your duty or cease to exist.

Gentlemen, I now request you to turn for a moment to two matters of gravest concern to the Muslims of India—I mean the Frontier Province and Kashmir which, I have no doubt, are uppermost in your mind.

It is indeed gratifying to see that Government have at least conceded our demand regarding the political status of North-West Frontier Province though it remains to be seen what this status means in the actual administration of that province. Newspaper reports show that in the matter of franchise, Government rules have been more liberal than in other provinces. The reform machinery will, it is understood, be set in full working order from the next month. What, however, has taken grace out of the whole affair is the simultaneous launching of a campaign of repression which is not essentially different from martial law. The consideration shown in the matter of constitutional issue has been more than neutralized by the severity and shortsightedness shown in the case of the administrative issue. Government may have reasons for counteracting extremist activities of certain people in that part of the country, but it has surely not been able to defend a policy of wholesale repression. During this struggle in other parts of India Britain's dealing with the situation has not been entirely devoid of restraint. In the Frontier Province alone repression has assumed forms unworthy of a civilized Government. If oral reports are true then the heart of the British official in the Frontier Province stands in need of a reform far greater in importance for the British Empire than the constitutional reform sought to be introduced into

In these circumstances, therefore, to join the Congress in their present campaign is simply out of the question. But there is no denying that at the moment you are called upon to make important decision. I am sure you are fully aware of the present state of the community's mind. Government's delay in conceding Muslim demands and the treatment meted out to our brave Frontier brethren on the eve of the constitutional reform in their province are making Indian Muslims suspicious of British methods; and most people are already asking the question whether the power of a third party in India does constitute a real safeguard for the Muslim minority against a politically hostile and economically exploiting majority in India. There seems to be a deeper reason also. The rapid movement of events, and often sudden changes of situation in the political world, cannot permit an Imperial democracy, especially in the case of Party Government, to adhere for any long periods of time to definite policies. Lack of imagination is a virtue rather than a fault in a modern politician. And owing to this lack of imagination which is incapable of synthesising permanence and change in a higher political concept, modern politics is driven to live from hand to mouth. In the case of a subject country like India, therefore, co-operating communities are naturally led to think that the firmness of their political attitude in difficult times for the Government may be of little or no value in the eyes of this or that political party which may come to power at any time in England. Whatever may be the character and ideals of political parties in England, you must base your policy on enlightened self-interest and conceive it in a spirit calculated to impress the whole British nation. It is folly to fight a battle in which there is likelihood of the fruits of victory going to those who are either hostile to, or have no sympathy with, our legitimate political aspirations. The present circumstances are such that in thinking out a line of policy with a view to get over the immediate difficulties of the community, it is your duty to see that the likelihood I apprehend is eliminated, and the benefit of the action advised by you finally accrues to your community.

Let me state the position as plainly as possible. The British undertook to give a provisional decision of the communal problem in case the communities of India did not arrive at a mutual settlement after their representatives had returned from the second Round Table Conference. This undertaking was thoroughly consistent with the claim and the policy of the British as a third party holding the balance between the contending communities of India. The British Government's present attitude, however, would show that they do not mean to function as an impartial holder of balance in India, and are indirectly driving the Indian Communities, which are mainly Hindus and Muslims, to a kind of civil war. We tried the majority community and found

that province. There is no definite and final information about the number of arrests and persecutions; but as it is roughly mentioned in newspapers, thousands have been arrested and convicted or interned. It is for the Government to consider whether the incongruent policies of concession and repression will result in the pacification of a proud race like the Afghans. Abdul Ghaffar Khan certainly commands a great deal of influence among the young border Afghans, but what has extended the sphere of his influence to the farthest ends of the territory and to the ignorant folk of the Frontier villages, is the present thoughtless policy of repression. Government cannot be unaware of the fact that the all-India policy of the Indian Muslims was, at this juncture, effectively keeping in check the tendencies of the Muslims of that province to join hands with those who were for an unconditional alliance with the Congress. Perhaps there have been difficulties from the Government point of view; yet I think a little different handling of the administrative action could have saved the whole situation. The political situation in the Frontier, it appears, was allowed to deteriorate during the period when a policy of relaxation was the order of the day, and attempts to deal with it in a repressive manner have been made at a time when the real remedy of the disease had been prescribed. The sooner the Government withdraws all repressive measures from the province the better for the province and the Government itself. The situation has caused deep concern to the whole Muslim community in India, and it is hardly wise for the Government not to allay Muslim feeling in this respect.

As to Kashmir it is hardly necessary for me to describe the historical background of events which have recently happened in that country. The apparently sudden resurrection of a people in whom the ego-flame had been almost extinguished ought to be, in spite of the suffering which it has necessarily involved, a matter of rejoicing to all those who possess an insight into the inner struggle of modern Asiatic peoples. The cause of the people of Kashmir is absolutely just, and I have no doubt that the rebirth of this sense of reality of their own personality in an intelligent and skilful people will eventually prove a source of strength not only to the State but also to the people of India as a whole. What, however, is most deplorable is that the communal ill-feeling existing in India, and the perfectly natural sympathy of the Indian Muslims with their Kashmir brethren, led to a kind of counter-agitation among the Hindus, which in its despair, sought to protect a barbarous administration by attributing its inevitable consequences to such wild fancies as Pan-Islamic plots and conspiracies for British occupation of Kashmir. Such agitation and the communal colour thereby given to the Kashmir question could have led only to one thing—

resort to violent repression leading to prolonged lawlessness in the State. In parts of the Jammu Province, as newspaper reports tell us, the administration has completely broken down and it is only the presence of British troops which is keeping things in control at least in places where they are present. Oral reports of a most violent and shameful repression practised by State authorities in many places are still pouring in. Nor can commissions of enquiry be of any help in such a state of things. The Middleton Report which admits important facts and fails to draw legitimate conclusions therefrom has already failed to satisfy Muslims. The truth is that the matter has passed the stage in which enquiries can lead to effective results. The growing sense of self-consciousness in the people all over the world is now demanding recognition in the shape of a desire for an increasing share in the administration which governs them. Political tutelage is good for a primitive people but it is in the best interests of an administration itself not to shirk from radical reform when a change in the outlook of a people demands it. Among other things which have probably arisen from the peculiar conditions obtaining in Kashmir, the people of that country demand some kind of a popular assembly. Let us hope that the ruler of the State and the Government of India will consider the people's demand as favourably as they possibly can. I have no doubt that the new Prime Minister, with characteristic British administrative acuteness, will see into the heart of the matter, and provide scope for the activity of a fine but down-trodden people who gave some of the best intellects to ancient India, and later added a real charm to Mughal culture. There may be difficulties in the way of constitutional reform in Kashmir as in the case of our own country; but the interests of permanent peace and order demand that these difficulties must be speedily overcome. If the meaning of the present upheaval is not properly understood and its causes are sought in directions where they cannot be found, the Kashmir Government, I fear, will have made its problem much more complicated.

It is obvious, therefore, that the attitude of the British Government towards our demands and the gravity of the situation in the Frontier Province and Kashmir claim our immediate attention. But what claims our immediate attention is not our only concern. We must have a clear perception of the forces which are silently moulding the future, and place a relatively permanent programme of work before the community in view of the probable direction of events in the country. The present struggle in India is sometimes described as India's revolt against the West. I do not think it is a revolt against the West; for the people of India are demanding the very institutions which the West stands for. Whether the gamble of elections, retinues

of party leaders and hollow pageants of parliaments will suit a country of peasants to whom the money-economy of modern democracy is absolutely incomprehensible, is a different question altogether. Educated urban India demands democracy. The minorities, feeling themselves as distinct cultural units and fearing that their very existence is at stake, demand safeguards, which the majority community, for obvious reasons, refuses to concede. The majority community pretends to believe in a nationalism theoretically correct, if we start from Western premises, belied by fact, if we look to India. Thus the real parties to the present struggle in India are not England and India, but the Majority community and the minorities of India which can ill-afford to accept the principle of Western democracy until it is properly modified to suit the actual conditions of life in India.

Nor do Mahatma Gandhi's political methods signify a revolt in the psychological sense. These methods arise out of a contrast of two opposing types of world-consciousness, Western and Eastern. The Western man's mental texture is chronological in character. He lives and moves and has his being in time. The Eastern Man's world-consciousness is non-historical. To the Western man things gradually become; they have a past, present and future. To the Eastern man they are immediately rounded off, timeless, purely present. That is why Islam which sees in the time-movement a symbol of reality appeared as an intruder in the static world-pictures of Asia. The British as a Western people cannot but conceive political reform in India as a systematic process of gradual evolution. Mahatma Gandhi as an Eastern man sees in this attitude nothing more than an ill-conceived unwillingness to part with power and tries all sorts of destructive negations to achieve immediate attainment. Both are elementally incapable of understanding each other. The result is the appearance of a revolt.

These phenomena, however, are merely premonitions of a coming storm, which is likely to sweep over to the whole of India and the rest of Asia. This is the inevitable outcome of a wholly political civilization which has looked upon man as a thing to be exploited and not as a personality to be developed and enlarged by purely cultural forces. The peoples of Asia are bound to rise against the acquisitive economy which the West has developed and imposed on the nations of the East. Asia cannot comprehend modern Western capitalism with its undisciplined individualism. The faith which you represent recognises the worth of the individual, and disciplines him to give away his all to the service of God and man. Its possibilities are not yet exhausted. It can still create a new world where the social rank of man is not determined by his caste or colour or the amount of dividend he earns, but by the kind of life he lives; where the poor tax the rich, where human society is founded not on the equality of stomachs but on the equality of spirits.

where an Untouchable can marry the daughter of a king, where private ownership is a trust and where capital cannot be allowed to accumulate so as to dominate the real producer of wealth. This superb idealism of your faith, however, needs emancipation from the medieval fancies of theologian and legists. Spiritually we are living in a prison-house of thoughts and emotions which during the course of centuries we have woven round ourselves. And be it further said to the shame of us—men of older generation—that we have failed to equip the younger generation for the economic, political and even religious crisis that the present age is likely to bring. The whole community needs a complete overhauling of its present mentality in order that it may again become capable of feeling the urge of fresh desires and ideals. The Indian Muslim has long ceased to explore the depths of his own inner life. The result is that he has ceased to live in the full glow and colour of life, and is consequently in danger of an unmanly compromise with forces which, he is made to think, he cannot vanquish in open conflict. He who desires to change an unfavourable environment must undergo a complete transformation of his inner being. God changeth not the condition of a people until they themselves take the initiative to change their condition by constantly illuminating the zone of their daily activity in the light of a definite ideal. Nothing can be achieved without a firm faith in the independence of one's own inner life. This faith alone keeps a people's eyes fixed on their goal and saves them from perpetual vacillation. The lesson that past experience has brought to you must be taken to heart. Expect nothing from any side. Concentrate your whole ego on your self alone, and ripen your clay into real manhood if you wish to see your aspirations realized. Mussolini's maxim was: "He who has steel has bread." I venture to modify it a bit and say: "He who is steel has everything." Be hard and work hard. This is the whole secret of individual and collective life. Our ideal is well defined. It is to win the coming constitution a position for Islam which may bring her opportunities to fulfil her destiny in this country. It is necessary in the light of this ideal to rouse the progressive forces of the community and to organise their hitherto dormant energies. The flame of life cannot be borrowed from others; it must be kindled in the temple of one's own soul. This requires earnest preparation and a relatively permanent programme. What then shall be our future programme? I am inclined to think that it should be partly political, partly cultural. I venture to offer a few suggestions for your consideration.

First, we must frankly admit that there is yet a sort of chaos in the political thought of those who are supposed to guide the activities of the Indian Muslims in the present-day political struggle. The community, however, is not to blame for this state of things. The

Muslim masses are not all lacking in the spirit of self-sacrifice when the question of their ultimate destiny in the country is involved. Recent history bears ample testimony to what I say. The fault is ours, not theirs. The guidance offered to the community is not always independently conceived, and the result is ruptures, sometimes at critical moments, within our political organisations. Thus these organisations cannot properly develop the kind of discipline which is so absolutely essential to the life and power of political bodies. To remedy this evil I suggest that the Indian Muslims should have only one political organisation with provincial and district branches all over the country. Call it whatever you like. What is essential is that its constitution must be such as to make it possible for any school of political thought to come into power and to guide the community according to its own ideas and methods. In my opinion this is the only way to make ruptures impossible, and to reintegrate and discipline our scattered forces to the best interests of Islam in India.

Secondly, I suggest that this central organisation should immediately raise a national fund of at least 50 lakhs of rupees. No doubt we are living in hard times but you may rest assured that the Muslims of India will not fail to respond to your call if a genuine effort is made to impress upon them the gravity of the present situation.

Thirdly, I suggest the formation of youth leagues and well-equipped volunteer corps throughout the country under the control and guidance of the central organisation. They must specially devote themselves to social service, custom reform, commercial organisation of the community and economic propaganda in towns and villages specially in the Punjab where enormous indebtedness of Muslim agriculturists cannot be allowed to wait for the drastic remedies provided by agrarian upheavals. Things appear to have reached the breaking point as in China in 1925 when peasant leagues came into being in that country. The Simon Report admits that the peasant pays a 'substantial portion' of his means to the state. The state, no doubt, gives him in return peace and security, trade and communication. But the net result of these blessings has been only a kind of scientific exactitude in taxation, destruction of village economy by machine-made goods and the commercialisation of crops which makes the peasant almost always fall a prey to money-lenders and commercial agents. This is a very serious matter especially in the Punjab. I want the proposed youth leagues to specialise in propaganda work in this connection, and thus to help the peasantry in escaping from its present bondage. The future of Islam in India largely depends, in my opinion, on the freedom of Muslim peasants in the Punjab. Let then the fire of youth mingle with the fire of faith in order to enhance the

glow of life and to create a new world of actions for our future generations. A community is not merely a purely present and numerable whole of men and women. Indeed its life and activity as a living reality cannot be fully understood without a reference to that unborn infinity which lies asleep in the deeps of its inner being.

Fourthly, I suggest the establishment of male and female cultural institutes in all the big towns of India. These institutes as such should have nothing to do with politics. Their chief function should be to mobilise the dormant energy of the younger generation by giving them a clear grasp of what Islam has already achieved and what it has still to achieve in the religious and cultural history of mankind. The progressive forces of a people can be roused only by placing before them a new task calculated to enlarge the individual, to make them comprehend and experience the community, not as a heap of isolated fragments of life, but as a well-defined whole possessing inner cohesion and solidarity. And when once these forces are roused they bring fresh vigour for new conflicts, and that sense of inner freedom which enjoys resistance and holds out the promise of a new self. These institutes must keep in close touch with our educational institutions—old and new—with a view to secure the ultimate convergence of all the lines of our educational endeavour on a single purpose. One practical suggestion I can immediately make. The Hartog Committee's Interim Report now apparently forgotten in the rush of other political problems, makes the following recommendation which I consider of the utmost importance for the Muslims of India:

"There can be no doubt that if in provinces where the educational progress of the Muhammadan community is impeded by religious difficulties, such arrangements for religious instruction can be made as will induce that community to send its children to ordinary schools; the public system will gain both in economy and efficiency and such will be done to free the community from the handicap and the reproach of educational backwardness."

"We are fully aware that such arrangements are not easy to make and that in other countries they have given rise to much controversy. . . . But in our opinion the time is ripe and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise practical plans." (pages 204-205).

And again on page 206 while discussing reservations the Report says:

"If therefore special arrangements inside the public system were made now, and possible for some time to come to enable the

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Muhammadan community to take its full share in the life and in the advance of the nation, this would not, in our opinion, be inconsistent either with sound democratic or sound educational principles. We wish we could say that no reservations are necessary and we should certainly wish that they should be as small as possible. As complications of an educational system they are undesirable in themselves, but since, in our belief, they represent a necessary alternative to leaving the Muhammadan community in its present backward state, and leaving it to take the poor chances afforded by a system of segregate institutions, we have no hesitation in embracing that alternative as justifiable on broad grounds of national policy."

The proposed cultural institutes or till their establishment the All-India Muslim Conference must see that these recommendations, based as they are on a clear perception of the present handicaps of our community, are carried into effect.

Fifthly, I suggest the formation of an assembly of ulema which must include Muslim lawyers who have received education in modern jurisprudence. The idea is to protect, expand and, if necessary, to reinterpret the law of Islam in the light of modern conditions, while keeping close to the spirit embodied in its fundamental principles. This body must receive constitutional recognition so that no bill affecting the personal law of Muslims may be put on the legislative anvil before it has passed through the crucible of this assembly. Apart from the purely practical value of this proposal for the Muslims of India, we must remember that the modern world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, has yet to discover the infinite value of the legal literature of Islam and its significance for a capitalistic world whose ethical standards have long abdicated from the control of man's economic conduct. The formation of the kind of assembly I propose will, I am sure, bring a deeper understanding of the usual principles of Islam at least in this country.

At the end of the nineteenth century, and in the first four or five years of the twentieth, Lord Curzon gave an impressive demonstration of what could be achieved by a paternal, non-democratic administration pledged to the two ideals of efficiency and public service. At that time it looked as though the bureaucratic system of government in India would persist for an indefinite period, but, it should be noticed, it was one of the most effective—from the purely administrative point of view—of all Lord Curzon's reforms which started that phase of the modern Indian nationalist movement which we know today. The reform in question was the separation of Eastern Bengal and Assam from the old Bengal Presidency as a separate administrative province. Bengalis saw in it an attempt to weaken the political power of the most active province, politically, in India, whilst Hindus in general saw in it an attempt to appease Muhammadans and increase their political power by creating a new province in which the deciding voice would be that of the Muhammadan community. The forces released by the "Bengal Partition" agitation were never again imprisoned, but grew in strength and increased their objectives with every decade that passed. Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was, in short, a majestic illustration of the fact that half a century of education in English had produced the effects we have just been discussing.

Therefore, when the return of a strong Liberal Government to power in England after many years out of office provided an occasion for a reconsideration of the Indian Constitution, within a year or two of Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, it was inevitable that something of these developments should be written into the new Constitution. Both Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Minto, the Viceroy, found themselves in full agreement as to the desirability of some further political advances. Naturally their views differed from each other in many details, but in the end they reached a measure of agreement which is found incorporated in the Morley-Minto Reforms.

These represented a considerable advance in the existing systems, an advance which is to be looked for not only in the machinery of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, but also in the spirit in which the changes were made. Thus, in enlarging the size of the Provincial Legislative Councils—up to a maximum of fifty additional members in the larger provinces and thirty in the smaller—Parliament once and for all abrogated the principle of an official majority in these councils. Henceforth, non-officials would be in the majority. Moreover, the additional non-official members added to the Provincial Councils by

the reforms were to be elected by such bodies as groups of local self-Government authorities, trade associations, universities or landholders. It is true that such bodies as these might normally be of a conservative temperament, but it is far from true that they might normally be expected to support the Provincial Government through thick and thin. By thus extending the operation of the principle of election, and by surrendering nominated majorities in the Provincial Councils, Parliament, of set determination, took India a definite step along her road towards democratic government. In one province, Bengal, the majority of the Legislative Council was to consist henceforth of elected members. Thus the small, mostly nominated bodies set up by the Indian Councils Act of 1892 were turned in to bodies large enough and representative enough to bring real interest and genuine political views and controversies into provincial administration. Moreover, greater powers of criticism and advice were given to the new Councils, and these powers were used with vigour on many occasions, notably in Bengal. Resolutions could be moved in the Councils—and later, in connection with the 1919 reforms, we shall see the importance of resolutions—points of order could be raised, and votes taken. The Indian Press, which was already strong and independent, began to take an interest in the doings of the Provincial Councils, and the publicity given to their doings tended to put the members on their mettle. Lastly, the important change was made of introducing Indians into the Provincial Executive Councils in the provinces where such bodies existed. By this change, Indians for the first time became part of the Provincial Government itself.

In the Central Legislative Council the changes were not so important. The official majority remained, but the principle of election of non-official members was extended. The most important change at the centre was that whereby for the first time—as in the provinces—Indians were admitted to the Executive Council, the Cabinet of India. Lord Morley took pains to defend this limitation of progress at the centre by explaining that in his opinion India was not yet ready for the control of executive functions by the Legislature, and, indeed, he declared openly that “if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one would have nothing at all to do with it.” In spite of this, the Morley-Minto Reforms were a definite and important step towards the goal which Lord Morley refused to visualize, and behind the changes for which he was responsible were those strong forces whose workings neither he nor any other man could control. In the upshot, the Morley-Minto Reforms proved to be the bridge between the old paternal system of government in India and the open and avowed

beginning of the parliamentary system made by the 1919 reforms. They were useful as a means for giving expression—particularly in the Central Legislative Council—to the ideas and aspirations of the Indian nationalist movement, and for giving scope for further growth to those principles which had already been introduced into the system of Government in India and are at the base of every form of modern democracy.

But the Morley-Minto Reforms were of first-class importance in the development of Indian politics for another reason. They introduced the system of "communal representation", that is, the system whereby Muhammadans vote in Muhammadan constituencies for Muhammadan candidates, and Hindus for Hindu candidates in their constituencies. This principle was written into the new Constitution against the bitter opposition of Lord Morley, but he was met by greater determination from the side of the Indian Muhammadans, who regarded the communal electorate as their prime safeguard against being swamped by the numerically superior Hindus in general constituencies. Since 1908, as the experience of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference and its sequels have shown, Muhammadan insistence on this safeguard has grown stronger as the years have passed.

Even had the war not come in 1914, it is not likely that the system of Government set up by the Morley-Minto Reforms would have remained very long unchanged. Everything that had happened in India since the middle of the nineteenth century had made it increasingly certain that India must, sooner or later, tread the same political path as the British Dominions had trodden. The war did no more than speed up the pace of advance.

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

In the provinces the device of "dyarchy" was introduced; whilst at the centre, the main reforms consisted of increasing the members of the Legislature, widening the franchise, giving the popularly elected members a substantial majority over the official and nominated members in the Legislative Assembly—Which is the "House of Commons" of India, the Council of State being the upper house—and immensely increasing the powers of members of the Legislature to criticize, aid, or obstruct, and, generally, to influence the policy of the Government.

By the 1919 Act the whole sphere of Government was divided into two parts—the Central and Provincial Subjects. The provincial subjects were entrusted to the new reformed Provincial Governments and included practically all the activities of Government which touch the daily lives of men and women—such subjects as education, health, law and order, public works, irrigation, local self-government, industrial development, and many others. The Central Government retained those subjects which are the care of central governments the world over—defence, customs, criminal law, foreign relations, and so on. The provincial subjects were further divided into "Reserved" and "Transferred" subjects. The reserved subjects, the chief of which were police and finance, were administered by the Provincial Governor and his Executive Councillors, who were two or more in number and were nominated by the Crown. The transferred subjects were administered by the Governor and his Ministers, who were chosen from among the elected members of the Provincial Legislature, which was a single house legislature known as the Provincial Council, elected on a still broader franchise than the central Legislative Assembly. The transferred subjects included all the so-called "nation-building" departments, that is education, health, local self-government, agriculture, industrial development and others. For the administration of these transferred subjects, the Ministers were responsible to the Provincial Councils and stood or fell by the latter's votes.

It will be seen from the above that the Provincial Government fell into two distinct parts: the Governor and his Executive Councillors, or the Governor in Council, and the Governor and his Ministers. The Governor in Council was not responsible to the Provincial Legislature for his acts. He was responsible to the British Parliament *via* the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India. The Governor acting with his Ministers was responsible to the Provincial Legislature, and it is this division of the fabric of the Provincial Government into two parts which is called "dyarchy". Its drawbacks

are obvious to any student of politics, and, as a matter of fact, dyarchy functioned with continual difficulty in Bengal and the Central Provinces, whilst it worked with reasonable ease and efficiency in several other provinces. From the first, however, some Governors tacitly treated their Executive Councillors and Ministers as a unitary government and held joint meetings of Councillors and Ministers. The real justification of dyarchy is that it was found, after the most intensive study by British and Indian politicians concerned, to be the only way in which Indians could gain continuous practical experience of the handling of actual administration of governmental power, and the Simon Commission later on judged that it had, on the whole, discharged the function for which it was designed.

There is one other important aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to be noted here, namely, their financial provisions. Before 1919, the revenues of the provinces were derived almost entirely from sources which they shared with the Central Government. The Reforms, however, altered all that and handed over to the provinces certain heads of revenue for their exclusive enjoyment. In practice, this meant that the Government of India would lose heavily, and, therefore, it was decided to levy annual contributions, varying according to their wealth, from the different provinces. A committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Lord Meston to allocate the contributions and the subsequent arrangement became known as the Meston Award. Naturally, this arrangement was highly unpopular with the provinces, and especially with the new Ministers who wanted all the money they could get for their "nation-building" departments, and the abrogation of the Provincial Contributions was, from the start, a prime objective of both the Central and Provincial Governments.

The new era in Indian Government and in the relations between India and Great Britain opened formally in February 1921, when the Duke of Connaught inaugurated the reforms in Delhi. The first General Elections for the new Legislatures had been held in the previous November, and the All-India Congress Party had boycotted them. The personnel of the Central and Provincial Legislatures was, therefore, of the Liberal or "Moderate" section of thought on the whole, and the absence of the more extreme Congressmen undoubtedly made for the smoother and more peaceful transaction of business. Nevertheless, the absence of representatives of the strongest, best-organized, and most popular party in the country prevented the new Central Legislature from developing into a true national council, as had been hoped.

DECREE OF MIGRATION FROM INDIA

By Abul Kalam Azad

After examining all the reasons contained in the Shari'a, as well as contemporary events, interests of the Muslims, and pros and cons (of political issues), I feel definitely satisfied that from the viewpoint of the Shari'a, the Muslims of India have no choice but to migrate from India. All Muslims who would like to fulfil Islamic obligations must quit India. Those who cannot migrate immediately should help the migrants as if they were themselves migrating from the country. The Shari'a gives us no alternative course, except migration.

Migration from India before World War I was desirable; now it is mandatory. Only those Muslims can remain in India who are needed to carry on the struggle (for the Caliphate) or have acceptable reasons against migration. Large-scale population transfer, however, causes understandable delay. Those who under such circumstances fail to migrate should devote their energy and resources to follow the Shari'a. They should organize themselves according to the Shari'a, and should never give up their determination and enthusiasm for migration. Under the present circumstances, the creation of (such a Muslim) party will be a sterling achievement.

It should be understood that the Shari'a does not allow individual and spasmodic migration. Migration should be undertaken collectively and requisite arrangements should be made by the party (organized for migration). The party chief should decide the following questions:

- (a) who should migrate immediately;
- (b) who should remain behind to render useful services to the cause;
- (c) and the time and place for migration. An individual is not authorized to determine these questions for himself.

When the order for migration is given, migration becomes mandatory. The Prophet Muhammad has left us an exemplary procedure. Before the preparation for migration is made an oath of Bai'a must be taken. Due to several reasons (their explanation can be found in Risalah-i-Hijrat) not everyone can migrate from India, nor is that required by the Shari'a. It is, therefore, obvious that while migration continues, India will not be denuded of its Muslim population. Those who remain in India will be bound by the Shari'a to sever all ties of goodwill and mutual collaboration with the invaders of Islam (the Turkish Caliphate). Those who disregard this Qur'anic injunction, will be considered enemies of Islam.

“Goodwill and mutual collaboration” is my (Azad's) translation of “mawalat”, which occurs in the Qur'an. “Mawalat” connotes all

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acts of co-operation, which the caliphate committee rejects according to the "non-co-operation" plan. Co-operation of Muslims with the British Government was prohibited by the Shari'a on the day Turkey declared herself at war with Allied Powers. That is why I endeavoured at the Delhi meetings in February and later on April 11, 1920, at the Bombay Caliphate Conference to have the non-co-operation plan passed by the (delegates). Non-co-operation was not decided upon as a defensive measure in case our demands were rejected (by the British Government); it had become mandatory for Muslims since the advent of hostilities. For this reason alone, I endeavoured again at the Meerut Caliphate Conference to explain the "why's" of the Muslim obligation relative to non-co-operation with the Government.

This is not just political expediency; I believe in it with all my heart. Although Islam (the Turkish Caliphate) lost all its European areas as well as Baghdad and Demascus, our faith was not endangered. Now the situation has changed. It is not just a question of the defence of Constantinople. Our very "faith" is in the balance. We not only want to defend the land (Caliphate), but also seek the survival of our "faith". If we failed to defend Constantinople and Baghdad, we must not fail to protect our Iman (religion).

I have decided the course of action (non-co-operation) for myself, and will follow it steadfastly. All those who seek righteousness (Talib-i-Haq) and trust me should follow me or obtain further instruction from the following persons:

Mawlavi 'Abdul Qadir, Vakil, of Qasur, District Lahore.

Mawlavi Muhyad-ud-Din Ahmad of Qasur, District Lahore.

Mawlana Muhammad Daud Ghazanvi, Amritsar.

Mawlavi 'Abdur Razaq (Malyh Abadi), Editor al-Byan, Lucknow.

Risalah-i-Hijrat is being composed, and will be published in the near future. Those who still have further questions regarding the import of the Shari'a (about non-co-operation and migration) should wait for its publication.

The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution, and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and Colonial countries, and the continuation of the Imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A. I. C. C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied Powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other Colonial Power.

While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and

on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that still overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticism of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both in India and these nations, and inaction and submission to an foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The A. I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified

THE CASE AGAINST PAKISTAN

in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, whilst the A. I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A. I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle, it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

The case against Pakistan can be argued from various points of view, Hindu, Sikh and Muslim. It is the last which is most important and which has hitherto received the least attention. From the purely Muslim view point it has not been realized that the partition of India would be damaging to the whole of India and all its inhabitants but more damaging to Muslims themselves than to anyone else. It is extraordinary how propaganda war waged with modern weapons can, for a short period at any rate, make people believe in the incredible against their own interests and better judgment. Of this Nazi Germany is a thought-provoking example. Pakistan is a political slogan of great potency for the exploitation of the Muslim masses, and this makes it all the more imperative that its meaning, its significance and its implications are fully understood in order to lessen, as much as possible, its devastating effects.

It is wrong to say that India is not one country. Physically, naturally and geographically, India is one country. It is marked out and separated from other countries by unmistakable and almost unsurpassable natural boundaries on all sides. It is a peninsula and on three sides of it there is the sea, on the North are the mighty Himalayas—on the North-West and the North-East there is a natural fortification provided by hills which ought to prove to a great extent unsurmountable. It is true that within the country itself there is a variety of soil, climate, and natural scenery. These are found to a larger or smaller extent in every country. There were at one time, undoubtedly, kingdoms within the country more or less independent of each other. But the attempt of every great king was to extend his suzerainty over the whole of India. This has been the case since the mythical days of Ram Chandra, all through the periods of Chandra Gupta, Asoka, the Gupta Emperors, the Pathan Kings, the Moghul Emperors, right down to the present day of the British Empire. No one has treated any part of geographical India as constituting a separate country. Occasionally and for short periods, the boundary line on the North-West has varied according to the strength of the rulers; but at no time has it been accepted by anyone—Hindu, Muslim or the British that any part within the physical boundaries set by nature was a different country. The common interests of the people-economic, political and defence demand that India should remain undivided and united. A united free India has been an inspiring ideal before the people for generations. The proposition that the natural boundary of India is up to the river Jumna or Sutlej is wrong and erroneous. Without the Punjab and the N.-W.F.P. the geography of India is incomplete and inconceivable.

During the palmy days of the Aryan civilisation, Kandhar and Afghanistan were included in India, and when Alexander the Great invaded, the Punjab was a part of India. The Pathans and the Moghuls also included the Frontier Province within their Empires.

The political and economic unity of India is natural because it is the natural response to its geography. The familiar contrast with Europe is as instructive on this point as it is on several others. For, whereas the physical configuration of Europe—its long intended coastline, its peninsulas and inland seas and islands, its mountain ranges—has fostered the growth of separate nations and their seclusion from one another in separate States, geography seems to have marked out India, though not much smaller than Europe, to become in due course a single political and economic unit. On two sides it has set the sea and on the third the greatest mountain-barrier in the world; and while it has thus cut the peoples of India off from other peoples, it has not cut them off from one another. The only large island apart from Ceylon is Cutch, the only large peninsula is Kathiawar. Elsewhere the long seaboard is singularly unbroken. And across the land there is only one substantial natural frontier, the Vindhya mountains and their offshoots, which though nowhere of any great height, interpose between the northern plains and the Deccan a stretch of rugged, rocky inhospitable ground. In old days this was a sufficient obstacle to make it difficult for the masters of the North to extend their conquests southwards, but the Moghuls crossed it, and the Marathas also from the other side and for the British it soon ceased to be an obstacle at all. Mere distance in fact, not any natural frontier, was the chief impediment to the expansion of the British Raj all over India, and, long before the coming of the aeroplane, distance had been conquered by the railways, the telegraph, the telephone and the all-weather road. No soldier or administrator now-a-days would say that the physical character of India makes it hard to hold or to govern it.

The comparative ease and speed with which India was unified by the strength and Science of a Western Power has obscured to some extent the magnitude of the change it brought about in India's life. When British rule was expanding over India, Madras had no more in common with the Punjab, Bengal no more with Bombay, than German had with Spain, or Italy with Poland, when Napoleon dominated Europe. As late as 1877 John Bright contemplated the "nations of India drawing together under British rule into a group of States which would be able to stand by themselves when British rule was finally withdrawn." I but in the course of another generation so profound was the effect of the British Raj that those who were actually conscious

of the diversity of India ceased to think of it as comparable with Europe. In addition to the unifying forces of British rule the unification of India took place as a result of the break-up of the old feudal system in the same way as in most European countries smaller units gave way to large organised States. By the end of the nineteenth century India had come to mean more than the name of a sub-continent. The differences of race and language were still there. The communal divisions still cut deep—how deep we know today. Yet educated Indians, whatever their race or creed, had acquired a consciousness, such as they had never had before, that they were all Indians. One Supreme government, the adoption of English as the *lingua franca* of the intelligentsia, the ease with which it was now possible to visit or correspond with any part of India, the growth of higher education and of common interests and collaboration in scientific and literary research, the spread of commerce and industry over a vast free-trade area, the linking of production in one part of the country with markets in another, the relief of famine by inter-Provincial co-operation—all these major factors were welding India together, aided by the forging of many administrative and economic links and the making of innumerable personal contacts and relationship. No one can travel through India today without becoming aware of the extent to which it has acquired a common life, a common society, in which its educated elements are freely commingled. He may share his carriage in the train with a Bombay merchant who had been visiting a branch of his business at Lahore, a lawyer from Bengal with a brief at Nagpur, a Madras scientist attending an academic conference at Calcutta, Punjab officer going to join his regiment at Banglore. Such countless common social, economic and intellectual activities were enough in themselves to create a sense of community, and, when with the beginning of self-government Indians began to share in common political activities also, that sense of community was inevitably coloured by the idea or the ideal of nationhood. Thus the unifying process was accelerated by the growth of nationalism; and though nationalism itself, because its objective was the government of India by Indians, was bound sooner or later to precipitate a conflict between the forces in Indian life that made for unity and those that made for disruption, the unifying forces, at any rate up to 1937, had kept the upper hand. In 1937 it was still taken for granted that the free national status now coming into view could only be attained by one united nation. So far had the India of Bright's day been transformed. If Indian society was not yet national, it had ceased to be merely continental. If India was not and never could be

comparable with relatively homogeneous European countries like Germany or France, she was no longer comparable with Europe.

There is also the unity among Hindus and Muslims of India inspired by their present common enemy—British Imperialism. This fact has given rise to innumerable common interests among them, and these common interests and the need for a united front are the basis on which the concept of India as a nation must be based. Pakistan will diminish to a dangerous degree the strength of India to give a united fight to foreign powers present or potential. As separate nations it will be as difficult for them to maintain their independence as it will be to win it.

Apart from religion the basic idea of Pakistan is preservation of Muslim culture. If culture means the improvement achieved by training of intellectual development an average Indian at present cannot have any claim to culture. Nearly 90% of the Indian people are living from hand to mouth and are illiterate. Culture and spiritual progress is impossible without leisure and material prosperity. What does Muslim culture mean to a Muslim peasant or a labourer? Is not his pressing need two square meals a day, clothing and housing? One of the most important items of cultural differences is the script question. It is hotly debated whether the Persian or the Devanagri script should be used; a question relevant obviously only to the minority of Indians (less than 10% and among Muslims on 8%) who are literate. For the mass of the people of India the problem is not one of which script they shall use, but of building a society in which they and their class may read at all. India must first prosper materially and only then can it meditate upon holy things. The Hindus and the Muslims should first become an able nation by gaining physical and mental vigour through independence. Some people, however, argue that culture is generally an affair of the upper classes. Even accepting this the cultural protection of Muslims cannot be secured by partition of India, or in other words, segregation of Muslims from other communities, it can only be secured by rehabilitation of Muslims through improving their economic condition *vis-a-vis* other communities. Constitutional safeguards and legislative measures may afford some protection but the real protection must come from the inherent strength of Muslims developed through better education and greater facilities for participating in the economic development of India. Parsis are an insignificant minority in India yet they do not need and have never demanded any protection for their cultural development. Muslims must, therefore, face rival communities and prove their worth rather than confess their weakness and look for an asylum behind the closed doors of Pakistan.

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* since 1937 that the All-India Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative political organization of the Musalmans of India who number 100 million strong. This has made some people identify the Pakistan demand of the All-India Muslim League with the Muslims of India, but the fact is that it is difficult to say that the League represents the Muslims of India and the demand for Pakistan is (apart from the fact that it should not be) the demand of the vast majority of the Muslims of India. There has no doubt been a phenomenal development in the strength and popularity of the League, and the League can now be said to be the largest single party of the Muslims, but older Muslim organizations have perished and new ones have grown which do not agree with the demand for Pakistan and there is as yet nothing to show that they do not represent the majority of Muslim opinion. The assumption underlying the League attitude seems to be that all who belong to a religious group whether by the accident of birth or by the fact of choice, must because of their common religious faith also hold the same political opinions about the form of government or structure of society they wish to have. This assumption is without any basis. Almost all the peoples of Europe are Christian by faith, but political and economic conflicts there are perhaps more virulent than in any other continent. Arabs are Muslims like the Turks, but they did not hesitate to co-operate with Britishers who are Christians, to throw off the Turkish yoke. Religious conformity is one thing, identity of economic and political interests is another. The League has never had the courage to publish its membership figures, has always been opposed to the proposal of a Constituent Assembly, (elected by universal adult suffrage with separate electorates), because it has never been confident of winning a majority of Muslim votes. The present hesitation of the League to accept a plebiscite of the whole population in predominatingly Muslim areas shows its weakness, and lack of faith in the acceptance of its demand by the vast majority of Muslims.

It is a notable fact that the League is the weakest where the Muslims are in a majority and where Pakistan is to be founded. The Watan Party of Baluchistan has a majority of the people behind it as against the landlords who support the League. The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference led by Muhammad Abdullah has undoubtedly the support of the overwhelming majority of the population and is opposed to the League. The attempt made by Mr. Jinnah in 1944 to win over the Conference to the cause of the League was a failure. In N.-W. F. P., in spite of the fact that Hindus are only 6½% of the total population, Khudai Khidmatgars, owing allegiance to the Congress, are the most powerful party. The League

Ministry defeated in early 1945 was set up and assisted by Government and made possible because a majority of the Khudai Khidmatgar members of the Assembly were detained under the Defence of India Rules. In Sind until recently, when the Governor unconstitutionally dismissed the Premier, the League had no chance of success against the Muslim Nationalist Party of the late Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh. The present so-called League Premier holds office with the support of the Congress, and his allegiance to the League is highly doubtful. In the Punjab the Unionist Party, which is a non-communal party and is organised on an economic basis, has been supreme since 1937. Almost all the Muslim members of the Assembly were, until recently, members of the Unionist Party, and were only nominally members of the League under the Sikander-Jinnah Pact. The attempt of Mr. Jannah in April 1944 to disrupt the Unionist Party and to form a Muslim League Coalition Ministry failed and resulted in the placing the Muslim League in opposition with not more than twenty-two members out of a total 89 Muslim members of the Assembly. It is an admitted fact that in the Punjab the League has never been a success, so much so that it has not even been able to curb the anti-League Ahrar party. In Bengal until 1943 when the Governor unconstitutionally forced the Premier to resign, the League was in hopeless minority against the Proja Party, a non-communal party with an economic programme. The League Ministry of Sir Nazim-ud-din was almost entirely dependent on the Governor and the European Bloc. In spite of this it has been defeated by a defection of its many erstwhile Muslim members.

Among all-India organizations the League has several rivals. The Congress still carries the allegiance of a considerable number of politically-conscious Muslims and before 1942, was also beginning to have an increasing influence among the peasants. Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind has little sympathy with the present programme of the League. The Shia Political Conference covers Shias almost all over India, estimated to be no less than 20% of the Muslim community. The Momin Ansar Conference claims to represent the 'Depressed Classes' of Muslim India, spinners and weavers and artisans. The Azad Muslim Conference, founded in 1940, was a congregation of all Muslim organizations in India, except the League and the Khaksars, and since then even the Khaksars have decided to oppose the policy of the Muslim League. Finally, the recently founded All-India Muslim Majlis is an increasingly popular organization. There is, therefore, a substantial body of Muslim opinion outside the League.

The Pakistan demand is not the demand of the Muslim masses nor is it in their interest, and the power of the League is only directed towards the advancement of the interests of the Muslim aristocracy—the landlords and the middle classes, whom it represents and who look for

their class aggrandizement and want a larger share than they have hitherto had in the administration of the country and the capitalistic ventures of the future. The Muslim capitalist is unable to flourish in competition with the more powerful Hindu capitalist, and in the name of religion wants to capture governmental machinery to further his own interests and to keep the masses in their present state of poverty and subjection. Middle class Muslims feel that their chances of success, on account of their having entered the capitalist game much later than the Hindus, are at present pitifully meagre and perhaps, as individuals, none too bright even in a free capitalist India, but they could be immensely increased if they would stand together as a united middle class and fight for power in the name of religion. If Pakistan were achieved, they would have an opportunity of investing their money, of dominating commerce, the professions and government service, and of raising tariffs to foster their own industries. That is why the League is most vocal and strongest in the provinces where Muslims are in a minority but economically fairly strong. Where the Muslims are in a majority and constitute the masses the League is not so strong because Muslims of those provinces are as a whole pre-occupied with economic questions and the religious cry of the League does not appeal to them overmuch though they cannot help being impressed by its emotional appeal. In the Muslim majority provinces the majority of the Muslims belong to the rank of have-nots. Their only hope lies in a reconstruction of society which would secure to them a more human standard of life. This accounts for the strength in Bengal of the Proja Party which entered the legislature with a programme of the abolition of the permanent settlement and landlordism. This accounts for the strength in the Punjab of the Unionist Party which has a programme of helping backward areas and backward classes and reducing the burden of indebtedness. This accounts for the strength in the N.-W. F. P. of Red Shirts who have a radical social and economic programme. This also accounts for the Congress and Allah Bakhsh combination against the League in Sind. The religious appeal of the League has been successful in preventing attention being directed to the specific demands and grievances of the proletariat and the peasantry but the demand for adult franchise might easily raise such issues and thus destroy the very basis of the power of the League and probably that is the reason why Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly said that India is unfit for democracy.

The acceptance of Pakistan as its goal destroys the very basis of the League. Hitherto the League stressed the identity of interests of all Muslims in India irrespective of their economic, political and geographical differences. Pakistan marks a belated recognition that

such interests are in fact different. Programmes and policies for Muslims in areas where they are in a majority will be different from those in areas where they are in a minority. In the one case, they must undertake the responsibility of administration and offer safeguards and protection to the minorities in their charge. In the other they must themselves seek safeguards against possible oppression by a hostile majority. The League has thus adjured by implication, if not directly, its accepted creed till now that Muslim interests are indivisible and identical for the whole of India. It follows that the League as at present constituted with a preponderance of Muslims from outside Pakistan should cease to exist. The Council of the All-India Muslim League consists of the following members: Delhi: 15, U. P.: 70, Punjab: 90, Bombay: 30, Sind: 25, Madras: 20, N.-W. F. P.: 20, Baluchistan: 65, Bengal: 100, Bihar: 30, Orissa: 10, Assam: 25, C. P. and Berar: 25, Ajmer: 5. In other words, out of a total of 465 members the North-West (Pakistan) has only 140 representatives or 30 per cent. of the total, and the Eastern State has another 100 representatives or both together a little over half of the total. It is but logical that the All-India Muslim League largely represents minority Muslim provinces and has no right to exist as such and, indeed in 1940, Chaudhary Rahmat Ali rightly said: "We must scrap the All-India Muslim League as such and create instead an alliance of the nations of Pakistan, Bengal and Usmanistan. For this alone would set the final seal on our separation from 'India', inspire the Millat, and impress the world as nothing else would".

Can it be said that the so-called constituent units of Pakistan really desire a union? The North-West region is, undoubtedly, an extensive tract, but apart from this and a common religion of a majority of the inhabitants there is nothing that is common. There are at least five distinct and separate languages spoken within this area; and historically it can hardly be claimed that as a territorial unit it has ever been one unit detached from the rest of India. Those who will constitute this State, the Sikhs, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Pathans, the Punjabees, the Baluchis, the Sindhis and the Kashmiris have bitter memories of each others' dealings in the not very distant past. More recently the spirit of provincialism has been significantly strong, as may be noticed from the resentment in Sind, Bahawalpur, Kashmir and N.-W. F. P. against the Punjab on account of its large representation in their services to the detriment of their own people, in the same way as at one time the Punjab resented the presence of the Bengalee element in their services. In the N.-W. F. P. the Khudai Khidmatgar movement is a strong Pathan nationalist movement which will militate against domination by the Punjab. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh once remarked: "The N.-W. F. P., Baluchistan and Sind which now enjoy

comfortable majorities in autonomous provinces helped by the Centre financially and on the matter of defence, would not care to change their present position for a minority in another unit, though overwhelmingly Muslim." The Punjabees would, for somewhat different reasons, refuse to be included in Pakistan. The Punjabees would never agree to be financially bled white for feeding deficit provinces like N.-W. F. P., Sind and Baluchistan. Further, at present the Punjab thrives on its vast share in the army, and if separation takes place, the rest of India would naturally not employ alien nationals (*i.e.*, Pakistanis) to defend 'Hindustan'. In 1930 the Indian Infantry was drawn to the extent of 58.5 per cent., from the Punjab, and although the present figures have not been made available to the public, it is supposed to be in the neighbourhood of two thirds the total strength. Pakistan will not only cease to have any share in the army budget of India, but would have to pay for their army themselves.

Irrespective of the fact whether the people of the North-West desire Pakistan, the next question is how to bring it into existence. Pakistan is not being demanded from the Hindus because they are not in a position to concede it, it is being demanded from the British, who are still the masters of India. Are the British going to be guided by considerations for the good of the Hindus or the Muslims? Would they not be interested more in preserving their own interests? Is it not a fact that the British have alternately talked of the unity and the disunity of India as it suited their own requirements from time to time? Is it not true that the attitude of the British Government has been vacillating from one position to the other according to the exigencies of the situations and imperial needs? When in October 1939 there were chances of Congress co-operation in the war effort, the Viceroy could "reaffirm his belief in the essential soundness of the 1935 Act", (which means a federation and a strong democratic Central Government, but on 8th August 1940 when the war had progressed unfavourably and the chances of Congress co-operation had receded he said that it "could no longer serve the purpose for which it was originally designed," and the next step did not exclude an examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it was based, and added that "it goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in Indian national life. Nor could they be parties to coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government." In order to postpone transfer of power (contemplated in the idea of federation and democratic parliamentary self-government) Mr. Amery in his speech on August 14, 1940, while approving of the

Pakistan resolution of the League said: "It may, indeed, prove to be case, it is by entirely novel departures from the existing scheme that an agreement may be reached, which is unattainable within the framework of the existing Act." On 18th November, 1941, he said: "Rightly or wrongly, the experience of Provincial Self-Government on British parliamentary lines has convinced the Muslims and the States that they cannot submit to any Central Government for India in which the executive is directly dependent on a parliamentary majority, which if provincial experience is any guide would be an obedient mouthpiece of the Congress High Command." Finally, Cripps proposals conceded Pakistan in principle. The tide turned when C. Rajagopalacharia led a movement for settlement with the League on the basis of Pakistan. He met Mr. Jinnah and thought there were reasonable chances of settlement and wanted to interview Mahatma Gandhi, then in internment, but Government refused permission.

The speech of the Viceroy on December 17, 1942, to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, however, emphasised the deed for maintaining the geographical unity of India and the necessity of a strong Central Government. He let it be understood that the British were unfavourable to separatism because if India spoke with two voices, she would not be able to play her part effectively at international discussions. Recently, British solicitude for the unity of India has increased in proportion to the prospects of a Hindu-Muslim settlement on the basis of partition. Lord Wavel in his speech to joint Legislatures in 1944 while recognising the existence of a separatist movement urged the continuance of a united India. "No man can change Geography," he said.

The motive behind the British support for Pakistan was tactical rather than genuine and was the same which inspired the partition of Bengal. It is most unrealistic for some Muslims to believe that the British would support Pakistan not for the advantages that would accrue to them (the British) but for the benefit of Muslims. The fact is that the Pakistan scheme has created and will further create a countrywide agitation which would embitter the feelings of the people, and estrange a large number of Muslims from the struggle for freedom. It has frustrated the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly and has created anti-Congress feelings in the Muslim Majority provinces where the League was the weakest and non-communal parties the stronger, *i.e.* Sind, N.-W. F. P., Punjab and Bengal. It has intensified internal quarrels and wounded non-Muslim feelings and made Hindus acutely antagonistic to Muslims. In the present struggle it needs to be recalled by Muslims that the annulment of the partition of Bengal clearly showed the result of the dependence of one community upon a

foreign Government for support against sister communities. It also showed that the British are not genuinely interested in helping either one or the other community except in order to perpetuate the struggle between the two communities.

It has been repeated by Mr. Jinnah on several occasions that the British are not honest in their solicitude for the Muslims and whatever regard they show for Muslims is in the interest of their traditional policy of "divide and rule." In other words, the British do not desire a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem and if one became imminent by acceptance of partition as a solution they would try their best to prevent it. It follows that if Pakistan is a solution of the communal problem, the British in their own interest would not desire it, and they would join hands with the Hindus, who are opposed to it, thereby making it difficult for Muslims to fight on two fronts. If Muslims wish to achieve Pakistan it would be easier for them to wrest it from the Hindus alone than from the Hindus and the British combined. It is, therefore, inopportune for the Muslims to raise the cry of Pakistan at this stage. They should first co-operate with the Hindus to expel the British and then demand Pakistan from their countrymen. The insistence at this stage on the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan as a condition precedent to any form of settlement is proving harmful both to the Muslims demand for Pakistan as well as to India as a whole. The absence of some form of national government affords the fullest scope to British Imperialism economically to exploit the country in a most unscrupulous manner and if the Muslim League continues to persist in its present attitude till the end of the war, all possible chances of co-operation with non-Muslims on economic and other issues would be lost and the British would in the meantime not only cripple the movement for freedom but would also create economic fetters for the whole country which it would be difficult to break. It is, therefore, imperative that even if the Muslim League does not give up its ideal of Pakistan that ideal should not stand in the way of an interim war-time co-operation with other parties without prejudice to the ultimate partition of India. On the other hand, if Pakistan is not a solution of the communal problem, then it is a folly to demand it.

It is possible that considerations of foreign policy may ultimately cause the British Government to concede or as appears more likely since the termination of the war in the west and the aggrandisement of the U. S. S. R. to refuse partition. What ever it may be, the British will certainly not incur the wrath of the three-fourths of India to please the Muslims of the North-West. If so, the demand for Pakistan is likely to raise false hopes which may never be fulfilled and instead only fill the country with religious fanaticism and bitterness which can

easily be avoided. By raising the Pakistan issue, are Muslims not making a negative move, and weakening the existing offensive by diverting public interest from the main antagonist—"Britain versus India?" Apart from the fact that Pakistan would be harmful both to Muslims and Hindus, the demand for Pakistan postpones the day of India's political deliverance. The British are using and will continue to use the difference of opinion on the Pakistan issue to postpone transfer of power in the same way as differences of opinion on communal safeguards have enabled the British to withhold Reforms from time to time.

The British would let the threat of separation always hang like the sword of Damocles over the head of the Congress in order to restrain it from doing anything harmful to Imperial interests in India. When the British find the threat unprofitable they would, in the last resort, carry out separation partly as a measure to save their interests, at least in as much of the country as may be possible by this method (*i.e.* North-West India), and partly as a further threat to the Congress in order to restrain it from breaking the British connection altogether. British commercial interests in the rest of India could be saved by threatening retaliation through the Muslim States in the North-West and North-East of India. The separation, as a weapon of coercion against the Congress, achieve independence. That the British want to use Hindu-Muslim antagonism for retaining a firm hold on a part of India and thereby keep it in partial subjection is clear from the Cripps proposals which said: "His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so desires. With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that there laid down."

Considering the economic weakness and strategic vulnerability of Pakistan, British domination in Pakistan would accordingly become more or less a permanent feature, and they might even use Pakistan as a spring board to create trouble for the rest of India and thereby prevent India from achieving full independence. Pakistan would become another Egypt and whatever independence it would have if even that, would be only in name. Pakistan will never be an *ex gratia* gift from the magnanimous British, but only the conditional transfer of limited power. Burma did not become free because it was separated from India. Aden did not become free because it was taken away from the control of the Government of India.

To believe that other Muslim countries will come to the aid of Pakistan to help them against the British is to ignore facts. Turkey is far off and has no desire to indulge in Pan-Islamic activities outside its borders. Egypt is equally far off, weak and impotent and dominated by the British. Persia is threatened by both Russia and Britain and is hard put to maintain its own independence. Afghanistan is weak, lacks resources in men and materials and is incapable of giving any effective help. If anything Afghanistan would like to have access to the sea through the port of Karachi by annexing the whole of Baluchistan and Sind. There is no Pan-Islamic sentiment left which would urge Muslim countries to come to the aid of Pakistan. Afghanistan is going to go the path of secularisation as Iran and Turkey have done and all of them have enough to do within their own territories to have any extra-territorial ambitions. Indian Muslims have only to recall the horrors of the Hijrat Movement during the Khilafat agitation to realize how empty Pan-Islamism proved and how unwelcome they were to the Afghans. Some fervent advocates of the partition of India believe that the Pakistan solution has made an irresistible appeal to the Pan-Islamic feelings of the Indian Muslims and the establishment of Pakistan would bring their dream of a Muslim Confederacy of the Islamic countries in the Near East within the range of practical politics. The truth of the matter is that the Weltanschauung (world vision) of Pakistan is antiquated and out of date. The Ottoman Empire which combined in the Khalif, the Emperor and the High Priest foundered on the rock of nationalism. Even after the rebirth of Turkey under Ataturk no attempt was made to unite the Arab States. Ataturk said: "Islam is not only a religion but also a fatherland."

The rivalry of the Middle Eastern States and their inability to come together even in the face of danger proves that to the Muslims of the Near and Middle East their separate political identity as Turks or Persians, Afghans or Egyptians, Arabs or Syrians is more important than their community of faith. This fact is even more pronounced in China and Russia. The accent has shifted from religion to territorial nationalism. The days of theocratic states are gone. In the modern world of nation-states a theocratic state will always be at a disadvantage. And today in a world governed by "Real Politik" where and how can any Islamic State find that "perfect isolation" needed "for its development"? The existence of a theocratic state postulates a world revolution on Islamic lines which is now an impossibility. In the context of the military and political forces of today, Pakistan is an impossible adventure. To refuse to learn from the fate of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan is to mortgage the future of 90,000,000 men

so that a few may get the chance of playing with politics. Far from sounding the tacsin of Islamic *imperium*, Pakistan, once separated from the rest of India will become a pawn in the struggle of the Great Powers. The Versailles Treaty formed petty "nation states" and now all of them were wiped off the map of Europe. Independently of Hitler's ambitions Austria could not exist as a separate economic unit, and in any case would have had to be united with Germany. Some small European States have found it impossible to develop their resources without financial help from other countries e.g., U. S. A. The present age is not the age of small nationalities it is the age of Great Powers. Pakistan in the stress of the modern world will not meet an imperial destiny but a vassal's fate. Some Muslims are thinking of bringing back the conditions which existed before sea-power (wielded by the British) changed them, when India was dependant on Central Asia (Afghanistan and Turkestan), from which raiding armies and conquerors swept down. This is obviously impossible and completely disregards modern political, economic, technical and military developments.

"There is another point," says Professor Coupland, "on which the ideology of Partition seems out of date. The nationalism it preaches is based on religion. It is because they are Muslims that the Muslims of India are entitled to political independence. It is because they are Moslems that the trend of their future international associations should be turned away from India and towards the Middle East. Such ideas are the natural outcome of the old Islamic philosophy of life in which Church and State were indivisible. Not long ago they were a common-place of the Muslim world. But one of the most remarkable results of the war of 1914-18 was the change it brought about in Muslim political thought. For the new tide of nationalism which it set running through all the Muslim countries from Morocco to Afghanistan was not dominated by religious fanaticism. If it was directed against Christian Governments it was not primarily associated with the notion of a 'holy war'. How far the Muslims in their desire to be free from European domination had adopted the European conception of the national State was finally demonstrated by events in Turkey. The dramatic recovery of the Turks from the disaster and humiliations of the war was followed by the fall of the Ottoman Sultanate, the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate, and the complete secularisation of the Turkish State. Thus political Pan-Islamism was deprived at a stroke of its main foundations. In other Muslim countries—in Egypt, Persia, Iraq, Syria—nationalism, though nowhere so secularist as in Turkey, assumed a similar Western

complexion. Observers in the West began to ask if the words 'Islamic World' had not lost their political meaning, if the role of Islam in Muslim countries was not destined sooner or later to be assimilated to that of the Churches in Christian countries.

Indian Muslims can scarcely have forgotten the reaction of those developments on Indian politics. The Caliphate movement, in which the left-wing Muslims combined with Mr. Gandhi, and the Congress against the British Government, was completely exploded by the abolition of the Caliphate. Yet in inverting the dictum of *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, in looking forward to creating a political nexus between Pakistan and the Muslim countries of the Middle East, still more in extending the idea of a consolidated Muslim zone to embrace the Dutch East Indies, are not the Partitionists inviting a repetition of what happened twenty years ago? If Pan-Islamism was dead then, can it be resuscitated now? Can the philosophy of the Caliphate movement be revived without a Caliph? Are Muslims at Ankara or Cairo or Bagdad likely to feel that their political interests are closely linked with the prospects of Pakistan? The members of the Turkish Press Mission which visited India early in 1943 were reported to have shown scant interest in our sympathy with the Pan-Islamic aspirations of the Indian Muslim League, thinking these to be anachronistic."—(The Future of India, 1944.)

The chief *raison d'être* of the Pakistan scheme is that it solves the communal problem, and yet it has been admitted by Mr. Jinnah himself that this would not be so. That the so-called two nations will continue to plague India even after partition is evident from the following conversation with Mr. Jinnah reported by Edward Thompson :

"Two nations, Mr. Jinnah ! confronting each other in every Province? Every town? Every village?"

"Two nations confronting each other in every province. Every town. Every village. That is the only solution."

"That is a very terrible solution", Mr. Jinnah!"

"It is a terrible solution. But it is the only one."

Pakistan would not put an end to the Hindu-Muslim problem, or the problem of safeguarding the rights and interests of Muslims and other minorities. Partition, far from solving them, would complicate them and bring no balm for the sores of the body politic but pour upon them acids of disintegration and strife. The example of Ulster, the often quoted precedent, must not be forgotten. The partition did not solve the

minority problem since while the Protestant minority of 6 per cent. in Eire may acquiesce in the regime, the same cannot be said of the Catholic minority of 33 per cent. in Northern Ireland." Pakistan far from clearing the inter-communal atmosphere will thicken the miasma of misunderstandings, open a prospective of hate and fear, and intensify her political and social malaise. "If a federal State cannot solve the problem of minority safeguards within its component autonomous units, what guarantee is there that two independent federations will succeed any better in solving them. On the contrary, with powerful minorities in each, the risk of constant friction between the two federations cannot be ruled out. This is bound not only to lead to undesirable repercussions within each of the two federations but also to provide cause to powerful foreign States for intervention in the internal affairs of the federations as well as their component units".

Pakistan would merely reproduce on a smaller scale the very problem which it claims to set out to solve. The scheme that does most for reducing the total figure of communal minorities is "A Punjabi's" Confederacy of India; it would leave as minorities 58.6 millions, of whom 29 millions would be Muslims. The Aligarh Scheme (of Zafar-ul-Hasan and Qadri) would leave about 70 millions, whom 28.1 would be Muslims. In an undivided India, there are 79.3 millions in the communal minority of Muslims. What these proposals would achieve, therefore, is not the partition of India along communal lines, but the distribution of communal minorities and majorities. The Confederacy of India Scheme would create a separate Muslim Bengal Federation with a Muslim population of 66.4 per cent. and the Aligarh Scheme visualizes Pakistan with 60.3 per cent. Muslims, and "Bengal" with 57 per cent. Muslims. In short, Muslim federations will have 40 per cent. or more of non-Muslim populations. According to the much wanted principle of self-determination, how can one visualize a Pakistan with non-Muslim minorities of 40 per cent. or more? Surely, the Pakistanis ought to be the first to let these minorities secede back to 'Hindu' India.

If the principle of separation is logically pursued then promised in the Congress resolution on Fundamental Rights adopted at Karachi in 1931. If an individual or group or groups of individuals can be guaranteed safety of cultural individuality in the future Federation of India as adumbrated in Dr. Latif's pamphlet. The Cultural Future of India, is difficult to understand and why the 60 or 70 lakhs of Muslims at present living in the U. P. cannot live securely under the same or identical guarantees, and the one crore and more of

Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab. If the principle is valid in the case of a few, it can be or ought to be valid in the case of millions.

Predominating Sikh areas should be excluded from the Punjab. This is almost impossible. Of the six million Sikhs in all India, 3.8 million are domiciled in the Punjab and 1.4 million in the Punjab States. The geographical situation of the Sikh area in the Punjab is such that they cannot be easily excluded from it in the same way as Ambala Division. Their exclusion cannot be effected without sacrificing a large number of Muslims because the Sikhs are dispersed all over the province and there is not a single district where they are in a clear majority, but in some districts Sikhs, although small in number as against the Muslims, compared to their own population in other districts, are sufficiently strong. The important shrines of the Sikhs are in the Central Punjab and if this was to be excluded, it would mean the exclusion also of the Muslim intelligentsia, which incidentally is concentrated in this area, the best soil in the entire Indus regions. After their exclusion, a federation of the remaining Muslim tracts will be a federation of the sandy tracts of Bahawalpur and Khairpur States, barren and rocky soil of Rawalpindi Division, sandy stretch and colony areas of the Multan Division, which are already becoming water logged, poor soil of N.-W. F. P., and the sand dunes of Baluchistan and Sind. The Sikh Muslim question will, therefore, remain and in fact will become more acute because the exclusion of Eastern Hindu tracts of Ambala Division will raise the percentage of Sikhs (in the Punjab excluding the States) from 12.9 per cent. to 15 per cent. The Sikh-Muslim problem will be an acute problem. The typical Sikh is reputed for his energy, toughness, courage, and great fighting qualities. The Sikh community is well organized and rich and since the British seized the Punjab from them less than a hundred years ago, they still have memories and hopes of Sikh rule in the Punjab. The relations of the Sikhs and Muslims, before the annexation, were embittered and there was strong distrust on both sides, and eventually the Muslims welcomed the British as liberators from the tyranny of Sikhshahi rule. The Sikhs are opposed to partition. The advocates of Pakistan say that the rights and interests of Muslims of Pakistan cannot be allowed to be trampled underfoot in a federation which is bound to be dominated by the non-Muslims, merely because a minority take it into their head to oppose it. This argument is fallacious because the Hindus can say that the rights and interest of 75 per cent. population of India cannot be allowed to be disregarded for the sake of a minority of 25 per cent. or even less because the Muslims of Pakistan (N.-W. F. P., Sind, the Punjab, Baluchistan) are only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or including Bengal are only $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total population of India. Sikhs demand from Muslims what Muslims demand from Hindus.

Mr. Jinnah, of course, has been well aware from the outset of his campaign that of the many problems raised by Partition the Sikh problem is one of the most thorny; and a few days after the passing of the Lahore resolution he made a public statement expressing his respect for the Sikh community and his conviction that it had nothing to fear from Pakistan, and added: "It is obvious that, whereas in a United India they would be mere nobodies, in the Muslim homeland... the Sikhs would always occupy an honoured place and would play an effective and influential roll". But the Sikhs are more concerned with their position in North-West India than in India as a whole, and it is the prospect of a Muslim, not of a Hindu Raj that alarms them. Their reaction to Pakistan as conceived by the Muslim League is the exact counterpart of the Muslim's reaction to a Union of India as conceived by the Congress. Just as the Muslims, remembering the Mughul Empire, refuse to be subjected to a permanent Hindu Majority at an all-India Centre, so the Sikhs remembering that only a century ago they ruled the Punjab, refuse to become a permanent minority in Pakistan. Thus, when Sir Stafford Cripps submitted the British Government's proposal in 1942 to various party leaders, the Sikh All-Parties Committee was the first to reject them, on the ground that the option of non-adherence to an all-India constitution was to be exercised only by majorities in the Provinces. 'Our position in the Punjab', they declared, 'has been finally liquidated... Why should not the population of any area be given the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit?... We shall resist by all possible means separation of the Punjab from All-India Union.'

It seems probable, that rather than allow themselves to become a minority in an independent Muslim State, the Sikhs would insist on their own right of self-determination, and would demand that the area in which they are mainly settled, including the Sikh States, should be separated from the Punjab and become—since it could scarcely from an independent State by itself—a province of the neighbouring Hindu State. Is that a practicable proposition? At first sight such a bisection of the Punjab seems natural enough. The two Western Divisions (Rawalpindi and Multan) are overwhelmingly Muslim. The two Eastern Divisions (Ambala and Jullundur) are substantially non-Muslim. The Central Division (Lahore) is mixed; its three western districts (Sialkot, Gujranwala and Sheikhupura) have a Muslim majority; in the three eastern districts (Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore) Muslims and non-Muslims are roughly equal. It would seem, therefore, to meet the needs of the Province it might be divided into two roughly equal parts by a line

drawn from north to south through the Central Division. But to determine exactly where that the line should run is far from easy. The two principal cities of the Punjab, Lahore, the administrative capital, and Amritsar, the commercial capital and sacred city of the Sikhs, are both situated in the middle of the Province between the rivers Ravi and Beas and only thirty-five miles distant from each other. To fix the boundary at either of the rivers is plainly impossible: it would mean the inclusion of both cities in either the Muslim or the Hindu State. Between the two cities there is no natural dividing line of any kind. Any boundary set between them would be wholly artificial, geographically, ethnographically and economically. *Inter alia* it would cut in two the system of canals on which the productive capacity of the whole area largely depends. It would also leave the capital city of each province exposed and defenceless, right up against the frontier. Such an artificial dividing line, despite its obvious disadvantages, might serve, if it were to be merely the boundary between two provinces in a single federal state. Administrative difficulties, such as that of the canals, might in that case be overcome. But it is no mere inter-provincial boundary that is contemplated. It is to be a regular international frontier between two separate independent national States.

The exclusion of the Sikh areas from Pakistan thus appears so difficult as to be well-nigh impossible. And the Sikhs seem determined to fight, if need be, rather than stay as a minority in a Punjab that would be a province of Pakistan. The Muslim partitionists for their part have continued to assume that no more than the Ambala Division would be cut away and that somehow or other the Sikhs might be persuaded to acquiesce; and Mr. Jinnah still maintain that an understanding can be reached proved that the problem is treated as a local problem for Muslim and Sikhs and not complicated by the intervention of all India influence from outside. On what lines he hopes to base such an understanding is not known. It seems at present as if the attitude of the Sikhs is a major obstacle to the realisation of Pakistan. That they could mean a civil war, and a war which, once it had broken out, could certainly not be confined to North-West India.

“As regards North-East India”, says Professor Coupland, “the partitionists assume that Assam, which was linked with Eastern Bengal when the old Province was divided between 1905 and 1911, will similarly form part of the Muslim State, and that Western Bengal

(i.e., the Burdwan Division) will be excluded from it. The population figures in 1941 were as follows:—

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Muslim percentages</i>
	(000)	(000)	
Bengal	... 60,037	33,005	54.72
Eastern Bengal	... 50,020	31,575	63.12
Western Bengal	... 10,287	1,430	13.9
Assam	... 10,205	3,442	33.72

"It will be observed that only about one-third of the population of Assam is Muslim. Only in the district of Sylhet, where the Muslim percentage is 61, there is a Muslim majority. If Partition were voted on by Provinces and if it were carried by a majority in Bengal, the position of Assam would be very difficult. If its geographical situation were different, its Hindu majority would presumably choose to adhere to the Hindu State. But the geography being what it is, would such a division be practicable? Could Assam exist as a detached Province of the Hindu State, completely cut off from it by Muslim Bengal, with no access of its own to the sea, and with a frontier of which the danger has been revealed in the present war?

"The exclusion of Western Bengal raises again the question of self-determination for a provincial minority; for Bengal has long acquired a kind of nationality of its own, based on the Bengali language and an old and rich literary and artistic tradition, and centred both culturally and economically on Calcutta. The Hindu agitation against the partition of the Province in 1905 was so violent that, despite the assurance that had been given to the Muslim, the Province was reunited in 1911. Can it be assumed, then, that the eight million Hindus of Western Bengal would choose, if they had the choice, to be served from their motherland? Bande Mataram was a Bengali patriotic song before the Congress adopted it is an all-India 'national anthem' and grouped in a separate Hindu state with the Hindi or Bihari speaking people of Bihar and the Orisa-speaking people of Orissa? Above all, is it to be supposed that they would willingly be cut off from Calcutta?

"Just as the Sikhs are the crux of Pakistan, so Calcutta is the Cruse North-East India. In both cases the Partitionists apparently take inclusion in the Muslim State for granted. Yet the population of Calcutta and its neighbourhood is predominantly Hindu. The city itself contains 1,531,512 Hindus, 79,844 other non-Muslims, and 497,535 Muslims. It lies in the Twenty-four Parganahs District,

which, excluding the city, contains 2,309,996 Hindus, 78,210 other non-Muslims, and 1,143,180 Muslims. Thus both in the city and in the district, the proportion is over two to one in favour of non-Muslims. And this balance is reflected in the city's cultural and commercial life. All Bengalis, whether Muslim or Hindu, may well be proud of the fact that Calcutta both in culture and commerce is the queen of Indian cities, but in both, apart from the great contribution of British enterprise to the latter the Hindu share predominates. Muslims have substantial business interests in the area, but the Hindu interests are unquestionably greater. There is a Muslim College in the Huge University of Calcutta, but the great majority of the 37,000 students in University as a whole are Hindus. Communal discord has long been provoked by the fact that a Hindu majority city is the capital of a Muslim majority Province. Would it not be greatly aggravated and exacerbated if it became the capital of a Muslim state cut away from Western Bengal and the rest of Hindu India? Would not such an arrangement beget at least as much bitterness and friction as any article of the Treaty of Versailles has begotten in Europe? The trouble at Danzig, Vilna and Lvov was caused in each case by the association of the majority of their local populations with a foreign State. Yet, deprived of Calcutta, North-East India would become a rather dubious proposition. For economic reasons, it could not maintain itself as a separate independent State. It could only exist as a detached and backward Province of Pakistan, separated from it since a corridor across the breadth of Hindu India is plainly impracticable by more than 800 miles of land and air and more than 2,500 miles of sea." In order to make populations more homogeneous, territorial adjustments have been suggested. The exclusion of Ambala Division from the Punjab means the exclusion of 3,099,000 Hindus, 240,000 Sikhs and 1,138,000 Muslims, thereby raising the Muslim majority from 57.1% to 62.7%. North-East India is to comprise most of Bengal and Assam, the territorial adjustment in this case being the exclusion of the Hindu majority districts which constitute the Burdwan Division in Western Bengal. This Division contains 8,125,185 Hindus and 1,429,500 Muslims. By their exclusion the present Muslim majority of 54.7% in Bengal would be raised to 65%. The proposed exclusion, to begin with, of those Hindu majority districts from the Muslim state would seem to deny them the right of self-determination enjoyed by their neighbours. Can it be taken for granted, for example, that the people of Ambala Division would prefer to belong to the U. P. rather than remain within the Punjab?

It is arguable if the increase of Muslim Majority is the best way of dealing with the communal problem. Until quite recently its

Muslims, will be permanently segregated from the current of Muslim life in India, and, who knows eventually smothered for ever. A solution of the minority problem has been suggested by Mr. Jinnah, who says "The non-Muslim minorities will be given full protection with regard to their religion, language and culture like Muslim minorities in Hindu India, and will no longer cause unnecessary annoyance to the Muslim Government for fear of provoking Muslim minorities in Hindu India to similar action". Obviously the implication is that the hostilities can be brought into play more effectively between independent States than between federal Provinces. In reply Savarkar reported to have said that "when we will be in a position to retaliate and do retaliate the Muslims will come to their senses in a day. We shall not only save Hindu rights and honour in Hindu provinces but in provinces where we Hindus are in a minority, knowing that every attempt to tyrannize the Hindu is sure to recoil on themselves and react for the worse on Muslim interests in all India the Muslims will learn to behave as good boys". This argument is fallacious. Even today there are four Muslim majority provinces, yet if the story of oppression broadcast by the Muslim League in minority provinces is partially true. What protection have the minorities received on account of their co-religionists being in a majority in other provinces? The whole theory of retaliation has a wrong psychological basis. And even if it was correct the idea of treating minorities as hostages for the fair treatment of one's co-religionists in other States implies clear shift of the basis of politics from civilization to barbarism.

The crux of the matter is that whatever the demarcation of boundaries there would be a substantial Hindu minority in predominantly Muslim areas and an appreciable Muslim minority in predominantly Hindu areas. In order to make populations religiously more homogeneous, exchange of populations has been suggested on the analogy of exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece at the end of the last Great War. While the precedent is frequently quoted, it is safely forgotten that it concerned Greeks (orthodox church) who went and settled in Anatolia, and Turks (Muslims) who had gone and settled in Greece, while Hindu and Muslims are racially in no way different to each other and both have lived together in this country for about a thousand years, the conversions from one religion to another taking place from time to time during their common history. It is also forgotten that the exchange concerned only 1,300,000 Greeks and 400,000 Turks, and no less than £10,000,000 were spent by Greece alone in settling their repatriates, and their country was underpopulated and possessed the potentially rich territories of Western Thrace and Macedonia. Pakistan, on the other hand, can in no way be said

Muslim leaders have maintained that the fact that the balance is not too uneven has made for communal harmony rather than against it. The majority report of the Punjab Provincial Committee, which was appointed in 1928 to co-operate with the Simon Commission, affirmed that any large disparity between the communities in the present circumstances is undesirable in the interests of the province and good government. "As the communities are at present balanced", it went on, "there is not even a remote chance for any one community to form a cabinet on communal lines".

Partition, whatever its frontier lines, will not abolish the communal problem. With Ambala gone there would still be 8.8 million non-Muslims in the Punjab. It is natural enough that the Muslims should welcome the idea of increasing their majority in the Province, but would they find it easier to deal with the minorities if their traditional policy was abandoned and the existing balance of communities upset?

According to the scheme prepared by the Foreign Sub-Committee of the All-India Muslim League in 1940 to implement the League Resolution, the Northern Muslim zone was to consist of the Punjab, Sind, N.-W.F.P., Baluchistan and Delhi province which arrangement would give the Muslims a majority of 63%, and with States federating or confederating only 61.54% majority. The North-Eastern State consisting of Assam and Bengal (excluding Bankura and Midnapur Districts) and the district of Purnea from Bihar would give a majority of 54% which with the Bengal States would be reduced to 51.15%. By this arrangement two Muslim zones would give protection to 74.07% of the Muslim population of India. This naturally raises the question of Pakistan will be able to protect Muslim minorities from the "oppression" of accentuated "Hindu India? Ultimately they will have to fall back either on the Hindus or on an alien power. What special safeguards and special protection can you give them? If the protection and safeguards under the Communal Award are not sufficient, then what more assurances and safeguards can you give these Muslim minorities? Would not the Hindus insist that they would agree to Pakistan on condition that in 'Hindustan' the duality of culture and nationality are given up in order to enable Hindus to enjoy fully the right of self-expression in the Hindu State? Thus the brunt of the separation will fall on the Muslims outside Pakistan. It is safely forgotten that the communal problem does not concern so much the Muslims of those parts where they form a majority (and on account can look after themselves), as it concerns the Muslim minorities from Delhi, Lucknow, Patna downwards to Cape Camorin, who would be rendered eternal orphans under Mr. Jinnah's plans. Besides, Hyderabad, the stronghold of Muslim culture and rallying point for the Indian

to be under populated, nor has it the financial resources for meeting the cost of an exchange of population. An added difficulty would be that the Hindus of Ambala Division who are mostly Jat agriculturists will have to be replaced by Muslims from minority provinces who are engaged in commercial and industrial occupations, which have no counter parts in the Punjab, and would find it extremely difficult to adjust themselves to an agricultural economy. It should be remembered that Indians, largely Muslims, have preferred to continue to live in South Africa under the most humiliating conditions rather than return to India and be economically badly off. The exchange of populations has never been officially emphasized by the All-India Muslim League but some writers have advocated it with misgivings while others have advocated it with the greatest possible boldness. Dr. Latif in *Muslim Problems in India* wanted an exchange of populations involving nearly two-thirds of the total population of India, uprooting humanity on a scale unattempted in history which would cause popular opposition and tremendous misery. Even if a Pharaonic *tour de force* was not contemplated, the diversity between the people of various parts of India is so great, that an exchange of population on even a smaller scale would not be acceptable to the people concerned. People of different provinces have their own language, dress culture, and social usage, and live in the climate and under economic conditions peculiar to their respective provinces. They would strongly object to going to a different province even if it meant going to a province with a preponderance of their co-religionists. Both Hindus and Muslims in rural areas cling to and are deeply attached to their land, neighbours and local shrines and temples and would be loath to migrate to a different territory. On the other hand, some of the most important Muslim shrines such as those of Mueen-ud-Din Chishti and Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din are situated in Hindu India and the Muslims would not like to be deprived of free access to them. In U. P. alone the Aligarh Muslim University, Deoband, Azamgarh and many other places are the centres of Muslim religion and culture while Roorki, Banda and other places are sacred to Muslim memory. The Indian peasants like peasants anywhere are reputed to be thoroughly conservative in such matters even to the extent of foregoing better economic prospects. The socio-religious life in rural areas is deeply rooted in their environment. This being so an exchange of population on any large scale in India is unthinkable. Numbers and distance alike forbid it. Mass-transfer would involve not hundreds of thousands but millions or tens of millions, and in many cases it would mean an unbearable change of climate and of all the ways of life which climate has dictated. Nor would it bring about in India,

as it could in the Balkans, the union of homogeneous folk. The transferred multitudes would find themselves among peoples of different stock, speaking a language they would not be able to understand. It would be like a wholesale migration of French Protestants to Norway. During the stormy days of the 17th and 18th century when the Central power was shaken to the bottom, there grew up several independent petty States, some of which were ruled by Hindu princes and some by Muslim princes. Just as there were many Muslim subjects in Hindu States, so also there were many Hindu subjects in Muslim States. And the subjects stood faithfully and loyally by their rulers and fought against the rulers of their co-religionists. But the idea of interchange of populations on religious lines never occurred to them. Mr. Jinnah perhaps realizes all this or at least realizes that for whatever reasons Muslims would strongly resent any large scale exchange of population and therefore in a statement to the press on 1st April 1940 said: "A wrong idea and false propaganda appear to be set in motion, in order to frighten the Muslim minorities, that they would have to migrate en block and wholesale. I wish to assure my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation. Exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India, so far as particable, well have to be considered." The fact is that by now Muslims all over India have expressed themselves so strongly against the idea that it has ceased to be mentioned by the League as a solution of the lack of homogeneity of the population of India. F. K. Khan Durrani, an ardent advocate of Pakistan, says: "The continued residence of these Muslims in Hindustan, even if they are exposed there to undue hardships, is indispensable for the security and well-being of Pakistan, and exchange of populations will be harmful not only to Pakistan, but also to the ultimate purposes of Islam."

The exchange of populations, however, does not exclude a large non-Muslim element in Pakistan. Since the League demands statutory minority rights and mandatory safeguards for Muslims in Hindu India, it follows that similar rights and safeguards will have to be conceded to Hindus in Pakistan. In other words, the existing minority problem in India would continue to hamper the evolution of an Islamic policy. It follows that if Pakistan is to miss that final consummation why vivisect India? On account of the impossibility of making any sharp division between Hindu India and Muslim India, although religion is the basic idea of the two-nation theory and Pakistan, yet it is not considered of any vital importance within Pakistan itself. "El-Hamza", for example, says: "The Pakistani Hindus are true children of the soil and are of the same race as their Muslim fellow-countrymen. They have a fine and liberal religion, and practise very little of the caste

exclusionism and untouchability of the orthodox Aryo-Dravidian Hindu." And again, "Sikhs are typical Pakistanis. They are of pure Indo-Aryan race...the Pakistani Muslims look to their Sikh brethren for co-operation in their efforts for liberation of the fatherland." Thus on this occasion racial doctrines and territorial nationalism are brought in to bolster up the idea of segregation of people belonging to two different religions and on other occasions these very principles are rejected to support the two nations theory.

Before the demand for Pakistan can be accepted or supported by the future Pakistanis, they have a perfect right to know, what Mr. Jinnah consistently refuses to tell them, namely, what Pakistan has in store for them. Geographically, what will Pakistan consist of? Will Ambala Division be excluded? Will Sikh areas be retained? Will Calcutta be included in the Easter State? Will Pakistan be democratic (Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly said India is unfit for democracy), autocratic, socialistic, feudal or fascist? Will it be riddled with native States or would those States be liquidated? What will be the rights of a citizen of Pakistan?

Bareilly, Volume 9, triple No. 3-4-5 (Rabi-ul-Awwal to Jumadi-ul-Ula-1361 A. H.) page 16. Quoted by W. C. Smith-Modern Islam in India—1943, page 308. Similarly, the pamphlet, The present Crisis in Islam and Our Future Educational Programme, by Muhammad Fazlur Rahman (1944) elaborates an educational programme for Pakistan which is thoroughly reactionary in its tendencies and shown that in view of some of its advocates there would be no liberal education in Pakistan for Muslims nor any education for non-Muslims.

What will be the duties of a citizen of Pakistan? Will Pakistan be theocratic or temporal? What is meant by "Hakumat-i-Ilahia"? Since religion is the main reason for demanding Pakistan, presumably Pakistan, will be a theocratic State. It is for the Muslims of the North West to ask if they would like to live in a theocratic State. Would they be prepared to be ruled by Islamic Law? Would they be ready to be purged of un-Islamic influences? Would they be prepared to give up all the influences they have developed by centuries of contact with non-Muslims? Would they be prepared to give up customary law? Would they be prepared to establish Bait-ul-Mal and regularly pay Zakaat? Would the Muslims of Sind, i.e. Khojas and Kuchi Memons give up Hindu law? Would the Punjab Muslims give up the protection of the Land Alienation Act? Would the Muslim landlords of the Punjab follow Shariah and share inheritance with their sisters rather than follow the existing infidels' system? Would the Landlords be willing to apply Shariah to agricultural land? Has not Chaudhry Rahmat Ali warned: "Bi-nationalism is only the first half of the movement's Fundamental Creed; they must, if they are in earnest, adopt also the other

half—the de-Indianization of the Millat's territories. For only by its full adoption can the Millat be saved." In absence of answers to their questions, every person paints the future in colours most attractive to himself, and draws from the resultant picture the enthusiasm of the converts. In 1943 at the Delhi Session of the League when some members of the League Council attempted to formulate an economic programme for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah rebuked them as Saboteurs of Pakistan and refused to allow the discussion of such resolutions. As it stands, Pakistan is negative, based on hate and fear rather than any constructive and positive ideal or programme. Once Pakistan cease to be a resolute and undefined ideal, it would at once lose its attraction for the millions who would then be obviously left out of its benefits or would not like to enjoy its benefits'.

The whole history of Muslims has been a story of expansion and colonizations, physical as well as cultural. There is a fine poem of Iqbal in which Tariq, the Conqueror of Spain, rebukes worldly-wise councillors, who plead for retreat from a foreign land on account of their numerical weakness. "Foreign land"? retorts Tariq, "where can we find a land that is foreign to God, whom as Muslims we must serve?" The contrast of this attitude with that of Mr. Jinnah and his League is too glaring to require comment. Pakistan, which is today declared to be the goal of the Muslim League, is thus against the teachings of Muslim history. It is in fact against the teaching of history in every land. No race or people have ever proposed by seeking to conserve itself. Nations as well as individuals have triumphed only when they have sought to expand themselves in all directions. Cultures live by expansion. The attempt to withdraw within narrow shelters and maintain purity or integrity has invariably resulted in decay and death. Indian Muslims can also survive only by a spirit of expansion and growth."

It is said by ardent advocates of Pakistan that Hindu-Muslim differences can never be resolved and the struggle for power would never cease till one party completely dominates the other or partition delimits spheres of domination. That the Hindu Mahasabha has been carrying on a virulent campaign against the Muslims is true enough but demonstrations of this character, and this applies equally to the League, arise out of the hopes which are inspired by a third dominant power interested in keeping the two apart. As long as the two communities do not exactly know what measure of authority needs to be divided between themselves they would go on clamouring for a larger share than they deserve or would accept for fear that they may not be disregarded when the time comes for their failure to pursue their claims. The art of British political manoeuvring consists in keeping

the goal at a sufficient distance and thereby encourage claims and counter-claims. Hindu-Muslim settlement, therefore, will not be difficult when the British Government declares or is forced to declare the extent to which they are prepared to withdraw their authority from India. Similarly, social stagnation, which is said to be the result of perpetual civil war between the two communities, would give way to internal reform as soon as the present atmosphere of antagonism disappears. It is a recognised fact that the British Government in India has since the Mutiny been opposed to social reform with the excuse that they do not wish to interfere in religious matters. In fact Government has thereby encouraged reactionary forces in each community and prevented social reform. The refusal of the Viceroy in 1933 to permit the removal of untouchability by legislation in Madras is an excellent example of how reformist elements have been defeated by Government. Another aspect of social stagnation is that the fear of denationalization on account of an alien Government prevents reforms which would otherwise have come rapidly in free India.

In the world of today economic and financial considerations are vital. Professor Behre has made a careful study of India's mineral wealth, and has come to the conclusion that "India's mineral deposits will determine in considerable measure her place in the world; and the way in which that wealth is distributed will affect the relationship not only of each part of the country to the other parts but also of the country as a whole to the world outside. Moreover, it seems to have been demonstrated by history that any general rise in a country's standard of living affects favourably the relations between the various peoples inhabiting its component parts. As they become better fed and better housed they also become better educated, better informed and more understanding and more tolerant towards each other in spite of racial or religious or other cleavages. India, exclusive of Burma, now is or promises soon to be important in world trade as a source of coal and petroleum, iron ore, manganese ore, chrome ore, gold bauxite, salt magnesite, mica, gypsum, various gemstones, monazite and certain refractory materials. Industrial power in the modern world is based on the trinity of coal, iron and oil. Together coal and iron are the foundations of industrialization in our present steel age. Oil, though also valuable, is far less essential; in times of peace, a state rich in coal can do entirely without oil deposits if exchange in mineral commodities is free. Even if it has no oil, it may convert its coal to liquid fuel, as Germany does. Oil is of little direct value in the making of steel, and cannot as yet be substituted for coal in the steel industry. Coal remains essential. Both in aggregate value and in distribution the most important single industrial resource in India is coal— More than 98 per cent. has been and will be taken from the moderately old (Temian)

rock found chiefly in three provinces: Bengal, Bihar and Orissa That fact in turn affords a glimpse into the future of India and makes possible a reasonably safe forecast as to the foci of industrialization. The economist would say that India is fortunate because her vast coal deposits are in close proximity to her great iron deposits. The iron production of India comes likewise chiefly from the deposits of Bihar and Orissa, again running northward into Bengal. It will be seen that all of India's leading iron districts are in Hindustan. There are many small iron deposits in the western part of Pakistan but none that would sustain a large steel industry. It is apparent that India's minerals are so distributed between the parts of India in which Hindu and Muslim people preponderate that if India were divided on the basis of religious population the Hindu State would be rich and the Muslim State would be conspicuously poor. This disproportion is sufficiently great so that, speaking generally, it does not even seem to be cancelled out by differences in population density. Not only is this fact of Hindustan's relatively greater mineral wealth true for the present, as judged from a comparison of the minerals now produced; it will doubtless be an even more striking fact of the future, as the industrialization of India advances. The significant conclusion as to the question of Pakistan and Hindustan is corollary to this fact. Hindustan has great resources of coal and iron; it has excellent reserves of the more important ferro-alloy metals and of the non-metallic minerals and gold; it has considerable reserves of bauxite and some copper. Pakistan has a small amount of coal and iron; few ferro-alloys; and little bauxite. But Pakistan has as much of the ferro-alloys, other than manganese and chromium, as the Hindustan; it has adequate reserves of the other subsidiary minerals, except magnesite; and it has most of the oil. The leading feature of the complicated picture, is, that Muslim Bengal is geologically a continuation of Hindu Bihar and Orissa. Speaking very generally, about 90% of India's coal and 92% of her iron would be in Hindustan; the remainder would be in Pakistan, but the grade (and rank) of the latter is relatively poor. Hindustan would have most of the important ferro-alloy and subsidiary minerals which complete, the requirements of a relatively autonomous industrial real; yet Pakistan would have some of them. Under conditions of moderate industrialization and with fairly high living standards, India as a whole would have less oil than she needed for her internal combustion engines; most of what she had would be in Pakistan. The Hindu and Muslim areas of India are interdependent. Not only would Hindustan need some of the resources of Pakistan; for industrial life, Pakistan would desperately need great quantities of the resources of Hindustan. In a closed trade system the Pakistan State of Bengal would, industrially speaking, die.

In such a situation one would expect violence. And it is permissible to note that the muslim State which would thus be strangled would contain the people who are considered more aggressive and warlike than their richer neighbours. The economic position of the Muslim State of Assam, adjoining Bengal on the east, would be also unfavourable. It has no outstanding mineral wealth: petroleum and chrome ore are its only noteworthy mineral resources. In a divided India, then, it would seem to be even more hopelessly situated, economically speaking, than Bengal. Division or no division, there would be little need for change in the economy of the Punjab, Kashmir and the Muslim States to the west. They would remain as they are now, pastoral and agricultural, economically tributary to Hindustan. A division of India strictly on religious lines would seem to destine all of Pakistan for such a status.

In short, economically both the States will be worse off because of separation and more particularly Muslim areas. India's economy is a composite one. The resources of one state (Western Bengal), e.g., coal, will be needed to utilize fully the resources of the other (Eastern Bengal) e.g., jute. Only by combining all the resources of India can the problem of poverty be solved. India is so rich in economic diversities that there is no need either of conquest or of lebensraum. But that need will arise the moment India is split into a number of small states and the satisfaction of that need will not be realized except in terms of war. At present the North-Western zone possesses 15% of the seasonal and only 9.7% of the perennial industries. Of these the former employ 15% of the wokers engaged in seasonal factories and the later only 4% of those engaged in perennial factories all over India. The Statistical Abstract for British India from 1930-31 to 1939-40 shows that the average daily numbers of workers employed by different industries in Pakistan are only 6% of those employed in British India, although Pakistan has 12.3% of the population of British India. The Eastern zone too, after the predominantly Hindu Calcutta area is removed from it, will be no better situated than the North-Western State. In agriculture, the area under cultivation per head in "Hindustan" will be one acre, while in Pakistan it will be three-fourths of an acre. While Pakistan is very deficient in oil seeds, Hindustan has substantial advantage in sugar, cotton and foodgrains. Thus Pakistan would be poor industrially as well as agriculturally.

Professor Behre concludes: "The pressure of industrialization is a pressure for unity, in India as elsewhere. But does India want industrialism? . . . Among the things in the Indian village which it would seem difficult for anyone to overlook from any angle is poverty. . . . A possible form of amelioration is certainly the manufacture on a grand scale of consumer goods, whereby prices may be lowered and

purchasing power increased. Industrialization, if not the trigger by which this happy result can be assured, is at least one means that may be used, once the desirability of it is recognized. The war has given a tremendous impetus to the process of industrialisation of India, and, although the history of industrialism is still in its early chapters, there is nothing in the record of man's experience with this unruly genieto suggest that once unloosed it can ever be bottled again. India not only has coal and iron for the machine. She has a superabundance of the final resource on which the machine is based—manpower. And the distinguishing characteristic of India's immense manpower is its low per capita consumption, in a word, again, its poverty. Given the natural resources, given the manpower, given the need for an increase in the standard of living of the people of India, an increasing degree of industrialization of India would seem inevitable. India's decision as to the terms of her political future will determine whether that advance towards industrialism is relatively easy or difficult. The experience of "new" and financially weak South American States bears on India's problem, "New" nations; in the process of industrial development, have customarily paid stiff prices in terms of concessions and franchises, for needed capital, when they have been forced to seek that capital from private entrepreneurs. A united India would be in a position to command the sympathy and confidence of other governments, and to ask for loans under international auspices on some such terms as those for which China will ask. But an India, and yet more two Indias, using newly-won sovereignty to erect tariff walls around the national borders, would be a poor economic risk. Possible investors would demand the gambler's percentage. Once committed to a programme of industrialization, India would rapidly find herself confronted with the problem of controlling the programme in the interest of all her people rather than of a few—the familiar task which has agonized Western nations for a century and which, of course, is already a present component of the Indian situation. Divided into economic fragments, India would find this unavoidable issue doubly painful of solution. In a united India, the problem would seem to present the spur urging the country to the higher degree of social consciousness which her friends within and outside would wish. With her coal, her iron, her manpower, India would share Asiatic leadership with China or perhaps assume the outstanding role in the industrial development of Asia. External factors press her toward unity no less than does the logic of her economic resources. Buddhist Burman, on her eastern frontier, aspires toward nationhood. From Burma, India must have nickel, tin, turgsten, lead zinc and probably petroleum. Economic relations with Burman would be more fruitful for a united India than for a fragmented one. As

China develops her own heavy metal industries in association with her coal deposits in the north-east near the coast, India's iron ore, travelling by water, will be her most easily transported and least expensive source of supply. The present restrictions of British imperial policy would, however, have to be removed before this inter-development of Chinese and Indian resources could progress. . . . Chinese leaders have shown statesmanship in recognizing that it is to the advantage of China that her great neighbour on the south be a strong and unified nation. It is likewise to the advantage of Hindus and Muslims within India."

It is often alleged by supporters of Pakistan that the economic interests of Muslims and Hindus are different, that Hindus are capitalists and Muslim wage-earners, and that the interests of Muslims are mostly agricultural and interests of Hindus industrial and commercial. This facile classification is unwarranted because the vast masses of both communities are the exploited workers, whether industrial or agricultural, and both communities have a small section of capitalists, landlords, industrialists, etc., and the most that could be said is that the Hindus have a comparatively larger percentage of capitalists, but that does not alter the problem for 90% of the population of India. In fact Muslims are now rapidly turning towards capitalistic ventures and industry is developing more rapidly in predominantly Muslim areas than in the rest of India. As far as capitalists are concerned there is nothing to choose between Hindu capitalists and Muslim capitalists, they both join hands wherever there is scope for exploitation. Birla, one of the biggest Hindu industrialists, is Chairman of the United Commercial Bank, and Ispahani, one of the biggest Muslim capitalists is Vice-Chairman of the same Bank. All that can be said is that Hindu capitalist would like to have the whole of India as his field for exploitation while the Muslim capitalist would like to carve out the North-West and the North-East as his special preserves for his adventures. There is no doubt that in order to acquire power both would do exactly the same under the cloak of religion. The danger that in a united India Hindu industrialists are likely, by virtue of having stolen a march over the Muslim industrialists, to be a dominant factor more than their numerical superiority would justify, is a real one, but it presumes that the present economic system would continue and that the future Government would be in no way different from the existing regime which is the creation of British imperialism and does not aim to promote the good of the people of this country. If the future Government of India is a National Government and promotes the greatest good of the greatest number it is bound to curb unrestricted capitalism by one form or another of

state control under which the Muslims will not need to fear the economic domination by non-Muslim communities. Any attempt at solving the problem of poverty of the masses must inevitably strike at the very roots of Hindu capitalism and thereby remove the menace of which the Muslims have a justifiable fear. The truth of the matter is that if poverty is to be removed and the standard of life of the masses is to be raised India must move towards industrialisation, increased production and better distribution, both of which would become difficult in case of partition because the intensification of the communal issue would impede the organization of peasants and labourers on a purely economic basis. The only hope, therefore, lies in shifting the plane of politics from communal to economic.

The financial implications of partition also deserve consideration. The majority of the constituent units of Pakistan-Sind, N.-W. F. P. and Baluchistan are deficit areas, and the others, the Punjab and Bengal are not surplus provinces. The Eastern State with its teeming population and slender resources has been described by Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh as "an isolation quarantine". The financial stability of the deficit provinces depends on the subvention from the Centre, and after partition, the Pakistan Centre, the Punjab, will have to bear the whole of the burden. Sind gets a cash subvention of Rs. 105 lakhs and N.-W.F.P. gets Rs. 100 lakhs and the entire cost of the administration of Baluchistan is borne by the Central Government. According to liberal calculations Sind will not be self-sufficient till 1984. At present Pakistan contributes Rs. 7,13,76,594 to the Central Revenues, while Hindustan contributes Rs. 51,91,27,729 with which the Government of India is carried on, but after separation Pakistan will have to do without the help of financial contribution from the rest of India. Any fresh taxation not for the nation-building departments of the provinces, but to supply the deficit amount to other provinces, seems suicidal, the most significant fact is that the Government of India spends nearly Rs. 52 crores out of its total revenue of Rs. 121 crores on defence, one half to two-thirds the army being drawn from Pakistan, (the Punjab provided nearly 58% of the fighting men of the Indian Army before the war) and a large portion of this expenditure shall have to be borne by the Punjab. It is still more significant to note that per capita burden of taxation in Pakistan is already higher than the corresponding figure for 'Hindustan'. Rs 7.5 as against Rs. 5.3 and the trappings of statehood will greatly enhance this burden.

With the separation of the predominantly Hindu areas from the Punjab and Bengal, the position of Pakistan will be worsened. According to Dr. Ambedkar's calculations, their revenues will be halved. To put it in concrete terms, while the revenues of Pakistan

and the Eastern Muslim State will be Rs. 60 crores minus Rs. 24 crores (revenues of predominantly Hindu areas, i.e., Rs. 36 crores), the revenues of 'Hindustan' will be Rs. 96 crores plus Rs. 24 crores, i.e., Rs. 120 crores. Not only will the revenues of Pakistan be limited, but their main sources will be in elastic, like land revenue, while elastic and expanding sources, like customs, and income-tax will be meagre.

Bengal, as it is now, with 20% of the population of British India, possesses 33% of its industry. In Eastern Bengal without Calcutta, the percentage of British-Indian industry falls to 2.7%. Assam has valuable tea-gardens and is one of India's two sources of petroleum, but has virtually no industrial development. Thus North East India without Calcutta would be an almost wholly agrarian appendage, served by the one minor port of Chittagong. If Calcutta were given an autonomous status, it could doubtless be arranged that the customs duties on goods imported en route to North-East India or the Hindu State would be credited to the State to which the goods were consigned; and if Calcutta were included in North-East India, a similar arrangement would presumably be made, since otherwise it would be open to the Hindu State to import goods through Bombay. In either case the share of North-East India would be relatively small, for the bulk of the goods would continue to go, as they go now, not eastwards, but westwards, to western Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and the eastern areas of Central and United Provinces. Customs-barriers inevitably restrict freedom of trade, and it seems not improbable that some Hindu firms would evade the barrier and also perhaps the difficulties of double income-tax by shifting their quarters to the Hindu State.

The cultivation of jute has been the mainstay of Bengal's revenue. Under the Act of 1935 the export duty on jute is at present appropriated by the Central Government, which distributes 62½% of into those provinces in which jute is grown. In 1938-39 Bengal's share was 130 lakhs, but North-East India would presumably levy its own duty and take the whole of it. Most of the jute is grown in eastern Bengal, and North-East India without Calcutta, would be able to levy duty on raw jute exported from Chittagong, but is diversion thither from Calcutta with the existing system of communications would not be easy. Moreover three-fifths of the duty in 1938-39 was levied on jute manufactures, and this industry is located in Calcutta. For North-East India to levy export duty on raw jute crossing the frontier to Calcutta would be dangerous for two reasons. First, the Hindu State would probably levy an export duty on its jute manufactures and since the price in the world market would have to compete with that of substitutes, this second charge would inevitably reduce the cultivators' profits almost, if not quite, to nil. Secondly, a duty on raw jute at the

frontier would be a direct invitation to the Hindu State to extend its own area of jute cultivation and so threaten North-East India with the loss of its nearest and largest market.

All these economic and financial difficulties, however, do not seem either to concern or to deter the advocates of Pakistan. They do not ask if the north-western and the north-eastern States will attain self-sufficiency and develop enough military, economic and political power to enable them to resist the pressure of external aggression. They do not ask how they will fare in the competitive world in the matter of international trade and protection of the rights of their nationals. They do not ask if they will or will not be able to alleviate the grovelling poverty of the masses of their population. Their attitude seems to be typified by the answer which Mr. Jinnah gave in an interview to Herbert L. Mathews, appearing in the *New York Times* of September 21, 1942, to the effect: "Afghanistan is a poor country, but it gets along, so does Iraq and that has only a small fraction of the 70 million inhabitants we would have. If we are willing to live sensibly and poorly so long as we have freedom, why should the Hindus object? . . . The economy will take care of itself in time." It seems, therefore, that Pakistan having no to her sources of revenue, and being deprived of the help of the rest of India will have to depend on contributions from the British Exchequer at London. In other words, Pakistan will have to be subservient to Britain like Egypt, Iraq, etc. enjoying independence only in name and not in reality.

In discussing the consequences of Pakistan we enter the penumbra of both Muslim and Hindu irrationalism. In the heat of partition no side may be expected to maintain a sense of proportion. In the dust of violent controversy raised by claims and counter-claims, by threats and warnings, reason will be dumb. The fate of the country will not be decided by sober statesmen but by extremists on both sides, intoxicated with one idea. The faith of the Muslims in a separate sovereign state will be countered by an equally strong faith of the Hindus in the essential unity of India. Such faiths cannot be reduced to the test of cold reason and logic. At innumerable points it touches the irrational fringe of human consciousness and it is quite possible that once the irrational gets control of their thoughts men will rather agree to suffer the shame and misery of foreign rule than compose their differences and derive strength from unity. That is a prospect which no Indian worthy of his salt can contemplate without being deeply moved by what this great country is, has been and ever more will be.

There is yet another complicating factor. In the Muslim zones capital is concentrated mostly with the Hindus. The Hindus of N.-W. F. P., for instance, contribute 80% of the income-tax. In Bengal,

nearly three-fourths of the revenue comes from them, while approximately 87 per cent. of the legal, 80 per cent. of the medical and 83 per cent. of the banking, insurance and exchange business is in Hindu hands. The predominance of Hindus in the major cities of the proposed state of Pakistan has its own significance. The pivotal position of Hindu moneylenders in the villages of the Punjab has been noted and deolered for over half a century. Of course, it can be said that these Hindu moneylenders and capital holders will be expropriated, although that would be contrary to the basic tenants of Islam. But any move for expropriation will bring Pakistan into conflict with 'Hindustan' which will be anxious to guard the interests of the Hindu minority in the Muslim State. Limited resources, lack of capital, and shrinkage of credit caused by the breakup of India as a whole, will make it well-nigh impossible for Pakistan to start an industrial programme or to so reorganize its economy that it would be able to combat and overcome the challenge of corosive poverty. It will create alegacy of bikering and estrangement between the two communités. It will plunge the two States into a sea of hatred and fear from which they will find it difficult to emerge. The determination of new boundaries will create a crop of difficulties. Vital differences will arise on which both sides are likely to be adamant. Will Calcutta, with the industrial ring around it, be included in the Hindu State or the Muslim State? It was in the Hindu zone in the last partition (1905) of Bengal. Or take the question of Hyderabad. Will the Hindus ever agree to the League's demand of setting it up as a Muslim State? There is no hope of solving these questions amicably. Each community will consider the demands of the other as extravagant and impossible and each will be astonished at the wilful denseness of the other in not appreciating its most reasonable demands. This will lead to repeated crises. Moderates in both the camps will yield place to extremists. Even after partition, enclaves of the other community will remain in both the Hindu and the Muslim States, whose peace and safety will be jeopardized by the ever-present danger of irredentism. Fear and distrust, with their child, terror, will rule the land. The strain of irredentism will be inescapable because even after partition, the League hopes to organize and lead the Muslims left in Hindustan. The Hindus are sure to counter this demand with a similar claim. Both States will thus be cursed with a well-knit minority of doubtful loyalty to the State. It will need more than human wisdom to resist the temptation of using this weapon to undermine the strength and cohesion of one State by the other. Both the States will try to foist the responsibility of every failure on the alien group within the State. It will inevitably become the personification of the demoniac forces of all the ills that the State will be unable to cure. Every estrangement

between the State and the minority will have unfortunate repercussions on the relations between the two States. The new States, Hindu and Muslim, born in conflict, living in a climate of hostility and cursed with dangerous Fifth Columns will have to spend their substance on military preparations. Partition will destroy the natural and scientific frontiers of India and substitute instead highly vulnerable frontiers which history has testified to have constantly shifted. The open frontiers, in a climate of hostility, will be a source of fear and a temptation to aggressive action. War will be Nature's revenge on man for breaking up an organic whole. Partition cannot be carried out without conflict, separation cannot be maintained without friction, and in such an atmosphere no state can hope to achieve the ends it seeks to realize. To cure a wind we are calling a whirlwind.

"It is not only in the claims and the character of its nationalism," observes Professor Coupland, "that the doctrine of Partition seem reactionary. The cause of international unity in the world at large is necessarily linked with the cause of democracy—necessarily because without a sufficient measure of international unity it is difficult under modern conditions for any nation to maintain a democratic system. The greatest enemy of civic freedom is insecurity. How the growth of liberty in England was fostered by her insular safety, how Prussian militarism was the natural offspring of the open plains of Central Europe, all that is a familiar story of the past, and present experience has underlined its lesson for the future. Modern warfare is so totalitarian, so elaborate and so costly that, unless some effective means can be devised for preventing its frequent recurrence, the free civilisation which goes by the name of democracy is evidently doomed. Too much time and money and wealth will have to be given to preparations for defence, and too little to the solving of social problems, the raising of the standard of living, the extension of social services especially of education—to those things, in short, without which democracy can never come into its own. Nor will it only be impossible to realise its ideals. The ideals themselves will within the perpetual shadows of war. Given time, democracies can organise for war and fight it through at least as well as military dictatorships. But in modern war, as the world nearly learned to its cost in 1940, time may not always be given; and it is obvious enough that those temporary sacrifices of freedom which war forces on democracies are likely to become permanent unless some security can be provided against its constant repetition. Militarism, not democracy, is the natural costume of a war-ridden world. That is plain enough to the free peoples of the Western world today. Is it so plain in India? Is it realised that to press too far the

claims of nationalism is to darken the prospects of democracy? Insecurity in the west means that democracy may die. Insecurity in India means that it may never come to life. A vast amount needs to be done before Indian society can be called democratic in the same sense as the free societies of the West. A great effort must be made to increase the productive capacity of the country and to improve the livelihood of its innumerable poor. Huge sums must be spent on health and education. A united India, with such internal security as only union in some form can provide, could hope to make at least some progress in achieving those essential tasks, in bringing about the social conditions in which alone democracy can thrive. For a disunited India would it be even possible? The loss of security involved in partition would be at least as serious as that involved in a breakdown of international co-operation in the West, and the burden of armaments which it would impose on the independent States would be relatively heavier."

It is generally not realised that partition would bring the same fate to India from which Europe has suffered, and from which India has been completely free since 1858. Since 1848 Europe has been stricken by upward of ten wars; and the intervals of peace have been haunted by the fear that they could not last for long. Social progress, the possibilities of which have been enlarged by modern science for beyond the dreams of any previous age, was greatly impeded by the cost of preparing for war and brought to a stop, if not reverted, by the coming of it. From that terrible experience India has been saved. She has been brought within the scope of the last two wars, but had they been fought with in India and between Indian peoples they sacrifices and devastation would have been infinitely greater. The costs of defence against danger from without has weighed heavily on India, but it would have been infinitely greater had Indians been divided, like Europe, and compelled to set up their defences not only against the outer world but also against each other. It is true likewise that industrial development has been held up by foreign competition, but the whole economic life of India would have suffered more if, like Europe, her territory had been criss-crossed by the fiscal frontiers of jealously competing and potentially hostile States. India unlike Europe, has not had to pay the disastrous price of economic nationalism. Between the independent states of disunited India, unable to dispense with revenue from customs duties or forced into protection by industrial competition with each other, customs barriers would inevitably have been built up with the inevitable injury to the economic welfare of India as a whole.

Partition would throw India back to something like the state she was in after the Mogul Empire had collapsed and before the British

Raj replaced it. For, once the frame of unity was broken, once the process of disruption had begun, it would not be likely to stop at the separation of a Moslem State or States from Hindu India. Already there is a talk of a Dravidian State, a Maratha State, a Rajput State, a Sikh State etc. Many Indians may think it inconceivable that after so long a period of peaceful progress India could relapse into the bloodshed and barbarism of a half-forgotten past, but that is what most civilised Europeans thought about Europe a few years ago. It is indeed ironical that Indian separatists should be seeking to tread the road that Europe has trodden at the very moment when the end to which it has brought Europe and might so easily bring India is plain for all to see. All thoughtful Europeans are now aware that the principles of unrestricted or at least of uncoordinated national sovereignty is dead and that without the widest practicable measure of inter-European combination the prospects of the new post-war Europe will be darker in the long run than were those of the old. It is impossible now to conceive of the future without some sort of close economic collaboration and unity between contiguous states to the detriment of unrestricted sovereignty and self-sufficiency in economic matters. The 19th century economic individualism and nationalism has no future. Yet India is now threatened with a repetition of the same sombre story as if it had never been told, and Mr. Jinnah wants the creation of independent states on the analogy of states in the Balkan peninsula.

As calculated by Professor Coupland in *The Future of India* the financial position of Pakistan (N.-W. F. P., the Punjab, Sind Baluchistan) after receiving its share of revenue and expenditure from Hindustan would be as follows :—

Revenue (in thousands of rupees)

	Centre 1938-39	Pakistan
	Rs.	Rs.
Custom	405,053	44,806
Excise	86,573	10,092
Corporation Tax	20,372	1,528
Other income-tax	137,444	12,110
Salt	81,204	7,665
Opium	5,085	...
Railways	13,732	15,000
Posts and Telegraphs	1,899	237
Currency and Mint	2,242	280
Other heads	10,320	1,887
Total	763,927	93,650

Expenditure (in thousands of rupees)

	Centre 1938-39	Pakistan
	Rs.	Rs.
Direct Demands on Revenue	42,360	5,149
Irrigation	924	702
Services (less interest receipts)	133,854	18,600
Civil Administration	98,469	14,556
Civil Works	21,958	1,083
Miscellaneous	20,432	3,313
Defence	461,800	...
Contributions and adjustments	30,632	20,500
Total	810,419	63,903

Excluding defence, Pakistan emerges with a credit balance of about 297 lakhs of rupees. If every possible economy is exercised a saving of 37 lakhs could be made thereby reducing the expenditure to 602 lakhs. Raising more money by increased taxation would be no easier or less unpopular than saving it by economies. However, increasing the taxes in force in 1938-39 by 25% could yield 169 lakhs; maintaining increased freight charges at 12½% on commercial railways could give 113 lakhs; profits on Posts and Telegraphs could be increased by 24 lakhs; now inland customs could give 150 lakhs, thus in all raising the credit balance at the very outset to 790 lakhs. This amount would obviously be insufficient for purposes of defence. It is generally believed that, when the Axis Powers have been defeated and disarmed, the United Nations will succeed in establishing some system of collective security for maintaining peace and preventing aggression. How strong and coherent that system will be remains to be seen, but no one supposes that mankind will have reached a stage of civilization in which peace can be regarded as unbreakable and nations can safely turn their swords into ploughshares. Nor does the argument that the North-West Frontier of India will be more secure if a Moslem State occupies the South-East side of it seem incontestable. Moslem States have been known to fight each other, and a sense of Islamic solidarity is no more likely to induce the hungry Pathans to abandon their ancestral custom of raiding the rich plains than to prevent the pursuit of the blood-feud among themselves. Nor is the frontier exposed to attack from Moslems only. It must be remembered that North-West India is barely separated from interested countries. In short, it must be assumed that the problem of financing the defence of India will be at least of the same extent as in 1938-39. It was at that time 4,618 lakhs.

Even assuming that the Indian Army will no longer be required to maintain internal security in the sense of repressing attempts to subvert British rule, and that the re-enlisted and re-modelled Army will be less expensive than under British management, even then Pakistan would not have sufficient funds to keep even a small army. It has been suggested that since an invasion of the Punjab would open the way to the conquest of the whole sub-continent, after Partition the security of the North-West will be regarded as a common interest of the separated States and defensive alliance will be concluded to jointly finance a single policy in foreign affairs and defence. This harmonious outcome is a big presumption, because Hindus are bitterly opposed to Partition, and the relations between the Hindu and Moslem States would be anything but cordial. In any case, the separated States would have their separate forces; for it is, inconceivable that the Hindus would pay the Moslems to defend them. Dr. Ambedkar says that Partition would give Hindu India more security because it would enable her to have a wholly Hindu Army, but the fact is that Partition would be brought about by the conviction that Hindu and Muslims cannot live at peace in one state, and it would offer no guarantee whatever that they would be able to live at peace in two or more states. There will be chances enough of friction. Without large-scale exchanges of population the claim that Partition would solve the minority problem cannot be sustained; and the fate of Europe shows that, if a minority problem can be difficult enough within one State, it is far more difficult when it is shared by neighbouring States. Nor, if Partition comes, is the old gulf likely to be narrowed by a common economic interest and policy. On the contrary any attempt of Pakistan to attain economic self-sufficiency would be at the cost of Hindu Industrial India. If war is possible anywhere in the world, it would be in partitioned India. The defence of Pakistan, therefore, would be greater and the gravest difficulty. It would have to face the prospect of defending the North-West Frontier without the help of Hindu India, and to do that on anything like the same scale as it was done before the war, even without considering the increased cost of modern armaments (and this war has made modern armaments an absolute necessity) would be impossible. Even to raise a substantial fraction of the money needed would require such extra-taxation on the one hand and such drastic cutting down of administrative costs and social services on the other as would greatly lower the general standard of living and not only render the backward masses of the people still more backward but doom them to that state for generations to come. And that might not be all. Might there not be some anxiety as to the safety of Pakistan's eastern frontier too?

"Pakistan would face the rest of India across an indefensible frontier that for the most part runs over flat levels. Can any sound state be created except along the line of strong natural boundaries? Look at what happens to Belgium continually. Consider how much mischief has followed from the fact that 'Prussia' slopped all over the map, with no strong natural borders and with possessions in other parts of Germany. On the other hand, "it is well known that all the strategic positions for the defence of India lie in these five North-West provinces. Once an enemy crosses the hills near Lalamusa, he has no natural obstacles to face him right up to Calcutta. We know that the Muslims took more than 300 years to conquer the Punjab, but once they had become masters of the land of five rivers, the conquest of the rest of India was an easy job. Within ten years after the defeat of Prithviraj at Taraori, the whole Northern India north of the Vindhya-chal was subdued, and became a part of the Muslim Empire. If a Muslim federation for the five North-Western provinces is established as is demanded by some Muslims, the federal Government for the rest of India would not be worth the paper on which its constitution may be drawn.

The position of the Eastern Muslim State would be no better. The present war has shown how serious the problem of defending India on the North-East may become. The new State like Pakistan would be open to attack on two sides, and though it seems unlikely that the hillmen of the Chinese and Burman frontiers would prove as dangerous in peace time as the Pathans the resources of the North-East India, even if it included Calcutta, would not be able to safeguard its frontiers. Without Calcutta, North-East India would be desperately weak and could expect no help from Pakistan. Pakistan and North-East India, while able to support themselves from their own resources for other purposes, would find it impossible to maintain the security they enjoy at present. The provision of minimum needs of peace time defence would be impossible without a fall in their standard of living and a substantial sacrifice of social advancement.

Hostile India on one side and Japan or Afghanistan on the other, the separated Pakistan is no match for any foreign invasion. It is bound to become a subject province of an Asiatic power. By partition India would become again what it was at the time of the British annexation. How the British won the battle of Arcot in the Deccan and Plassey in Bengal would serve as an eye-opener to those who are deaming of partitioning India on religious lines. Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan were crushed with Mahratta help and the Mahratta were crushed with the help of the Muslims and some of the Mahrattas themselves. Are we in the name of self-determination—just as was done in Europe after the last war—to Balkanize India, to create nothing but a jumble of weak

states which will be a prey to outside forces? The separation of Burma and its consequences in spite of the fact that Burma was receiving the fullest help of the British Empire are too obvious to need comment. By separation instead of creating a strong Asiatic power we shall be creating a breeding ground for fresh wars. The complexities of the relations between Pakistan and 'Hindustan' concerning delimitations of boundaries, defence, financial adjustments, intercommerce and communications would afford ample scope for perpetual warfare. The realities of the security question call for only one answer—Unity of India.

"The primary cause of the unrest and discontent among the Indian intelligentsia has long been diagnosed. It is their sense of humiliation and resentment at the subjection of their great and ancient country to alien rule, at the inferior footing it was thus compelled to occupy beside other countries, at the denial of its natural right to equality. "It is a great deal more than a personal feeling", said the authors of the Simon Report in 1930; "it is the claim of the East for due recognition of status." But there is still more in it than that. A constitutional settlement, whether it be based on Union or Partition, would free all India from British control. The Draft Declaration of 1942 offered to non-adhering Provinces the same Dominion status as it offered to an Indian Union. Whether as one State, therefore, or as a group of States, the people of India would obtain their independence and with it an equal status with that of any other people in the world. But status is not everything. Equality before the law is only one kind of equality. And that psychological complex, that sense of degradation, cannot wholly be removed from Indian minds by freedom. Indians must also be given the opportunity through their freedom to redress their past. If India could recover the position she once held in the world, if she could become again a great Asiatic Power, not only taking the lead in political and economic strength but setting new standards of social life and culture, the indeed the memories of her period of subjection might fade out and her historians might ultimately come to regard the era of British rule in the same sort of light as British historians regard the era of the Norman conquest.

"Such a prospect is by no means fanciful. A United States of India might reasonably expect to take rank in years to come among the great political units of the world. If greatness is still to be judged in the last resort by military power, she has the potential strength and wealth required to achieve it. Geography has given her a safer strategic position than any other country of comparable size. Her natural resources would enable her to attain at need a high degree of economic self-sufficiency. She possesses an inexhaustible labour force, and her

industrial output for the purposes of the present war shows how easily she would develop an 'industrial potential' capable of arming her own forces with modern weapons. Even in her present relatively backward state, the strategic and military strength of India would enable her to play a leading part in building the new order of the post-war age. And if, in a freer, more coherent, more co-operative world, India could turn her great resources to the needs of social progress and the arts of peace, she would bid fair to regain the place she occupied in the history of civilisation in the days of Asoka or of Akbar, a place worthy of the ancient homeland of more than one-sixth of mankind.

"But all that is such stuff as dreams are made of if the Indian homeland is fated to be split up into several independent 'national homes'. India cannot be 'Balkanized' without reducing its component 'nations' to the Balkan level. The severance of the Moslem areas alone would gravely impair the strength and wealth of what was left, and reasons have been given for supposing that the residual Hindu India would remain united. In such a disrupted India the Indians could never achieve their natural destiny. Their states would rank not with the Great Powers of the world but with Egypt or Iraq, with Burma or Siam."

The main contention of the Communist Party of India in support of the present policy of the All-India Muslim League is that it is today an urgent and pressing necessity to solve the present national crisis, to win national Government from the hands of the British imperialist bureaucracy and to defend India against the fascist aggressor. The first step towards this is the formation of a joint Congress-League front, which can only be brought about either by the League giving up its present demand for Pakistan or by the acceptance of this demand by the Congress. The Congress should accept this just demand because the principle of self-determination is a sound principle which has always been accepted by the U. S. S. R. and has recently been extended in its scope. The Hindu-Muslim problem is a problem of oppressed nationalities (such as Pathan, Kashmiri, and Sikh National Movements). Yearning for freedom and autonomy within the frame-work of the anti-imperialist freedom movement. The Muslims are a nation separate and distinct from Hindus. The Communist Party believe in the Marxist theory of nationalities on the basis of which alone, they assert, can a Joint Congress League front be forged to break the deadlock and "to build a broad national patriotic front which is essential for passing over to the next phase of the national democratic revolution in our country." Otherwise, they say, "the imperialists would be able to impose upon us in the coming post-war period an imperialists communal solution à la Cripps

and Coupland which would mean continued slavery and disunity for our country for another period." Every section of the Indian people which has a contiguous territory as its homeland, common historical tradition, common language, culture, psychological make-up and common economic life should be recognized as a distinct nationality with the right to exist as an autonomous state within the free Indian Union and should have the right to secede from it if they so desire. The communists also support the League on the ground that communism is preceded by some sort of a liberal revolution. The League is beginning to be an organization of the masses, a fact which is notable in that political consciousness among the masses is essential for bring up about communism. Once the masses are awakened political leadership is bound to pass from the middle classes to the real representatives of the masses.

The immediate objects which the communists have set before themselves are unexceptionable but the means of achieving them are misconceived. The Congress is being asked to agree to Pakistan in order to secure the co-operation of the League. In the first place it is presumed that Indian Muslims are a nation distinct from Hindus without making the least attempt to investigate whether this is so or not. Their application of the Marxist theory of nationalities depends on this fact which is taken for granted. Further, it is presumed that it is easier to persuade Hindus and Sikhs, who are 43% of the population of the Punjab, and non-Muslims who are 75% of the Population of India, to agree to Pakistan than to convince Muslims of the North-West regions (if they need to be convinced at all) that the partition of India would not be to their interest or in the interest of the whole of India. The reason adduced in favour of persuading the Congress to accept Pakistan is that the principle of self-determination for separate nationalities requires the acceptance of this demand. The fact is that the principle of self-determination and the theory of nationalities as enunciated by U.S.S.R. and applied to the Constituent Republics of the Union have not been correctly understood by the Communists in India and cannot be applied to conditions in India or pleaded as a precedent. Even assuming the Communists premise that the Muslims are a nation the concessions to various communities and national minorities in U.S.S.R. have been so granted that they do not impair the unity and the strength of the Union as a whole.

One has only to study the Soviet Constitution to realise that the Indian Communist view is entirely fallacious. The Constitution of 1936 reserve for the Soviet Union the power to conduct international relations, questions of war and peace, the establishment of national economic plans, foreign trade on the basis of state monopoly, administration of transport and communications, direction of monetary and

credit system, organization of the defence of the U.S.S.R. and the direction of all the armed forces, administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishment, changes of boundaries between constituent republics, etc. The changes in the constitution introduced in February 1944 no doubt give the Republics the authority to have their own armies, but these armies are to remain under the general control and orders of the Central Authority. Similarly, the Republics have been permitted to enter into foreign relations direct with foreign powers and also to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them, but it must be realised that the exercise of these powers is not obligatory; the provisions are only permissive, and the Republics are not encouraged to have their own foreign relations. In fact, M. Molotov speaking on February 1st 1944, emphasised that these powers referred only to certain cultural and economic problems such as the U.N.R.R.A. and the War Crimes Commission. All matter concerning high politics are reserved by the Central Authority. As observed by the Webbs: "The state as a whole maintains its unity unimpaired and has, even like other federal states, increased its centralization of authority."

Further, in India there is no territorial unit which contains a homogenous population which could be permitted to exercise the right of self-determination. According to Stalin himself "a nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make up manifested in a community of culture." It cannot be disputed that in the Muslim majority provinces, Hindus and Muslims have a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make up. They differ no doubt in their religious beliefs and certain social customs, but that by itself cannot give them the right of self-determination. If, however, self-determination is to be exercised by Muslims, then other communities such as Hindus and Sikhs should be able to demand the exercise of a similar right. Secondly, U.S.S.R. could afford to concede the right of secession to their constituent units because:

(a) there is no strong separatist feeling in most of the Republics and elsewhere every expression of it is ruthlessly suppressed. During the Purge of 1937-38, there were several references in the Press to men who were accused of plotting to bring about secession of some territory from the Union. Such activities have been invariably interpreted by Soviet Courts as treasonable and counter-revolutionary. The exercise of the right of secession, therefore, is effectively prevented by the structure of the Soviet State and the communist Doctrine that governs it; speaking of the right to secede enjoyed by the eleven Primary Republics, Stalin said in his speech, on the new Constitution made on November 14, 1936 that "there is not a single Republic in the U.S.S.R.

that wants to secede from the U.S.S.R." and further that "none of our Republics would actually raise the question of seceding from the U.S.S.R.". He also pointed out that certain fundamental geographical conditions rendered the right to secede completely in operative. For instance, where particular areas "are surrounded on all sides by Soviet Republics and Regions, they have nowhere to go if they secede from the U.S.S.R." Besides, the nationality which give its name to a given Soviet Republic must constitute a more or less compact majority within that Republic "to be able to assert the right to secede." Then again, "the Republic must not have too small a population because it would be wrong to assume that a small Republic with a very small population and a small army could hope to maintain an independent state existence. There can hardly be any doubt that the Imperialist beasts of prey would soon grab it;"

(b) every republic has a socialistic economy and would find it almost impossible to exist outside among capitalist countries without a radical change of its economic system;

(c) the Communist party is the key organization of the U.S.S.R. and it controls every sphere of political activity in the Republics and would never permit the secession of any part of the existing Soviet territories. In 1917 Stalin stated: "When we recognise the right of oppressed peoples to secede, the right to determine their political liberty, we do not thereby settle the question whether particular nations should secede from the Russian State at a given moment... Thus we are at liberty to agitate for or against the secession according to the interests of the proletariat, of the proletarian revolution."

Needless to say that no such conditions exist in India and the talk of self-determination in terms of the recent Soviet declaration shows an extraordinary lack of political realities. Most political pronouncements from Soviet Russia have no application to other countries because of the vital differences of a capitalist and socialistic economy. Unless and until India adopts the same economy and the politics of the country is controlled by a well organized Communist Party, we must talk of cultural autonomy rather than of self-determination. A still more important objection to the Communist view is that while advising the Congress to accept Pakistan they do not answer two questions, namely whether after the acceptance of the Pakistan demand Hindus and Muslims would be able to live together amicably, and also whether the partition of India is from a purely economic and financial point of view desirable and in the interests of the Muslims or the Hindus or the Muslims and the Hindus together. They are allegedly interested in promoting the economic interests of the masses yet they do not enquire if the partition to India would be conducive

to the achievements of such an object and would not hamper the industrial development of India. In other words, communists advocate Pakistan without deciding whether it is something desirable in itself and whether it has any justification beyond that of a sentimental slogan.

Next, Pakistan is approved of as a short-cut to political awakening of the masses. It is not considered what effect this type of political awakening would have on the masses, nor is it considered what repercussions this awakening would have on the future of the country. To awaken religious bigotry is the surest way of confusion social issues, and the continuance of the economic and the political status quo. The Indian nationalist movement would suffer and the country prepared for civil war. Separation and religious fanaticism among the Muslim masses would bring about further division, bitterness and conflict. To appeal to the masses in the name of religion is easy enough and can produce quick results, but to direct such energy once released into useful and productive channels in the tangled social atmosphere of India would be almost impossible. The forces of aggressive religious frenzy can lead nowhere except to religious strife. The leadership would indeed pass from the middle classes and the landed gentry, but it would pass to religious fanatics and demagogues who flourish in times of stress and strain of religious wars. They avowedly make a religious appeal for political purposes is not only morally indefensible, but otherwise inexpedient and full of the gravest dangers.

In short, Pakistan offers no solution of the Indian problem. Paradoxical as it may seem, it is a psychological escape from the stern realities of the situation. It is a milestone on the separatist road to security. It is a confession of failure of all devices hitherto adopted to solve the problem. In the logical sequence, it is only a half-way house; if persisted in, it cannot escape the corollaries of exchange of populations and finally a desire towards the complete domination either of the Hindus by the Muslims or of the Muslims by the Hindus. These implications are not mere abstractions; they inhere in the idea and cannot be overlooked. As the sky clears and the implications of partition are perceived, the good sense of both the communities as well as the pressure of events is likely to give a new direction to politics. But so long as the idea endures, whether as a bargaining counter or a serious proposition, the danger of it is in the estrangement that it may create. Every political idea evokes an appropriate technique of propaganda and often a corresponding mutation in the whole programme. The idea of separation propagates itself naturally by seizing on existing differences and magnifying them into fundamentals. It grates on the patriotic sentiments of millions and drives the iron into the soul.

All this weakens the will to agreement. That indeed is the most alarming difference between the present situation and that in 1916 or even in 1930. There is another risk in using separatist ideas as political feelers or layers. They may inflame the imagination of an extensive and immature public and make retreat awkward. That the idea should have been adopted even temporarily by a great political organization cannot but disturb the complacency of the others and prepare the country for chaos and civil war.

To summarise:

(1) India is physically, naturally and geographically one country and throughout its long and chequered history it has been treated as such, and the common interests of the people—economic, political and defence—demand that India should remain undivided.

(2) Since the collapse of the Moghul Empire India has acquired a more vigorous kind of unity, and its diversity cannot be compared with that of Europe. There is also the unity among its inhabitants inspired by their common enemy British Imperialism.

(3) The problem of the preservation of Muslim culture, if it needs protection, concerns only a microscopic minority of the Muslim population. Muslim culture can be preserved not by partitioning India but by strengthening Muslims through education and economic rehabilitation.

(4) The Pakistan demand has not been put forward by the majority of the Muslims and the All-India Muslim League is not the only authoritative and representative political organization of the Muslims of India. Older Muslim organisations have persisted and new ones have grown, and the League is weakest where the Muslims are in a majority and where Pakistan is to be established.

(5) The Pakistan demand is not the demand of the Muslim masses. The League is making this demand in the interests of the landlords and the middle classes who will have better chances for exploitation and class aggrandizement in a Muslim State.

(6) The acceptance of Pakistan and its goal destroys the basis of the League, namely, the common interests of the Muslims of India, and provides for different aims and objects for the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims of the rest of India.

(7) The proposed constituent units of Pakistan do not desire a union and are opposed to it.

(8) Pakistan is being demanded from the British who will not be guided by the interests of the Muslims but by their own, namely, the continued domination of India. Their support is tractical and has

varied according to imperial requirements. Indeed, recent events have shown that they are opposed to it.

(9) Even if Pakistan is something desirable it is inopportune to raise the demand at this stage because it is opposed both by the British and the Hindus. It should, if at all, be raised after both the communities have turned out the British from India and Muslims have only the Hindus to contend with.

(10) If the British ever concede Pakistan it would be with a view to dominate Pakistan like Egypt and to retain an indirect hold on the rest of India. It is unrealistic to expect help from adjoining Muslim countries because accent has shifted from religion to territorial nationalism and Pan-Islamism is dead.

(11) The Pakistan scheme does not solve the communal problem and will produce on a slightly smaller scale the same problem which it claims to set out to solve.

(12) The Sikh problem in the Punjab is almost impossible to solve and if Sikh areas are excluded, the most fertile tract of the Central Punjab will have to be excluded to which the Muslims would never agree. The Sikhs are emphatically opposed to an independent Muslim States and coercion would mean civil war.

(13) Just as the Sikhs are the crux of Pakistan, so Calcutta, predominantly Hindu, is the crux of North-East India, and its exclusion from either one or the other part of Bengal would be a great loss and its exclusion from both would mean the creation of another Danzig.

(14) In order to make populations more homogenous territorial adjustments have been suggested, i.e., exclusion of Ambala Division from the Punjab. It is arguable if the increase of Muslim majority is the best way of dealing with the communal problem.

(15) Muslim minorities in Hindu India will have to endure the brunt of separation. The supporters of Pakistan rely on the hostage principle which will either not work and if it does, it would shift the basis of politics from civilisation to barbarism.

(16) Exchange of populations has been suggested but Indian conditions render it economically and otherwise impracticable. All communities of all provinces are opposed to it.

(17) On a large scale non-Muslim elements cannot be excluded from Pakistan. These would hamper the evolution of an Islamic polity and in view of this it—does not seem worth while partitioning India.

(18) Pakistan is undefined in geographical, constitutional, political, social, economic, etc., terms which makes it impossible to judge its merits, if any. Pakistan has been left undefined for propaganda purposes.

(19) Social stagnation is not the result of communal friction as much as it is the outcome of the reactionary policy followed by the

British Government and the fear of denationalization on account of an alien Government.

(20) The distribution of India's mineral wealth is such that economically both the States will be worse off because of separation and particularly the Muslim States. Pakistan would not be able to develop industries essential for solving the problem of poverty of the masses.

(21) The economic interests of Hindus and Muslims are not different from each other. Muslim capitalists support Pakistan in order to diminish competition of Hindu capitalists and to have freedom to exploit the masses. The economic improvement of Muslims not possible by a separation but by vigorous programme of a socialistic economy throughout India.

(22) Financially, the position of Pakistan and Eastern Bengal would be absolutely untenable and it would not be possible to meet the expenditure for defence.

(23) A large number of points of dispute, i.e., economic and political, would keep Hindu India and Pakistan at war with each other. Pakistan will find it difficult to exist without worsening the economic position of the Muslim.

(24) Partition will make India tread the path of economic nationalism and periodic wars as in Europe. In security, militarism and war within India would damage the cause of democracy and international unity in the world.

(25) From a military and strategic point of view the creation of separate States in the North-West and in the North-East would prove fatal to the security of the Muslim States as well as to the rest of India.

(26) A united India can be the most important Power in South-East Asia while a divided India would have to play a subservient role.

Muslim need to recall the advice which Abraham Lincoln gave his countrymen when the North and the South were at war with each other. "Physically speaking," he said, "we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impossible wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

SIMON COMMISSION

From the beginning of his Viceroyalty, one of the major aims of Lord Irwin's policy was to get the Congress Party back into the Constitution so to speak, to persuade them to abandon their attitude of sterile non-co-operation and work constitutionally for the attainment of their objectives. It was clear, however, that nothing but a major political move could accomplish this aim, and that nothing less than a revision of the whole system of government in India would constitute the necessary move. There was no possibility of the extreme claims made by the Congress Party in the "Independence Resolution" of 1924 being met, since that would have involved a complete surrender to the Congress and of correspondingly violent reaction from non-Congress and anti-Congress elements in the country. But, through careful sounding of representatives of all sections of political thought in India, Lord Irwin assured himself that an offer to antedate the statutory enquiry into the working of the 1919 Act would be widely welcomed, even by many members of the Congress Party itself.

The attitude of the British Government towards demands for an immediate revision of the system of government in India had always been the same, namely, that as long as the strongest and best-organised section of Indian political opinion persisted in the policy of continuous and automatic non-co-operation, the conditions necessary for the objective examination of a highly complicated problem were lacking. But, by the middle of 1927, Lord Irwin was able to persuade the India Office that there had lately been signs "that while those who have been foremost in advancing the claims of India to full self-government have in no way abandoned principles, they have felt it their duty to assert" there was nevertheless "a greater disposition to deal with the actual facts of the situation." Another aspect of the Indian situation which strongly influenced Lord Irwin in this matter was that of communal relations. He always thought that the very uncertainty over the form which future constitutional changes might take, was a powerful contributory force in communal antagonism since, as he himself explained to the people of India, "each side may have been, consciously or unconsciously, actuated by the desire to strengthen, as they supposed, their relative position in anticipation of the Statutory Commission." However this might be, it was clear by the middle of 1927 that on all grounds of broad constitutional considerations and current political conditions, nothing but harm could result from any further delay in undertaking the enquiry into the working of the system of government in India provided for in the 1919 Act, and accordingly, in November 1927, His Majesty's

Government announced the appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission, better known as the Simon Commission from its chairman, Sir John Simon.

From the Indian point of view, however, there was one fatal flaw in the composition of the Commission, namely, that no Indian was included among its members. Lord Birkenhead, who was then Secretary of State for India, gave at full length the British Government's reason for appointing a purely British Commission, but the reason which weighed most heavily in the final decision was that it was impossible to find any Indian members who had not already committed themselves to definite views from which they would not and could not depart. But, of course, it was impossible for the great majority of Indians to look at the matter from the point of view. Their argument was that the Commission's task would be to settle the political future of India and the Indian people, and that to exclude representatives of the latter from the investigating body was not only an affront to Indian self-respect, but was even *prima facie* evidence of a fundamental dishonesty of purpose. The fact that the British Labour Party, which had always been friendly to Indian aspirations, associated themselves fully with the Commission and allowed two of their leading members to accept nomination to the Commission did not lay these suspicions to rest. Neither did the equally important fact in this connection, that careful arrangements had been made for the association of Indian opinion with the Commission at all stages of its work. In the first place, the British Government believed that the Commission's work would be greatly facilitated if it were to invite the two houses of the Indian Central Legislature to appoint a Joint Select Committee from among their unofficial members to lay its views before the Commission. This proposed Committee might, further, remain in being for any consultation which the Commission might desire at any subsequent stage. It was suggested also that a similar procedure should be adopted with the Provincial Legislatures. Even after the Commission had presented its report to Parliament, the Association of Indians with its work was not to end, for it was intended that when the British Government's proposal on the report reached the Joint Select Committee stage, the view of the Indian Legislature should be ascertained from delegations which would be invited to attend in London. It would also be open to the Joint Select Committee to obtain the views of any other bodies in India whom it wanted to consult.

These arrangements were explained to India by Lord Irwin in a public announcement on November 8th, 1927, but they had no power to check the almost unanimous expression of disapproval, and even resentment, which arose in Indian political circles. At once the

proposal was made to boycott the Commission, and this was taken up with enthusiasm by most sections of organized opinion in the country except the majority of Muhammadans, whose determination to co-operate with the Commission strengthened as the movement for boycott grew, by some sections of the old Indian Liberal Party, and by the strong Justice Party in the south of India.

It was only natural that the supporters of the boycott, drawn as they were from a member of separate and even rival political parties and groups, should try to settle their hitherto existing differences in order to present a united opposition to the Government of India and the Statutory Commission. Therefore, the Congress and Nationalist Parties, the Independent Party led by Mr. Jinnah, which included a number of Muhammadans and many of the Liberal Party, held an "All-Party" Conference in Delhi in March 1928 to try to settle the most important differences between Hindus and Muhammadans, preparatory to making a powerful demarche to the Government. These differences were: first, the retention or abolition of the system of communal electorates; secondly, the extension of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to the North-West Frontier Province which had an overwhelming Muhammadan majority and had hitherto been excluded from the reforms; and thirdly, the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and its elevation to the status of a province—also with an overwhelming Muhammadan majority. But Muhammadans were not ready to give up their system of communal electorates and the Hindu spokesmen would not consider the extension of Reforms to the Frontier Province or the separation of Muhammadan Sind from the predominantly Hindu Bombay. The Conference, therefore, came to nothing. But the determination of the sections represented at the Conference to boycott the Simon Commission remained as strong as ever.

Sir John Simon and his colleagues visited India twice for the purposes of their enquiry. They landed in Bombay on their first visit on February 3, 1928, to find that the annual Christmas and New Year conferences of the leading political associations, namely, the "All-India Muslim League and the Indian Liberal Federation, had not altered the boycott position in any important particular. Sir John Simon naturally, was anxious to meet all reasonable Indian demands and was prepared to go to the farthest possible limit to convince the Indian political leaders that they could co-operate with him without derogating from either their political principles or their own self-respect. Accordingly, on February 6th, he wrote a letter to Lord Irwin proposing that the Statutory Commission and the Committee to be chosen by the Indian Central Legislature should together form a "Joint Free Conference" which should receive all evidence, whether oral or

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

written. In the same way, each Provincial Legislature was to be asked to nominate a provincial committee to sit with the Statutory Commission as the Indian wing of the Joint Free Conference, whenever the Conference was considering provincial subjects in a particular province. This offer did not, however, have any noticeable effect on the attitude of the All India politicians who were boycotting the Commission, but it helped to influence opinion in the provinces, and, in the event, every provincial Legislature except one—that of the Central Provinces—decided to nominate a committee to co-operate with the Simon Commission.

But the All-India party leaders refused to modify the boycott in any particular, and, indeed, set up a rival Commission of their own to produce a report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. Actually this report, which was issued in 1928, was the work mainly of two men, Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Congress Party, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the most distinguished of the Indian Liberals. In essence, the Nehru Report, as this document came to be called, was a rather native attempt to compromise between the rival Hindu and Muhammadan claims discussed by the All-Parties Conference. The Nehru Report recommended the extension of existing and future reforms to the North-West Frontier Province, on exactly the same terms as any other province and also supported the promotion of Sind to the provincial status. As a sop to the Hindus, the report recommended the abolition of communal electorates. The result of this report was merely to accentuate Hindu-Muhammadan differences since neither side would accept it, and by the end of 1928 communal antagonism and the fragmentation of political opinion had reached a point at which it became necessary for the Governments of Great Britain and India seriously to consider the situation and devise measures for its improvement.

The measures to be taken were never really in doubt. It is true that both in England and in India influential sections of thought called for strong disciplinary action against the left-wing leaders in Congress and out of it, and many wished to seize the opportunity actually to set back the political clock by returning to a simpler and more autocratic form of government for India. But such views as these were doomed to disappointment from the start, because Lord Irwin knew that the conditions of the day called for advance rather than retreat, and, also, because in Mr. Wedgwood Benn, who became Secretary of State for India in 1929, he found a man who not only shared his views but had all the necessary force and courage to put them into practice. Accordingly, in June 1929, Lord Irwin came to England on leave to make known his suggestions for the restoration of the situation in India, and to discuss them with the leaders of the various political parties. Briefly, the gist of his proposals was that representatives of all sections of Indian opinion, including the Princes, should be invited to meet His Majesty's Government to discuss the political future of India. The Proposal was, of course, one to be looked at very carefully in view of the fact that the Simon Commission had not yet reported, and that, unless Sir John Simon and his colleagues agreed, the development contemplated by Lord Irwin might easily render their work null and void. Mr. Benn, strongly impressed by his own knowledge of the state of affairs in India, accepted Lord Irwin's argument that the proposed development was, in fact, the only thing that could ensure any sort of a hearing in India for the Simon Commission's Report when it appeared. The important boycotting elements had already prejudged it and it had simply no chance of making any impression on them. And yet it had been shown that Indians themselves could produce no acceptable alternative. The dilemma was complete. The members of the Statutory Commission obviously accepted the view that some new move of the first importance was necessary to restore the position in India for on October 16, 1929, Sir John Simon wrote a letter to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who was then Prime Minister, asking on behalf of his colleagues as well as himself whether the British Government would allow the members of the Statutory Commission to interpret their terms of reference in such a way as would enable them to examine the methods by which the future relations between British India and the Indian States might be adjusted. If the Government agreed to this, then some sort of Conference might be arranged at which representatives both of the Indian States and of British India might attend to meet His Majesty's Government for the purpose of reaching the greatest possible measure of agreement on the

Commission's proposals.

These proposals were welcomed by the British and Indian Governments and Lord Irwin returned to India to put them before the political leaders and people of the country. They duly appeared in a statement issued on October 31, 1929. The immediate reaction was encouraging. The day after the publication of the statement two meetings of political leaders of all sections of opinion were called, one at Bombay and one at Delhi, and were attended by strong and influential representatives, in spite of the extreme shortness of the notice. At Bombay, the meeting was all but unanimous in welcoming the Viceroy's offer but at Delhi, where most of the more extreme Congressmen were assembled, the result was different. The Congressmen wanted to make conditions which neither His Majesty's Government nor certain powerful Indian interests were likely to accept, but the influence of the non-Congressmen who were present at the meeting was sufficient to prevent the extremists from carrying the day. In the end, a carefully worded statement was issued by those present at the Delhi meeting to the effect that they hoped to tender their co-operation, but that "certain acts should be done and certain points should be cleared to inspire trust and ensure the co-operation of the principal political organizations of the country." The acts and points referred to were left vague and for some time it was widely believed that even the more extreme Congressmen would hesitate to reject the viceroy's offer. By the end of November, every political party and politician of standing in India, with the sole exception of the Congress Party, had openly declared their support of Lord Irwin's statement. But, as the year drew to its close, it became increasingly clear that the Congress Party would not align itself with the others, and when Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Party leader, insisted that Congress would take part in the proposed Conference only if its functions were specifically confined to working out a form of government for India on the lines of full and immediate Dominion Status, the question of Congress participation was settled for the time being. The 1929 Session of the All-India National Congress made this quite clear, and, furthermore, carried a resolution demanding the "independence" of India.

This resolution, however, led to another of those breaches in Congress unity which have marked its progress at every important turning point in Indian history since 1908. The right wing of the Congress Party was seriously alarmed, whilst even the leaders of the Party were shaken by the fate of another resolution which was put to the Congress at this session. An attempt had been made to derail the Viceroy's train on December 23rd just before the opening of the session, and Mr. Gandhi moved a resolution condemning the outrage. In spite of his influence and that of the other Congress leaders who

supported him, the resolution had to be modified in tone and even then was carried only by a narrow majority.

There were others in India, besides the right wing of Congress, who viewed the results of the latter's session with apprehension, and their feelings were expressed by the spokesmen of the All-India Liberal Federation which met at the same time as Congress. The Liberals were wholehearted in their acceptance of Lord Irwin's offer, and their leaders performed a useful service by explaining that the Viceroy's statement of October 31st represented the policy not only of the Labour Government in power in England, but also of the official leaders of the Conservative and Liberal Parties. The explanation was necessary, because debates on Lord Irwin's statement, which had taken place in both Houses of Parliament, had, naturally, evoked much hostile criticism of the proposed Round Table Conference, and, just as naturally, it was the more pungent of this criticism which had been given the widest publicity in India. However, by the beginning of 1930, the political alignment was complete. As far as the Round Table Conference was concerned, it was the Congress Party against the rest, and there were important individuals and sections inside that Party who would rather have supported Lord Irwin than their own leaders. In fact in the absence of any major disturbing influences, there were prospects of a general agreement by all parties, including at least the greater part of the Congress Party, to co-operate with the Government in this latest attempt to find the basis of a permanent political settlement.

Unfortunately, the major disturbing influence was to show itself in 1930 in the shape of a revival of the Non-Co-operation movement by Mr. Gandhi in person. The general situation had definitely grown worse during 1929. The protracted course of the Public Safety Bill in the Legislative Assembly—a measure introduced in 1928 to give the Government power to deal with certain kinds of revolutionary agitators—had given rise to strong partisan feelings on all sides of the House, from which they had spread throughout the country, feelings which were largely responsible for the bomb outrage in the Assembly chamber at the end of the Delhi Session of 1929. The various youth movements on the extreme left of Indian politics provided ample and willing material for a revival of terrorist activities, and, inevitably, political extremism was matched by communal extremism. Actual rioting between the two communities was not so frequent in these days as it had been, but the political differences between them grew increasingly acute and their scope widened continually. Already by 1930 it was quite clear that no agreement was likely to be reached by any Conference of the two sides on such crucial matters as communal representation, the creation of new provinces with Mohammadan majorities, as in the case of Sind, and the promotion of the North-West

Frontier Province to the status of a full province with all the ordinary legislative and administrative apparatus of a "Governor's Province." Any attempts to bring about a settlement of these and other outstanding problems could be no more than merely formal, and, as a matter of fact, no notable attempt was made after the fiasco of the All-Parties Conference, until Mr. Gandhi and the Aga Khan tried to come to agreement during the second session of the Round Table Conference, when the work of the whole Conference was being held up by the irreconcilable clash of opinion and interests between the representatives of the two communities.

Meanwhile, the work of the Conference went on in London. The summoning of the Round Table Conference was the outcome of the strength and tenacity of Indian nationalists and the flexibility of British policy and institutions. The composition of the Conference was a living illustration of the great diversity of interests of all sorts, both Indian and British, which would have to be satisfied by any Indian Constitution which was to be more than an academic exercise, and was a reflection of the immense complexity of the problems to be solved. And, lastly, the proceedings of the Conference were to show how deep-seated were the differences thus represented by its personnel. Nevertheless, November 12, 1930, when the Round Table Conference met for the first time to be inaugurated by King George V, was the most important date so far recorded in the history of British India, for it was an open and irrevocable declaration that henceforth the political future of India was no longer to be decided by the British Parliament alone, and that India must have a free and equal voice in its decision. It is true that the Statute embodying the Indian Constitution is an Act of the Imperial Parliament, and can be changed only by Parliament, but that is true also of the Canadian Constitution. There are practical reasons for the arrangement. In a word, the summoning of the Round Table Conference wiped out for ever the old tutelage of India.

We have seen that the Conference did not open under anything like ideal auspices. The new wave of agitation that was sweeping over India, the absence of any representation of the Congress Party, the rising Hindu-Mohammedan enmity and the strengthening opposition, in certain quarters in Great Britain, to any important changes in the system of government in India, all combined to make the prospects unpromising and the outcome dubious. Important economic interests in Great Britain—on the side of Labour as well as Capital—viewed with deep suspicion any political changes which might lead to possible discrimination against British trade in India, and even in some circles favourable to Indian political aspirations there was growing disapproval of the excesses of civil disobedience in India. On the other

hand, as news of the disturbances and the mass arrests in India came through to the delegates in London, many of them showed signs of allowing their natural feelings of resentment to influence their conduct at the Conference. In fact, when the delegates assembled in St. James' Palace for their first plenary session, there were few outside observers who would not have predicted a head-on collision between the British Government and a very strong section of the Indian representatives. In all probability this collision would have occurred but for an important development which had been proceeding quietly in India for some months, unknown to the general public and the casual observer. This development took the form of consultation and reapproachment between some of the Princes and the leaders of the Indian Liberals and Responsive Co-operators, leading in the end to an agreement on the broad principle of a federation, for certain specified purposes, between the Indian States and British India. It will be seen, therefore, that opinion in those quarters in India where faith was still placed in constitutional, as opposed to revolutionary, agitation had been moving on parallel lines to that of the members of the Statutory Commission, of Lord Irwin, and of many others who saw in the close union of the two Indias—"Indian" India and British India—a possible way of advance which circumstances denied, for the present at any rate, to British India alone. The Maharajah of Bikanir's statement at the first plenary session of the Conference on November 17, 1930, that the Indian States could best make their contribution "to the greater contentment and prosperity of India as a whole . . . through a federal system of government composed of the States and British India," thus amounted to a political sensation of some magnitude, especially since it was joined to a declaration that the States would never federate with a government of British India which was responsible to the British Parliament. What the Maharajah, in fact, declared for was federation with a responsibly self-governing British India whose government should be subject only to such restrictions or safeguards as were necessary during a period of transition from one form and status of government to another. Every speaker who followed expressed his preference for the federal as opposed to the unitary system of government for India, and practically every one of them admitted that with this new principle there had come new possibilities of wider and speedier solutions for some of the most difficult of all the problems arising out of the relations between India and Great Britain and between the different parts and interests of India herself.

But, of course, this alluring vision of an All-India Federation had to be translated into reality, and in turning their hands to this task, the Conference started out on a road whose end has not yet been reached.

When the Conference concluded its first session on January 19, 1931, its nine sub-committees on the Federal Structure, the Provincial Constitution, Minorities, Burma, The North-West Frontier Province, Franchise, Defence, The Services, and Sind, had done an immense amount of valuable spade-work and had reached agreement on a number of points of detail. But in two particulars, and these were literally fundamental particulars, nothing had been accomplished. The first of these related to the principles and conditions in which the All-India Federation would be based. They were left in the air, and the proposed Federation was still left as the mere project of a Federation. The second of these two fundamentals, on which, indeed, the first largely depended, was the communal and minority question. So far from the Conference's having advanced nearer to a solution of the formidable problems presented by the minorities, these problems had grown apparently even more intractable, so much so, that in the report of the sub-committee on Federal Structure we read that the leading Mohammedan spokesmen could not consent finally to frame any Constitution unless the Hindu-Muslim question was settled. And it was not only the Hindu-Muslim side of the communal and minority problem which had grown more acute. The untouchables had found able leaders and had advanced their claims in a determined fashion, whilst the Sikhs in the Punjab laid down certain demands to which they adhered with traditional stubbornness.

Of the constructive work achieved at the first session of the Conference, the most important was the general agreement on the principle of fully representative government in the Governor's provinces, subject to the retention by the Governors of certain powers which most of the delegates admitted to be necessary at the present stage. A wide measure of agreement was reached on the vexed questions of the North-West Frontier Province and Sind, on measures for speeding up the "Indianization" of the Indian Army and for the future of the great Civil Services in India, and a statement was made of the specific problems to be settled by a Franchise Committee which the Conference agreed should be set up. Moreover, in his speech adjourning the session on January 19, 1934, the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, laid down clearly the British policy towards India, a policy which has been repeatedly re-affirmed by his successors. "The attitude of the British Government," he said, ". . . is nothing more than an overwhelming desire to leave you to settle your own affairs. . . . Our one ambition is that, being in a sense kith and kindred with you (since history, whether you liked it or whether we liked it, has woven our destinies somehow together), we may use that unity with you in order to pave your way and smooth your path to that much-required internal unity amongst yourselves." On the very important matter of safeguards, Mr. MacDonald told the delegates

that this fell into three classes. The first being constitutional safeguards such as an Indian Constituent Assembly itself would have to write into its own Constitution. The second, such as those connected with the Services and Finance, was necessary as much for foreign confidence in India as on account of conditions in the country at the present time, whilst the third class, those relating to the minority communities, could be abrogated at any time by Indians themselves. Finally, in set terms, Mr. MacDonald announced that "with a Legislature constituted on a federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognize the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature."

On their return to India, the delegates found that the general political outlook seemed more promising than for some months past, since Lord Irwin and Mr. Gandhi were about to discuss personally the conditions on which the Civil Disobedience movement could be ended and the Congress Party be drawn into participation in the constitutional movement for political progress embodied in the Round Table Conference. They came to an agreement at the beginning of March—the so-called "Irwin-Gandhi Pact"—according to which Civil Disobedience, the boycott of British goods; and all forms of picketing except those allowed by law would end and Congress would be represented at the Round Table Conference. It was further agreed that the large numbers of persons arrested for complicity in the disturbances attendant on Civil Disobedience would be released except those guilty of violent offences. It was agreed also that public servants who had been dismissed from their posts on account of their attitude towards Civil Disobedience should be restored. For a time, this pact served the purpose of restoring order and tranquillity out of the widespread disorder and lawlessness of the preceding months, but this state of affairs was short-lived. There were elements in the Indian internal situation which were not amenable to any such agreements as this. Terrorism was rife in Bengal where political murders and attempted murders were taking place. Even in the Punjab an attempt was made to murder the Governor, Sir Geoffrey deMontmorency, and elsewhere in India Congress agents were using agrarian distress to foment unrest among the peasantry and tenants. It was inevitable that the less responsible members of the Congress Party should claim the pact as a victory for themselves, and it was not very long before provincial governments had to take action once more against disturbers of the peace. This led to charges of breach of the pact by the provincial governments and so the situation began once more to deteriorate. Nevertheless, during the brief lull of the pact, the All-India National Congress ratified the pact unanimously and Mr. Gandhi decided to represent the Congress at the second session of the Round Table Conference which opened in September 1931.

But, whilst this uneasy equilibrium had been reached between the Government and Congress, Hindu-Mohammedan relations became definitely worse. The deep breach which had been revealed by the proceedings of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference had given added strength to Mohammedan demands for safeguards, and the Irwin-Gandhi pact filled them with suspicions that the predominantly Hindu Congress had been put in a specially privileged position. Within three weeks of the conclusion of the pact, fierce Hindu-Mohammedan rioting broke out at Cawnpore, and when, in April, Mr. Gandhi announced that while Congress would willingly concede Mohammedan demands, those demands must be made by Mohammedans as a whole, the strain became increasingly acute. For, to Mohammedans, this announcement appeared as an attempt to force Mohammedans to concede the crucial principle of joint, as opposed to communal, electorates, by insisting on giving the small minority of Mohammedan Congressmen the same weight and importance as the overwhelming majority of their co-religionists who had refused to compromise on his subject of joint electorates. It is from this time that Mohammedan opinion began to turn with increasing momentum against the whole conception of democratic government based on majority rule, since they know that they would always be outnumbered by the Hindus, and they feared that they would be consistently outvoted. Since 1931, this rejection of responsible self-government for India based on majority control has grown, as we shall see, into a cardinal rule of Mohammedan policy. Another complication in Hindu-Mohammedan relations came from a conference of Punjab and Frontier Hindus held in May at which full expression was given to the fears of those Hindus whose homes were in these two provinces of predominantly Mohammedan population. The Sikhs, too, became more urgent in their claims for both protective safeguards and for specific recognition of the importance of their community in the Punjab, an importance which, they claimed, was out of all proportion to their numbers.

Nevertheless, the second session of the Round Table Conference opened, as arranged, in London in September. It was a disappointing affair for everything was forced to wait on attempts to arrange a settlement of the minorities problem by agreement. The most important aspect of the problem was, of course, that of Hindu and Mohammedan relations, but the Sikhs forced their claims into the forefront of the discussion and the depressed classes showed more initiative and determination than ever before. Mr. Gandhi and the Aga Khan played the leading parts in the continuous negotiations which went on, but as the second session drew to its close, they were forced to admit that there was no chance of a settlement by agreement, and the whole

session was, therefore, a complete failure so far as its main object was concerned, namely, to settle the structure of the All-India Federation, and to enable the Indian States to settle among themselves their place in the Federation and their mutual relations inside it. In adjourning the second session, Mr. MacDonald announced that unless Indians themselves could present a settlement acceptable to all parties, then His Majesty's Government would have to apply a provisional scheme drawn up in London.

In the end, this had to be done. The third session of the Round Table Conference which was held from November 17th to December 24, 1932, was concerned mostly with such highly technical problems as the form of the Indian States Instruments of Accession to the Federation, administrative relations between the Federal Centre and the Units, and other such matters. The broader problems and issues of Indian politics did not come before the greatly reduced number of delegates. It was in 1932 that the British Government announced its "communal decision." No attempt was made in it to settle all the small points in dispute between the various communities, but it was not confined only to the dispute between Hindus and Mohammedans. It dealt entirely with the representation of the various communities and interests in the Provincial Legislatures—with the exception of Burma—and it made clear the fact that its terms could be at any time replaced by those of an agreed settlement made by the different communities themselves. Broadly speaking, the communal decision laid down that in all the provinces except Bengal, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, Hindus were in the majority and therefore Mohammedan representation in the Provincial Legislatures should be suitably weighted. In the three provinces named above, the Mohammedan ration of representation was to be scaled down somewhat so as to make the discrepancy between them and the Hindus less formidable.

Inevitably, the decision did not satisfy any of the parties, neither Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs, or Depressed Classes. The Mohammedans were the least dissatisfied, but the Depressed Classes got the decision modified in their favour by a curious development. They had been given 71 seats to be decided in separate communal electorates and Mr. Gandhi threatened to fast to death unless this separate representation, which he regarded as violent separation of the Depressed Classes from the Hindu fold, was abolished. After much discussion with Hindu leaders, the Depressed Classes agreed to accept 148 in lieu of the original 71, these 148 to be decided by joint Hindu-Depressed Classes electorates subject to a system of primary election in which voters of the Depressed Classes formed an electoral college to choose a panel of candidates.

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The Round Table Conference had thus given birth to the project of a Federation of All-India and it had done much excellent work in hammering out and getting agreement on a host of technical and not unduly controversial parts of the Federal structure. But the crucial problems of the terms on which the Indian States were to enter the Federation, and acceptable safeguards for minority interests were still unresolved. It was left to the British Government to do its best in these regards when it came to draw up its plan of political progress for India based on the work of the Round Table Conference.

One of the most striking and significant features of all three sessions of the Round Table Conference was the fact that some of the most dangerous conflicts of interest arose not between the representatives of Great Britain and India, but between the different interests and communities represented by the Indian delegates themselves. We have seen how, for example, the communal question prevented the Conference from working out the structure of the Federation. Similarly, there were numerous and important clashes between the representatives of British India and of the Indian States, and in all these sharp disagreements it was the British Government which sought to play the role of arbiter. This has been the role of the British Government throughout the succeeding years, and it is against the background of this broad consideration that we look at the developments of 1932 to 1940 in India. The existence of these formidable differences between the various communities and interests of India is, of course, no reproach to the peoples of India. They are due to historic causes and accidents. The Mogul Empire in India, of which the British are the heirs and successors, was as artificial and, in its decay, as ramshackle a thing as the Holy Roman Empire towards the end of the eighteenth century and, had it simply fallen to pieces in the hands of the feeble successors of Aurangzeb, there is not the slightest doubt that India would have become the scene of internecine warfare as prolonged, as desperate, and as ruinous as the wars which tore Europe between the opening of the Thirty Years War and Water-loo. In the middle of the eighteenth century, when the British began to acquire their rule over the country, the internal destruction of India was well under way in the Carnatic, the Deccan, and the North and East. But two centuries of strong centralized rule by the British have done as much as any external influence can possibly do to make one nation out of a number of heterogeneous and even warring peoples. There is, in fact, good reason to hope that India may never have to pass through the fearful ordeal of civil war, since it is to the interest of all concerned to retain the Pax Britannica until the interests and ideals of all the peoples of India have become sufficiently homogeneous to enable essential changes and adjustments to be made peacefully, thus rendering the actual control of the government to the country by the British no longer necessary. This is the reason why, during the last three decades, every outbreak of extremism or violence in India has invariably led, sooner or later, to a split even in the ranks of the extremists themselves. This is the reason also why every invitation to Indian political leaders to take and exercise more power has produced a favourable response even from among the ranks of the left wing itself. No better illustration of the truth of this

can be given then the action of practically every one of the leading Nationalist politicians in condemning the "independence" resolution submitted to the All-India National Congress at Lahore in 1929 and trying to get it withdrawn or defeated.

Thus, it was only to be expected that as Dominion Status—or to use a simpler and more generally understood expression—home rule—for India approached ever more closely, ancient and deeply rooted differences between the various communities, and, even, regions, of the country should rose themselves into activity again, often in new and very threatening forms. This renewed activity is an inevitable part of India's political metabolism, a form of growing pains, but it is as well that all students of Indian affairs should understand clearly its character and scope, so that they might understand the importance and danger—and, also, the potential creative opportunities—of what is happening in Indian politics now. For the 1935 Government of India Act which was the outcome of the Round Table Conference, has brought the peoples of India face to face with the necessity of themselves taking certain steps essential to the formation of an Indian nation of which the Federation would be the visible political embodiment, steps which nobody else could take for them.

The point has been reached at which the primary function of the British Government is to guarantee the Pax Britannica within which Indians of all creeds and races, and of all parts and provinces, may peacefully work out their own destiny. Such, then, is the situation created by the 1935 Act.

The provisions of the Act mirror the proceedings of the Round Table Conference and thus faithfully reflect the considerations discussed above. In the first place it was compelled to continue, for the time being at any rate, the partition of India into the two major divisions of British India and the Indian States. And, secondly, all the provisions for minority safeguards were the work of the British Government. They were not the embodiment of a free and binding agreement among the various communities and interests concerned. The views of His Majesty's Government and their proposals for the new Constitution of India were first published in a White Paper in March 1933. These proposals followed closely the discussions and decisions of the Round Table Conference and contained no novelties. It was clear, too, that the new Government of India Act, when it came to be drafted, would not depart materially either from the decisions of the Round Table Conference or the White Paper. Nor did it.

The White Paper and the Act approached the All-India Federation in two stages. The first stage, to be completed as soon as possible, consisted in the setting up of autonomous governments in all the provinces of British India, including two newly created provinces,

namely, Sind, which was cut out of the Bombay Presidency, and Orissa, detached from the former province of Bihar and Orissa. The second stage would be the federation of these eleven British provinces with the Indian States after agreement had been reached between the Princes and the suzerain power concerning the terms on which the Princes would come into the Federation. A series of safeguards marked each stage of the progress. In the first stage, the creation of autonomous provinces, the Governor of the province was vested with extraordinary powers to overrule the Provincial Cabinet in certain circumstances. These circumstances would arise, for example, whenever the Governor should deem it necessary to act against the advice of his Cabinet in matters affecting the peace and security of the province, or to protect the interests of a minority. At the centre, when the Federation should come into existence, the Viceroy was to have special powers and responsibilities with regard to preventing grave menace to the peace of India, defence, foreign policy, the safeguarding of financial stability, and the safeguarding of the interests of minorities. Until the All-India Federation came into existence, the Central Government and Legislature of the country were to remain as they were, that is, the Government of India was to remain non-responsible to the Legislature, and the latter was to have no more than the powers of criticism and interpellation which it already possessed. Thus, whilst the provinces would be governed by all but fully responsible governments, the Central Government was to remain static during the interval—however long it might be—that must elapse between the coming into operation of the first and the second stages of the 1935 Act.

It will be seen that the scope of the measure fell short of Dominion Status for India as that term has been understood since the Statute of Westminster. This was the status which practically every Indian delegate claimed at the Round Table Conference, and although Mr. Gandhi, representing the All-India National Congress, spoke of "independence," it was certain that many, even of his Congress colleagues, had Dominion Status at their immediate goal. But not only was the setting up of a federal government limited as it was by the 1935 Act, postponed to some future date which, it was hoped, would be soon, but was, in fact, indefinite, but even provincial autonomy was limited by safeguards. It is true these safeguards were not part of the normal working of the Constitution, and were for use only in emergencies which need never arise. Nevertheless, they were seen as encroachments on the freedom of action of the Provincial Cabinets, and, even, in some quarters, as proofs that even now Indians were not to be trusted to handle their own affairs.

Undoubtedly, the publication of the scheme of reforms caused disappointment in most quarters in India, but except by certain

elements on the extreme left of Indian politics, this disappointment was not expressed with violence or anger. On the contrary, the debates in both the Central and Provincial Legislatures, though severely critical, kept well within constitutional limits and actually offered many constructive suggestions. The safeguards were the principal target of attack, and the retention of control over the Indian Civil and Police Services by the Secretary of State and the slowness of the Indianization of the Army came in for special criticism also. In fact, none of the Legislatures wished to reject the scheme as a whole. Outside the Legislature, however, expression of opinion was, naturally, less restrained and responsible. Congress spokesmen wanted to reject the whole scheme of reform, and even the Liberals in their annual session at Calcutta on April 17th denounced the safeguards as not in India interests and as a denial of constitutional government.

The Joint Select Committee and the Government of India Bill provided yet one more opportunity for the advocacy of claims by the various communities and interests in India and Great Britain. Full advantage was taken of this opportunity by all concerned and the proceedings of the Committee were particularly long and detailed. It was not to be expected, however, that any major changes would be made in the provisions of the Bill, and its main structure emerged from the Committee in the shape in which it was entered. But His Majesty's Government, at all states, continued its efforts to bring about agreement between communal and sectional interests and in particular to clarify its attitude towards the widespread Indian demand that the new Constitution should give India Dominion Status. For reasons already detailed, all of them referring to internal conditions in India, it was not found possible to meet this demand immediately and completely, but it was decided to state unequivocally that the goal of India's political progress was Dominion Status. The Joint Select Committee enquiry provided yet one more, and possibly the last, occasion for a big clash between the basic ideals of Indian Nationalists and other opponents in India and in this country, and the fight was continued in Parliament and in India right up to the passing of the Act and the royal assent to it on August 2, 1935.

Thereafter, broadly speaking, the struggle between the British and Indian Governments on the one hand and the more extreme exponents of Indian Nationalist opinion on the other may be said to have fallen into abeyance until the bringing into force of the Government of India Act in 1937. The new wave of civil disturbance which flared up after Mr. Gandhi's return from the Round Table Conference and his arrest had spent its force by the end of 1934, and on the main political front there was quiet in India. But behind the main political battlefield, so to speak, the dispositions of the various contending parties steadily

began to assume sharper and clearer outlines and fell into the patterns which lasted until the outbreak of the war in September 1939.

Thus all those who stood for political progress by constitutional methods—an indeterminate and not very aggressive body, but nevertheless, one which is very strong numerically, a body partly represented by the Indian Liberal Federation—realized and proclaimed that further opposition to the new Constitution was futile, and leading spokesmen of the Indian Liberal Federation openly urged the Nationalists on their left to accept and work the Constitution so as to get what was possible out of it. Looking back over the Indian scene of the past few years, it seems that this centre point of view has gained steadily increasing support, and many of what the Marxists would call the "bourgeois" element in the Indian National Congress are now ranged with this centre body. Once more, from 1934 onwards, Congress began to break up into rival groups as the possibilities of the new Constitution showed themselves, and the natural instinct to accept and use power which was offered to them worked on the minds of the political leaders of the different sections of opinion in the country. Moreover, there was something impressive in the extensive preparations which went on for the forth-coming extensive constitutional changes. The delimitation of constituencies proceeded actively in 1935, and Sir Otto Niemeyer, the financial expert of world-wide repute, was invited to examine the budgetary position of the Central and Provincial Governments, and the principles of assignment of financial resources between them. The Government departments were working at full pressure on all sorts of detailed arrangements for putting the new Government of India Act into operation, and altogether by 1935 the observer at a distance might have been pardoned for assuming that the achievement of the much desired All-India Federation was only a matter of time, and a short time at that.

But unfortunately, a closer study of the situation led to doubts concerning this optimistic view. Inter-communal antagonism took on a wider and deeper aspect, challenging the basic principles on which the Federation was to be based, and from the side of the Princes also there were signs that opposition to early entry into the Federation was growing. Already in 1935, at meetings of the Princes, demands were being made for satisfactory modifications and alterations in fundamental points.

The prospects of Federation became more and more doubtful as time went on until by the outbreak of war in September 1939 it was already clear that a dangerous, if not a complete *impasse* had been reached. There was no immediate prospect of a solution of the very difficult problems raised by the entry of the Princes into the Federation,

**ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE CENTRAL BOARD
POLICY AND PROGRAMME**

whilst the demands of the Muhammadans had gone to the length of visualizing a Muhammadan India, separate from Hindu India. Moreover, partisan fervour was increasing rather than decreasing when the great catastrophe in Europe put the whole question of India's political future into a new perspective.

In accordance with the Resolution passed by the All-India Muslim League on the 12th of April, 1936, at Bombay I was directed to form a Central Parliamentary Board with power to constitute or affiliate Provincial Parliamentary Boards of various provinces to contest the approaching elections on the ticket of the All-India Muslim League. I have taken all the trouble that was possible in doing my utmost to see that the Central Board is made as truly representative of the Musalmans of India as possible.

For this purpose I had long consultations in Delhi with the Members of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and of the various representatives of different Provinces whom I had invited for that purpose in view on the 26th, 27th and 28th of April, 1936; and further, after four days of my stay in Punjab, I had the opportunity of discussing the matter with the various Leaders of Punjab and after careful consideration I wish to announce the following names as the Members of the Central Parliamentary Board:

BENGAL

1. Nawab of Dacca.
2. Mr. Fazlulhuq.
3. Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin.
4. Maulana Akram Khan.
5. Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy.
6. Abdur Rahman Siddique.
7. Mr. H. M. Isfhani.
8. Mr. Majibur Rahman.

MADRAS

1. Syed Murtaza Sahib Bahadur.
2. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan, Mayor Madras Municipality.
3. Mr. Jamal Muhammad.
4. Mr. B. Poker.

UNITED PROVINCES

1. Nawab Ismail Khan.
2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.
3. Raja of Mahmudabad.
4. Raja of Salimpur.
5. Maulana Shaukat Ali.
6. Mr. Khaliqzaman.
7. Maulana Husain Ahmad.

3. Mr. Abubacker Beg Muhammad.
4. Mr. Ismail Chundrigar.
5. Thakore Sahib of Kerwada, M. L. C.
6. Khan Bahadur Salah-ud-Din.

The Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board adopts the following programme for ensuing elections:

1. To protect the religious rights of the Musalmans. In matters of purely religious character, due weight shall be given to the opinions of Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind and the Mujtahids.

2. To make every effort to secure the repeal of all repressive laws.

3. To resist all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country.

4. To reduce heavy costs of administrative machinery, central and provincial and allocate substantial funds for nation-building departments.

5. To nationalize Indian Army and reduce the military expenditure.

6. To encourage development of Industries, including cottage industries.

7. To regulate currency, exchange and prices in the interest of economic development of the country.

8. To stand for the social, educational and economic uplift of the rural population.

9. To sponsor measures for the relief of agricultural indebtedness.

10. To make elementary education free and compulsory.

11. To protect and promote Urdu language and script.

12. To devise measures for the amelioration of the general conditions of Muslims.

13. To take steps to reduce the heavy burden of taxation.

14. To create a healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country.

SIND

1. Sheikh Abdul Majid.
2. Hakim Fateh Muhammad Sharwani.
3. Maulvi Muhammad Sadiq Khadda.
4. Muhammad Hashim Gazdar.

N.-W. FRONTIER PROVINCES

1. Malik Pir Bux, M. L. C.
2. Maulana Allah Bux Yusuf.
3. Maulana Abdul Rahim Ghaznawi.
4. Malik Khuda Bakhsh, B.A.L.L.B., M.L.C.

PUNJAB

1. Sir Muhammad Iqbal.
2. Maulana Muhammad Ishaq Khan Mansehravi.
3. Ghazi Abdul Rehman, B. A.
4. Mian Abdul Aziz.
5. Syed Zain-ul-Abdin.
6. Maulana Abdul Qadir Kasuri.
7. The Hon. Raja Ghzanfar Ali Khan.
8. Sheikh Hissam-ud-Din.
9. Chaudhri Afzal Haq, M. L. C.
10. Ch. Abdul Aziz of Begowal.
11. Khwaja Ghulam Husain, Pleader.

BIHAR

1. Mr. Qazi Ahmad Husain.
2. Maulana Sajjad Phulwari Sharif.
3. Shah Masud Ahmad, Ex. M. L. A.
4. Mr. A. Hafiz, Advocate.
5. Mufti Kifayat Ullah.

DELHI

1. Maulana Ahmed Syed,

ASSAM

1. Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhri.
2. Mr. M. A. Razzaque.

BOMBAY

1. Sir Suleman Cassim Mitha.
2. Mr. R. M. Chinory.

PIRPUR REPORT

**The hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that
meted out to the Muslims in Congress
Government Provinces**

Sir,

The Council of the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolution at its meeting, held on March 20, 1938, at Delhi:

“Whereas numerous complaints have reached the Central Office of the hardship, ill-treatment and injustice that is meted out to the Muslims in various Congress Government Provinces and particularly to those who are workers and members of the Muslim League, the Council resolves that a special committee be appointed consisting of the following members to collect all informations, make all necessary inquiries, and take such steps as may be considered proper and to submit their report to the President and the Council from time to time: Raja Syed Muhammad Mehdi (Chairman), Mr. A. B. Habibullah (Secretary), Khan Bahadur Haji Rashid Ahmad, Syed Ashraf Ahmad, Molvi Abdul Ghani, M. L. A., Mian Ghias-ud-Din, M. L. A., Syed Zakir Ali, Syed Hasan Riaz, Syed Taqi Hadi Naqvi.”

In pursuance of the above resolution we started our inquiry immediately and finished our work (so far as the present report is concerned) in the last week of October, 1938.

During our extensive tour of all the six Congress Provinces, namely, the United Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay, we collected both written and oral evidence from all sections of Muslims, specially the local M. L. A., and Muslim League branches. In some parts of the country we also received co-operation from non-Muslims as well and they helped us with their evidence on important incidents. We take this opportunity of thanking all these people for providing us with valuable information which has been incorporated in this report.

The report is divided in three parts. The first two parts deal with the general principles and causes of conflict between the Muslims and the Congress. The third part deals in detail with the grievances of the Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We have endeavoured our best to examine the problem as a whole dispassionately, particularly the Muslim grievances. We believe that the grievances, which we have incorporated in our report, are just, real and genuine and will, we hope, open the eyes of the Congress leaders.

Numerous other instances, beside those incorporated in the report, were brought to our notice. We have purposely withheld them not because we doubted their veracity but because of the exigency of space. We have only included typical instances of the various types. Then we have not included instances of Congress interference with the

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official machinery of the State. Firstly, because it is very difficult, almost impossible, to get evidence on such matters and secondly because the fact of widespread attempt on the part of Congressmen to influence official machinery has been even pointed out by the Hon'ble Judges of the Allahabad High Court in their judgment in the Contempt of Court case against Dr. Mukerji.

Mian Ghas-ud-Din, M. L. A., did not take any part in the proceedings of the Committee while Molvi Abdul Ghani, M. L. A., another member, toured with the Committee in Bihar and rendered every possible help to the Committee in that province. He, however, fell ill and was not able to participate in the proceedings of the Committee thereafter.

We have the honour to be,
 Sir,
 Your most obedient servants,
 (Raja) Syed Muhammad
 Mehdi of Pirpur, Chairman,
 A. B. Habibullah, Secretary
 Syed Ashraf Ahmad
 Syed Hasan Riyaz
 Syed Taqi Hadi Naqvi
 Syed Zakir Ali.

Lucknow:
November 15, 1938

PART I—GENERAL SURVEY

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM

The communal problem in India has long defied settlement. It has been approached by the responsible leaders of various communities and political parties from different angles, but each attempt to arrive at a final and satisfactory settlement has generally resulted in increased bitterness, because, during the pendency of negotiations, it is usually the first and foremost endeavour of each party to put the other in the wrong and throw upon it the whole blame for the failure of the peace parleys. The problem is so baffling that there is a tendency on the part of some of the leaders to adopt the ostrich-like policy of ignoring the problem altogether, or at least of deferring its solution till such time as India is "free". In our humble opinion, however, the problem is a real one and the sooner it is solved the better will it be for the country. To postpone its decision is simply to create a vicious circle. The communal problem can only be solved when India is free. India can only be free when the communal problem is solved. Such a circle can lead us nowhere and will only make the country a prey to any foreign exploiter.

Recently the minorities have been asked to think in terms of international politics and appeals have been made to present a united front to protect India against the perils involved in the international situation. It has been deemed sufficient to assure the minorities in repeated resolutions which have now assumed a monotonous formality, that their "Language, culture and religion" will be protected and the minorities are expected to accept these assurances without any further safeguard. In our opinion this is a wholly incorrect approach of the problem. The communal problem remains unsettled not because of the communalism of the minorities, but because of the communalism of the majorities. In each province it is for the majority community to win the confidence of the minority, and this can only be done by deeds and not by words.

No one who is familiar with Indian affairs would deny the fact that the Congress has failed to inspire confidence in the minorities and has failed to carry them with it in spite of its oft-repeated resolution guaranteeing religious and cultural liberty to the various communities because its actions are not in conformity with its words. Consequently, though it has succeeded in bringing to its fold a few Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, the Congress continues to be a predominantly Hindu organisation and the majority of its members, in spite of their pretensions to nationalism, are still imbued with narrow communalism.

Intoxicated with power after their success in the last general election the leaders of the Congress initiated a closed-door policy by declaring that they were opposed to the formation of coalitions or alliances with any other party in the Legislatures. The fact that separation and exclusiveness is not conducive to the evolution of a common national life was conveniently lost sight of in the hour of triumph.

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British parliamentary democracy and the constitution foisted on us is also modelled, more or less, on the British pattern. There is, however, an essential difference between the body politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are interchangeable: their complexion and strength go on changing with the conditions of the country. To-day a National Government is in power but the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties have an equal chance of running the government of the country. Here, in India, we have a permanent Hindu majority and the other communities are condemned to the position of perpetual minority. Thus it is easy for the majority to assume a non-communal label and do things communal under the cloak of nationalism.

Any attempt to apply the Western principles of nationalism without paying due regard to the peculiar conditions of the country is bound to confuse the issue. For the evolution of healthy nationalism, advancement of the country on the path of freedom, it is absolutely necessary that this problem, at once so important and so full of difficulties, should be dispassionately examined and clearly stated.

The Indian National Congress' conception of nationalism is based on the establishment of a national state of the majority community in which other nationalities and communities have only secondary rights. The Muslim think that no tyranny can be great as the tyranny of the majority and they believe that only that state can be stable which gives equal rights and equal opportunities to all communities no matter how small. They attach great importance to this principle, which alone can safeguard the rights of the Muslims and other minorities. The Muslims have made it clear more than once that besides the question of religion, culture, language and personal laws, there is another question equally important for their future. They must secure definitely their political rights and their due share in the national life, government and administration of the country.

INDIAN ECONOMIC LIFE

PECULIAR CHARACTERISTICS

All serious students of the Indian problem will concede that the communal question of this country is quite different from the minority

problems of other countries. Attempts are often made to take examples from foreign countries and to fasten them to Indian conditions, but it is forgotten that there is no other country in the world where the curse of untouchability still prevails. Religious and linguistic differences, to a small extent, certainly do exist in other countries too, but nowhere do we find the caste system so rigid as it is to-day in India.

Vernasharam not only keeps other communities outside the fold of the Hindu community, but it also does not allow certain classes of Hindus themselves to enjoy the same privileges as are enjoyed by the "twice-born" classes. There are certain vocations of life which can only be taken up by the depressed classes or the untouchables. Their sanitary work in towns, cities and villages falls to their lot alone. They alone can dispose of the dead bodies of animals, work as scavengers and sweepers and perform other menial services. Even in the performance of religious and social functions they are not allowed the same rights and facilities as are enjoyed by the "twice-born" communities.

Such being the fate of some of those classes who, though worshipping different gods, rejoice to call themselves Hindus, the position of the Muslims, who differ from the majority community not only in their religious belief, but also cling to a different cultural outlook, can very well be understood and appreciated. This difference in outlook between the various communities not only separates them politically but also divides them economically.

It is true that people of different religions, castes and creeds are found in some trades, but such cases are rare. The Government services are open to all, but the undeniable fact remains that the caste of an individual determines his vocation in life. The various trades in the country are more or less monopolised by different castes. If an outsider tries to enter a certain profession, not generally open to his community, he meets with serious obstacles. He is opposed not on pure business principles: prejudices of religion and caste, more often than not, dictate the attitude of his rivals in trade towards him.

Business is thus divided into water-tight compartments. In commercial life careers are not open to talent. All communities have been affected by this system and it may safely be said that the effect of the division of economic life on the basis of caste has been so marked that in the majority of cases the religion, castes and community of a person can be inferred from his profession. Under these conditions it is even possible to damage trade interests of a particular community by enacting legislation on purely medical or sanitary grounds; and policies which, in other countries, would be purely economic are, in India generally, based upon communalism. There have been numerous instances in which discriminatory taxation has been imposed on a certain commodity on apparently economic grounds, though the real

motive has been purely communal.

Thus what may appear to a foreigner a purely economic question can be the source of real friction between communities. Religious passions of the ignorant masses can be excited on a question that on the face of it appears quite harmless.

In countries where professions are freely chosen and the commercial community consists of people joined together by common interests this possibility does not exist. But, as we have pointed out above, conditions in India are quite different. In other countries a taxation measure adopted by the legislature would equally affect all communities which constitute a certain trade or profession and its consequences can be termed national. But in India the majority of people affected by a similar measure will belong to a particular community, caste or religion. Thus even an economic measure, which is national elsewhere, assumes a communal complexion in this country. It is easy for governments and local bodies to justify such discriminatory legislation by Western standards, to term it national and economic and to dismiss the just and reasonable protest of a particular community vitally affected by accusing it of narrow communalism. People who are not familiar with the conditions that subsist in this country can very easily be persuaded to condemn the protest of such a community against whose interests such measures are so cleverly conceived.

Congress leaders have declared in season and out of season that the Congress will always think in terms of the poor, but in the course of our inquiry it has been shown and proved to us that discrimination has been made in the case of Muslim peasants and workers by the Congress and Socialist organisation. Agents of zemindars and capitalists have given communal colour to disputes that were purely economic. And once communal colour was given the poor victims of oppression were deprived of all protection from the very organisations which boast of nationalism.

The details of the incidents and atrocities committed in the village Tilkori, Hazaribagh district, Bihar, have become known to the public through newspaper reports and we need not recapitulate them in detail at this stage. We may however, point out that only a short time before this incident there was a minor quarrel between a Congress volunteer and a Muslim land-owner in the same district. Full inquiry was made into this incident and a huge public meeting was held and the occasion was thought fit for the visit of a Parliamentary Secretary. Strong protests were made and a big demonstration was staged.

The incident at Tilkori took place shortly afterwards. The victims were the poorest inhabitants of the village who graze the cattle of the well-to-do Brahmans and live on small plots of land let out to them in exchange for their services. There was no Muslim League organisation

in the neighbourhood. The poor victims of the atrocities had to cover a distance of 40 miles on foot to reach the headquarters of the district from where some Muslim lawyers sent information to the headquarters of the Provincial Muslim League. On receiving the information, the Secretary of the League proceeded to the spot and made inquiries and issued his statement. One cannot help asking why the local Congress organisation maintained complete silence during the eight days that elapsed between the incident and the arrival of the Secretary of the Muslim League and why no inquiry was instituted by the Congress or the Provincial Congress Government.

Then, in the village Seewan, in a sub-division of the Saran district in Bihar, the houses of certain Muslims were set on fire. When Mr. Abdul Ghani, M. L. A., arrived at the scene of the incident, some houses were still burning. This village happens to be near the village of Babu Rajendra Prasad, a former President of the Indian National Congress and a member of the Congress Working Committee. It is surprising, however, that no representative of the party, which claims to be a national organisation, came to the rescue of the sufferers and uptill now no political organisation except the Muslim League, seems to have taken any notice of the incident.

Then again, hundreds of workers of Rahli, Saugor district, Central Provinces, were turned out by the Bidi manufacturers for no greater fault than voting for the candidate in whom they had confidence. It was a matter of principle and a narrow communal outlook should not have stood in the way of the vindication of the rights of the workers to use their vote freely. But not political or labour organisation, not even the much boasted Civil Liberties Union, came to the rescue of these helpless workers and not a voice of protest was raised against the tyranny of the Hindu Bidi manufacturers. These dismissed workers had to leave their homes and go to the cities of Saugor and Naghpur to earn their living.

Yet, in spite of these incidents, propaganda is done in and outside India that the Congress Ministries have restored civil liberty and the poorest peasant has felt the lifting of a great burden. There can be no doubt, at least so far as the Muslims are concerned, that civil liberty, though much advertised, does not exist. The tendency to show discrimination on communal grounds in rendering help and carrying on relief work among the oppressed and the poor is a unique feature of the Congress organisation of this country.

On the other hand we are glad to note that during the Cawnpore labour strike, the District Muslim League there showed no distinction between Hindu and Muslim workers and helped everybody irrespective of his religious beliefs. The Cawnpore League distributed food and other necessities of life to the Hindu and Muslim workers with equal

Muslim League has to be such as would make it possible for other communities to co-operate with it. If the Party adopts an aggressive communal attitude it would be impossible to maintain harmony with other communities. Thus it is to the advantage of the Muslims to have a truly national and liberal programme so that others may co-operate with them. On the other hand if the Muslim League chooses a narrow and communal policy, the Muslims will be condemned to perpetual minorities in almost all the provinces of India. They will be deprived of all opportunity of having, at any time, an effective voice in the administration of the country. Even in each of the two major Muslim Provinces—the Punjab and Bengal—it is not possible for the Muslims to have a majority without the co-operation of other communities. Thus it is clear that the Muslim League cannot afford to take up an aggressive communal attitude. But unfortunately responsible Congressmen and a section of the Press have made it their duty to misrepresent the views of the leaders of the Muslim League and its activities.

The attitude of the Congress, however, made it impossible for the League to co-operate with it in spite of the efforts of a number of League leaders to maintain cordial relations. The just and legitimate demands of the Muslims were regarded as an inconvenient feature of political life. Contemptuous offers were made to the leaders of the Muslim League. They were asked to liquidate the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, disband the League parties in the legislatures and to sign unconditionally the Congress pledge. To the patriotic Muslims such a course meant the denial of their right to organise themselves in order to maintain their separate identity and preserve their culture, and a complete surrender to the Party which, on its own admission, was mostly composed of Hindus and which had failed to win the confidence of the Muslim voters in the general election.

The Congress parties adopted the very methods for which they had hitherto condemned to British Government. Rival Muslim organisations were started and spoon-fed by Congress Cabinets and Committees. Attempts were made not only to disregard the true representatives of the Muslim, but a virulent campaign of vilification was started against the Muslim League and its leaders with the help of a few Muslims who signed the Congress pledge. The temptation of office was held out to those who joined the Congress and a few Muslims, who had been returned to the Legislatures on the ticket of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, were persuaded to sign the Congress pledge and were given places in the Ministries as representatives of the Muslim masses.

I have been alleged that the cry of "Islam in Danger" was raised and the name of God was used by the League to secure votes, was the very party which has so vehemently made all these allegations felt

consideration. Similarly, during the recent floods in the eastern districts of the United Provinces Muslim League volunteers in Bahraich, Gonda, Basti and other places rescued Hindus and Muslims alike, some times even at the risk of their own lives.

POLITICAL PARTIES

The growing tendency of political parties to become more and more communal is the chief danger to which democracy is exposed in India. In other countries, political parties are formed on such a basis that the majority and minority parties are interchangeable. Those who vote for Socialists to-day, can, if they feel dissatisfied, support the Nationalists or Conservatives to-morrow. The strength and following of various political parties vary according to the confidence they inspire among the people and to the extent they are able to fulfil their election pledges, the success of a government is reflected in the popularity of its legislative measures and constant efforts are needed to maintain the majority.

In India, owing to the existence of a permanent religious majority, the complexion of political parties is quite different from those in other democracies. There is always a danger that a party, composed mainly of members of a particular community or followers of a particular religion may pass under the name of a nationalist party. Such a party is exposed to the temptation of raising the communal bogey in order to keep together its dissatisfied elements, who are too insistent on the fulfilment of election pledges, and thus to continue in perpetual majority.

Expectations were raised high by the promises made during the last general elections by the Congress to better the condition of the poor. The Muslims being the poorest community in India were the first to show disaffection towards the Congress because they felt that its economic programme was a mere camouflage to enlist their support at the elections and brought them no substantial relief. In any other country these poor classes could have gone over to the opposition without being dubbed communalists.

Speaking at the Students' Federation meeting at Calcutta Mr. M. A. Jinnah stated that the League's fight was not against the Hindu community but against the Congress High Command. The Muslim League Party was allowed to coalesce with other progressive groups of parties whose ideals were nearly the same. This makes it clear that the aim of the Muslim League was not to wage war against other communities in India but to organise the Muslims and devote its energy to the solution of political and economic problems that face the country as a whole.

In order to work with other communities the programme of the

conduct created in the mind of the man in the street, who must have read in its complete identification between the so-called communal organisation of the Mahasabha, and the oft-proclaimed "National" institution of the Congress.

Popular imagination looks more to things that happen and gives them its own meaning and interpretation. Whatever may be the underlying principle of Congress nationalism and whatever may be the justification for the foregoing incidents, the fact remains that the average Hindu is inclined to associate Swaraj with Ram Raj and Congress Government with Hindu government. The Muslims feel that, notwithstanding the non-communal professions of the Congress and the desire of a few Congressmen to follow a truly national policy, a vast majority of the Congress members are Hindus who look forward, after many centuries of British and Muslim rule, to the re-establishment of purely Hindu Raj.

MUSLIM MASS CONTACT MOVEMENT

ITS REPERCUSSIONS

The last provincial election brought home to the Congress High Command the fact that the prestige of the Congress as a national organisation was in danger. The decision of the Congress not to contest elections in Muslim constituencies generally and the overwhelming defeats of its Muslim candidates in the very few elections that it contested completely exposed the hollowness of its pretensions to represent the Muslim masses.

The significance of the Congress defeats becomes more pronounced in view of the fact that the Congress possessed an unparalleled and a most powerful organisation in the country and that no Muslim party was in a position effectively to offer any strong opposition to it. The statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the defeats of the Congress candidates in the general election clearly shows that the Congress leadership was greatly alarmed at the opposition. But unfortunately, instead of trying to find out the real cause of this antipathy, the Congress High Command launched the Muslim Mass Contact Movement.

There are many Muslims who firmly believe that the Congress by this movements is trying to destroy Muslim solidarity and create disruption in the community. A number of Muslim workers have been employed to fight their co-religionists by a political party which is predominantly Hindu. Concerted efforts are being made not only to induce Muslims to join the Congress, but also to bring into disrepute the Muslim League.

It has been claimed that the Mass Contact Movement has been in existence for many years and only took a more definite shape at the

doubts about the efficiency of its political and economic programme and adopted the same methods for which it condemned the Muslim League. As a matter of fact the Muslim Ulema working for the Congress dragged in religion to enlist support for the Congress candidates. In the Bijnor bye-election the Congress Muslim workers were dressed in the green Islamic colour, carried the Islamic flag with the crescent and star and raised the cry of Allah-o-Akbar at their meetings. The Muslim League on the other hand never depended on the Ulema for its success. It was not the League that raised the cry of "Islam in danger". It has been put into its mouth by its opponents. Every Muslim believes that Islam can never be in danger.

Again, it has been stated by responsible Congress leaders that because during the bye-elections the Muslim League candidates were standing on communal tickets, the Hindu zemindars, bankers, and lawyers, who had so far opposed the Congress preferred a Congress candidate. We are further told that the action of these people was not due to communalism, but was a reaction to communalism. This statement is falsified by the recent event at Fyzabad. In the bye-election for the Fyzabad General Constituency, though the Muslim League adopted a policy of indifference, certain Muslim zemindars and other were found supporting the Mahasabha candidate who possessed a much wider appeal. On the Congress platform too, side by side with Congress leaders of repute, were seen persons who were noted for their narrow communalism. One of these speakers had only been recently convicted for spreading communal hatred and had been released on bail pending appeal. We wonder if the average voter was given the fullest opportunity to distinguish between the Mahasabha candidate, standing on a purely communal ticket, and the Congress candidate, who stood on a "non communal" ticket.

In Bihar instances were brought to our notice of speeches tending to provoke communal feelings being made even at meetings attended by Parliamentary Secretaries and responsible Congressmen. Similarly, in the Central Provinces cases have been reported which go to substantiate the theory that there is something like identity of purpose between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. A person can be a member of the Congress and the Mahasabha at the same time, but this privilege is not extended to the Institution that represents the interests of a minority. When K. S. Abdur Rahman pointed out an occasion when even Congress Ministers participated in the reception of the President of the Mahasabha and drew attention to the enthusiasm shown by Congressmen all over the Province at his receptions, Dr. Khare replied that he was present at one of the meetings and that Congressmen had gone there in their individual capacity. Technically Dr. Khare was right, but one has to consider the impression that his

Lucknow Congress of 1937. It has also been claimed that the movement had never been designed in terms of Muslims only nor was it merely confined to them.

To understand this movement properly, the methods employed by its promoters must be taken into consideration as well as its effect on the minority community.

Whatever be the idea behind this movement, it remains an undisputed fact that after the general election Mass Contact was carried on amongst the Muslim masses alone. We have not heard of religious heads of other minorities working on behalf of the Congress to bring their co religionists into its fold.

It has been asserted that only such Ulema as had associated with the Congress and were its old friends were asked to support the Congress candidates in the bye-elections. Besides, the candidates particularly asked for the support of such men. We think that the argument put forward by an eminent leader of the Congress fully brings to light one fact. We all know that though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his bye-election speeches, emphasised economic problems, the candidates themselves were not confident of the efficacy of this programme of the Congress in enlisting the support of the Muslim electors.

The activities of these Congress Ulema are not confined to those enumerated by the Congress leaders. Recently, just after a communal outbreak had occurred in Pilibhit, Seth Damodar Dass, accompanied by two Maulanas, visited the locality and issued a statement throwing the responsibility for the trouble on the Muslim League, which on inquiry proved to be unfounded. This fact throws some light on the use which is made of some of these learned theologians and also why so much importance is given to these old friends. We wonder if the majority of such persons could have a place in any self-respecting organisation. We can now understand the reluctance of the Congress to recognise the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims for this could deprive it of such convenient tools as the Ulema who went to Pilibhit with the Bareilly Congress President.

The Congress secured overwhelming majorities in five provinces and a working majority in the sixth as the result of the first general election held under the new reforms. The attention of the whole of India was focussed on the Congress and its decision on acceptance of office was eagerly awaited. Everyone believed that a new era would set in with the acceptance of office by the Congress. It was generally taken for granted by progressive Muslims that the gulf that had existed so long between the various communities in India would be bridged once for all, that the differences, for which an alien government had been held responsible so far, would disappear and that all progressive national elements, whose political ideals were similar,

would be brought together for the service of the Motherland, and would work a common programme for the freedom of the country.

It was at this moment that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Congress President, launched the Muslim Mass Contact Programme in right earnest. It was pointed out to the Muslims that the real fight was for bread and butter and there was no sense in their keeping aloof under the banner of the Muslim League. But, as we have pointed out in an earlier chapter, even economics in India is communal. Urdu newspapers were started to carry on Congress propaganda among the Muslims and every attempt was made to win over the Muslims. A campaign of vilification against Muslim League leaders, specially Mr. Jinnah, formed a part of this movement. An attempt was also made to set up a rival organisation to the All-India Muslim League under the name "Azad" Muslim League. It was further declared that the Congress, in view of its principles of nationalism, could not enter into an alliance with any communal organisation however national may be the latter's policy and programme. Since then, however, we have seen how this declaration has been stretched to make it possible for the Congress to form ministries in the Frontier and Assam as it suited the interests of the majority community.

It was but natural for patriotic Muslims to feel aggrieved at the attitude taken up by the Congress High Command. The change in the attitude of the Congress Leaders, specially those of the United Provinces, was simply a revelation. Though the Mass Contact Movement was on the programme of the Congress no one heard about it until the general elections was over and Congress majorities was assured. Even then the Congress leaders, who made and unmade Cabinets and who appointed and dismissed Ministers avoided the Muslim masses and employed Maulvis to convert the Muslim masses to the Congress creed. The Maulvis, having no voice in the moulding of the Congress policy and programme, naturally could not promise to solve the real difficulties of the masses, a promise which would have drawn the masses toward the Congress. The Maulvis and others employed for the work adopted the line of least resistance by creating a division among the Muslim masses by carrying on a most unworthy propaganda against the leaders of the Muslim League. Under these circumstances it was but natural for the Muslims to conclude that this movement was directed only to lure the Muslims into the Congress fold and a policy of "Divide and rule" was being followed by the Congress to avoid a settlement with the Muslim community on the real issues.

It will not be out of place here to point out that in other countries where political situations are complicated by religious and racial differences, no political party would think of adopting such methods of propaganda as would lead to emphasise the religious differences between

various communities. In Great Britain when the question of Irish Home Rule was put in the forefront of the Liberal Party's programme by Gladstone, in spite of a split in the Party itself, no mass contact movement was started to bring the Protestants of Ulster into the fold of the Liberal Party. Discrimination on a communal basis is the last thing to be undertaken by a party which forms the Government.

The Congress Governments should give the right lead to the country. They should attempt to work on the principles of true nationalism and gain the confidence of the minorities by removing all their suspicions. It was the failure of the Congress in this respect which, together with the correct lead given by the Muslim League and its policy and programme, helped to make the League, in such a short time, such a powerful and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

selfish people utilised the situation for their own benefit and for mischievous ends.

People were encouraged to do what they like and to say whatever they wanted. Respect for lawful authority was undermined. In the communique issued by the Governor of the U. P. at the time of the resignation of the Cabinet over the question of release of political prisoners, reference was made to the disturbing nature of the activities of some of these men. It was pointed out that the release of prisoner had been made an occasion for widespread demonstration of a revolutionary character which had created a great impression on the public mind. We think that if similar situations had occurred in other provinces as well we would have been able to quote many more pieces of evidence from such impartial sources.

The privileged which the Congress workers enjoy and the way in which partiality is shown to them has been made clear in the remarks of the Judges of the Oudh Chief Court in the Hearsay case in which a Congress worker was one of the parties. Their Lordships felt compelled to point out that the filing of the appeal by the Government with no judicial justification was bound to create the impression that the fact the complainant was the President of the local Congress Committee had something to do with it.

The way in which members of the Congress Party have interfered in the day-to-day administration of justice has also been dealt with in several judgments of the Allahabad High Court. In the Contempt of Court case against Dr. Vishwanath Mukerji, a Congress M. L. A. from Gorakhpur, their Lordships observed:

"We have reason to believe that a large number of communications have been addressed to courts in this Province during the last month by persons on behalf of parties to cases and others interested in such cases. The two cases which we have just decided are the first of this class and having regard to the attitude adopted by Dr. Mukerji, we felt able to take a lenient view of these offences It must be made clear to every one that this Court will not tolerate any attempt to bring pressure upon a judicial officer and particularly upon junior judicial officers who are not in a position to defend themselves. We have taken a lenient view of this case and we trust that such leniency will not be misunderstood."

We have received numerous complaints, supported by evidence, from Muslims that they have been bullied by local Congress organisations and have found it difficult to get even-handed justice. A sort of parallel government is being run by Congressmen. Wherever the police makes inquiries the local Congress organisation also starts its

own independent investigations. The atmosphere is no longer congenial to the pursuit of ordinary vocations of life with freedom.

In spite of all this prominent Congress leaders lose no opportunity of repeating that one of the first acts of the Congress Cabinets was to restore the civil liberty of the people. We should like to know if this civil liberty is only meant for the members of the majority community.

In the succeeding chapters we discuss the various causes of conflict between the two naker communities in India and how they have been aggravated by the short-sighted policies of Congress Governments.

BANDE MATRAM

It was as a result of the intense resentment among the Muslim masses that the All-India Muslim League passed the following resolution on the Bande Matram issue at its Lucknow session:

"This meeting of the All-India Muslim League strongly condemns the attitude of the Congress in foisting Bande Matram as the national anthem upon the country in callous disregard of the feelings of Muslims and considers this song not merely positively anti-Islamic and idolatrous in its inspiration and ideas, but definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India."

"This meeting further calls upon the Muslim members of the Legislatures and public bodies in the country not to associate themselves in any manner with the highly objectionable song."

The Congress Working Committee issued a lengthy statement on the song in October 1937 and ultimately decided to recommend that certain stanzas, which contained allegorical references, may not be used on the national platform. It is further claimed that the two stanzas recommended as the National Song do not contain a word or phrase that will offend anybody.

By excluding certain lines from the "National Song" the Congress High Command has conceded the League's contention that Bande Matram at least does contain objectionable passages. They must, however, realise that the Muslims cannot forget the historical background of the song and the sentiments which led to its composition.

Further, in support of the song it is stated that Bande Matram has been associated with Indian nationalism for more than thirty years and numerous associations of sentiments and sacrifices have gathered round it and that no objection was taken to it, except on political grounds, by the Government. To our mind the defence exposes the narrow and predominantly communal nature of the nationalism proclaimed by the Congress. The fact that the British Government objected to the song on

merely political grounds only goes to prove the League's contention that the religious import of the song is directed against the Muslims alone.

We cannot help wondering that if popular songs are not made to order and cannot be successfully imposed, why, since the acceptance of office by the Congress, *Bande Matram* is being thrust upon the impressionable boys in schools. We may here point out that before the acceptance of office by the Congress this song was recited at meetings held under the aegis of the Congress and those who attended them were there out of their own free will. As such there was no occasion for objection. But now the position has changed. The Congress now forms the Government in seven provinces of India. Congressmen and their sympathisers have started singing the song at public meetings and other functions where members of different religions have to be present.

Moreover, the various Congress Governments have lifted the ban on the song in Government schools. The reason given was that since the ban was imposed by the Government of the pre-Reform days and was directed against Indian nationalism it had to be lifted. The effect of this order has been, however, quite different. Schools teachers, keen on winning the favour of the new masters, have taken it upon themselves to make the singing of *Bande Matram* a permanent feature of the school curriculum. To mention only a few examples, the Muslim students of Patna objected to the singing of the song and went on strike. The school management compelled some of the students to leave the school. The Muslim public of Patna had to open a separate school to save the careers of these boys from being totally ruined. Then in the Central Provinces the Muslim students have the same grievance against the Municipal schools. In the Normal School at Wardha the Muslim students are not allowed to touch the food in the school mess, are forced to stand with folded hands when *Bande Matram* is sung and made to live entirely on vegetarian diet. All this only shows a callous disregard of the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims by the Congress governments.

THE TRICOLOUR

The Muslims believe that the tricolour of the Congress is purely a party flag and nothing more. Every political party, whether in office or in the opposition, has the right to hoist its flag wherever it likes. While on most of the Municipal and District Board buildings the Congress flag has been hoisted without any opposition from the Muslims, whenever any local body, with a Muslim majority, has passed a resolution for the hoisting of the Muslim League flag, the members

of the majority community, confident of the Congress Governments support, have put obstacles in the way of the resolution being enforced. It has been claimed by them that their objection to the League flag is based on the fact that it is a communal flag. We should like to know if the hoisting of the so called national flag on the unwilling minorities is anything but an expression of the narrow communalism of the majority community.

It is argued on behalf of the Congress that the tricolour contains the Muslim green. But without a change of heart, without a settlement of the points in dispute and without unity of purpose between the two communities the inclusion of the Muslim colour in the Congress flag is meaningless. The flag should represent the true feelings and sentiments of the Muslim community if it is to have any significance at all, but unfortunately it does not.

Since the Congress has come into power the hoisting of the tricolour over public buildings has become another source of friction between the two communities. There have been instances where the flag has been hoisted without the sanction of the proper authority. We may, however, point out that a national flag cannot be forced upon unwilling people any more than a national anthem. Such attempts would only expose the latent communal nature of the "national" policy of the party, which is overwhelmingly Hindu.

EXCLUSION OF MUSLIMS FROM LOCAL BODIES AND DEBT CONCILIATION BOARD

The Muslims have found it almost impossible to get into the local bodies or into the Debt Conciliation Boards in the provinces with joint electorate. In Bihar the Muslims had to boycott the elections to the local bodies so long as their grievances were not redressed. In the C. P. and Berar, where the Muslims form a very small minority, they have been excluded from local bodies. It was pointed out to us that the Muslims were better treated by the Independent Party than they are now by the Congress. Before the advent of the Congress Government there used to be at least one Muslim on each Debt Conciliation Board, but now there are several boards with no Muslim representation. We may further add that an overwhelming majority of the Muslims in this province belong to be class of labourers or small cultivators, who are heavily indebted to the rich money-lenders and as such their cases require special attention. We have dealt with this question fully in Part III of this Report.

We may, however, state that even the operation of measures, designed apparently to promote public welfare, irrespective of class or community, is so manipulated as to exclude the minorities, specially the Muslims, from their benefits.

COW PROTECTION

The question of cow slaughter has been one of the causes of conflict between the Hindus and Muslims of India. With the taking over of the reins of government in the seven provinces by the Congress the question of cow protection has assumed great importance and propaganda has been carried on with redoubled energy in this connection. There have been numerous instances where Muslims have been intimidated to give up cow sacrifice and the eating of beef. Organised picketing has been done to prevent the sale of cows to Muslims. The dastardly attack on Muslim butchers at the Dadri Fair in the Ballia district, U. P., was only one of the many cases where force has been used. The details of communal outbreaks and their origin are given in a later chapter. Here we are only concerned with the question of cow protection.

While the country was seething with communal troubles people looked to the Haripura Congress to relieve the tension in the country. Unfortunately, however, the speeches of the most eminent Congress leaders on the occasion of the opening of the Cow Exhibition were far from reassuring. Mahatma Gandhi, referring to the importance of cow protection, said :

“From the historical and economic point of view the cow must be protected. Unfortunately we have not taken cow protection seriously. Due to our careless idleness, and ignorance good breeds of cows are now vanishing. In the olden days the Rajas earned the title of ‘Gopalas’, meaning cow protectors. At present nothing is done to protect cows and consequently they are proving a burden on the economic life. It was not true that cows were costly to maintain.”

The Mahatma further appealed to all to drink more cow's milk, for if the nation determined to drink cow's milk then cows could be saved. He urged the people to understand the real significance of cow protection.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, in requesting the Mahatma to open the Exhibition, said that the idea of cow protection had come from the Mahatma himself. Mahatma Gandhi was the pioneer of two things, the *charkha* and cow protection.

We have referred to these two speeches as they produced a profound impression throughout the country and there were significant reactions to them. The economic plea for cow protection was taken up by Mr. Chitervadis, a Mahasabhaite M. L. A. of the C. P. in the statement of the aims and objects of his Cow Protection Bill, which imposes heavy restrictions regarding slaughter of animals even for social and religious purposes. This is in keeping with the line taken up

by the Congress leaders at Haripura. It is also interesting to remember that the *charkha* has so far been considered as a sure means of bringing independence to India. Now that it has been coupled with cow protection, the ideal of independence has only been brought closer with the religious and communal ideal of the Hindu community. This is not surprising when we remember that Mahatma Gandhi's fundamental motives are religious and he has repeatedly declared that his object in life is to bring religion into politics. Moreover, the Mahatma's religion is based on the fundamental Hindu scripture, the Bhagwat Gita.

It is needless for us to point out that the people have been repeatedly told that Swaraj has set in with the acceptance of office by the Congress. And once the people start believing that they are the real rulers of their country, it is but natural for the members of the majority community to cherish the title of Gopalas, specially when they have been exhorted to do so by their greatest leader.

Unfortunately, this false propaganda has only resulted in increased communal tension throughout the country. The population in villages and towns throughout India is now divided between those who drink cow's milk and those who are unwilling to change their diet. We wonder if the Muslims and other minorities are regarded as part of the nation which has been asked to drink cow's milk. Anyway, licences for cow slaughter have been withheld in several municipalities of the Central Provinces. Such attempts at putting a stop to cow slaughter have generally been made at places where the Muslims are numerically weak or disorganised.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

CAUSE AND ORIGIN

Communal riots have unfortunately become more frequent in the Congress provinces and they have been largely the natural outcome of the disregard for law and order and disrespect for life and property preached by irresponsible Congressmen. It is a lamentable fact that not only have the occasions when communal tension has resulted in violent outbreaks increased to an extent hitherto unknown, but fresh causes of friction have arisen as a result of the policy adopted by the Congress Government.

In giving an account of the nature of disputes between the two communities we cannot do better than describe the various viewpoints that have been put forward by the leaders of the two communities and the discussion in the Legislatures of the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa.

In reply to a question the Premier of Bihar said that orders had been issued against the Muslims in sixteen places in connection with Muharram, Bakr-Id and Holi festivals. Some of the speakers, justifying the Government's action, went even so far as to maintain that non-violence was the accepted creed of the Congress Party and that order under section 144, Cr. P. C., were issued to avoid violence. Thus the creed of non-violence, to carry the argument to its logical conclusion, which had been so far employed against the British bureaucracy, was now to be employed to deprive the minority community of its civil rights. The Government defended the promulgation of such orders on the grounds of avoiding a breach of peace. It was further stated that the period of these orders was extended to give the parties a chance to obtain an injunction from civil courts. On the other hand, in Zahidabad (Gorakhpur), where the Muslims had already secured a decree from the Civil Court recognising their right of cow sacrifice, orders under section 144, Cr. P. C., were issued, according to the U. P. Premier, to avoid a breach of peace.

The Karachi Congress resolution on the fundamental rights of minorities only guarantees them their rights so far as their observance does not lead to breach of peace. Thus it is only natural that this provision should be utilised by the Congress Ministers to deprive the Muslims of their civil rights.

In the United Provinces Legislative Assembly several attempts were made to fix the responsibility for riots on the Muslims. The Minister of Education, Mr. Sampurnanand, is reported to have said that the minority community thought that it could bring the Congress Government to their knees by creating communal disturbances. He, however, admitted that in his own home town, Benares, the riots started with a clash between two parties of Holi processionists in which one Hindu was killed. We fail to understand why with his Benares experience the Minister indulged in such a generalisation. This disorderly behaviour of Holi processionists could, by no stretch of imagination, be connected with the activities of the minority community.

Then the Minister of Justice, Dr. K. N. Katju, maintained that irresponsible statements of members of the Muslim League and a campaign of vilification of the Government in the Urdu Press was responsible for the riots and that the minority community, taking advantage of the Government's solicitude for the freedom of the Press and speech wanted to bully them. The Minister of Justice should have been better informed, at least of the happenings in his own town, Allahabad. The Magistrate, in delivering judgment in one of the riot cases at Allahabad, observed: "It is the Hindus who set the ball rolling."

We cannot believe that a "campaign of lies" in the Urdu Press could have influenced those people against whom the above remark of the Magistrate was made.

The U. P. Premier, Mr. G. B. Pant, was of the opinion that the objectionable propaganda of the Muslim League and the determination of the Opposition to embrace the Government was responsible for the riots. It is the duty of the Government to maintain law and order and to protect that lives and property of the citizens. In all democratic countries the Opposition criticises the Government and yet no Government has tried to explain away its failure by accusing the Opposition of "embrassing the Government".

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, referring to the riots, is reported to have said: "Why were there riots this year? It was because the Congress Ministry was in power".

At a meeting of the Unity Board at Allahabad Mr. Badri Prasad, Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, stated: "These riots were created by some organisation to lower the growing strength of the Congress".

To our mind all these speeches fail to get at the root of the problem by throwing the blame on the Opposition. We believe that the trouble was due to the preaching of the ideals of a party in the name of nationalism and forcing them on everybody.

The Muslims knew that they were powerless and all that they could do was to adopt a policy of self-preservation based on peaceful relations with the majority community. It was the failure of the Congress Governments which largely depended on the support of the Hindu members to take strong measures against Hindu aggressive elements that resulted in the crop of communal disturbances all over the country.

THE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The question of language and culture has assumed great importance recently due to confused thinking among some of the prominent Congress leaders who refuse to acknowledge the very existence of a separate Muslim culture in India. The word "Culture" has a wide significance and covers the entire activity of man-intellectual, aesthetic, spiritual, moral, social, economic and political: for, the true seat of culture of its mainspring is the mind of man; and as is the mind, so its manifestations which constitute its culture. This definition itself should convince those who deny the existence of separate Muslim culture. This is, however, not a place to enter into a detailed discussion on Muslim culture and we will confine ourselves to the practical problem that faces the country.

We may point out that the Urdu language came into existence as

Persian script and the term Hindi was applied to the same language written in the Deva Nagri script. The Indian National Congress, the Maulana further pointed out, definitely ended the controversy thirteen years ago under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress decided that for the national inter-provincial language the same form of Hindustani should be used as had been in use since the 17th century. Thus there was no place for any doubt so far as the fundamental question of common language was concerned. The Congress Ministries in the various provinces, according to the Maulana, were acting upto the principle laid down by the Congress. He, however, admitted that in certain provinces people could not discriminate between the new connotations of Hindi and Hindustani and whenever they used the word Hindustani only they unintentionally came nearer the zone of controversy.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dealing with the same question, stated that the Congress guaranteed the language and culture of the minorities in India. He wanted to encourage all the great provincial languages of the country and at the same time wanted to make Hindustani, as written both in Deva Nagri and Persian scripts, the national language. Both scripts were to be officially recognised and the choice of their use was to be left to the people. Pandit Jawaharlal also gave an assurance that this policy was being followed by the various Congress Ministries.

Mahatma Gandhi first endorsed the views of the U. P. Minister of Education, Mr. Sampurnanand, that for technical and scientific terms increasing use of the Sanskrit language should be made to supplement Hindustani. He followed it up by an article in the Harijan in which he stated: "So far as the Congress is concerned, Hindustani is its recognised official language designed as an all-India language for inter-provincial contact. It is not to supplement but to supplement provincial languages..... For the purpose of crystallising Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu may be regarded as feeders. A Congressman must, therefore, wish well to both and keep in touch with both forms as far as he can. This Hindustani will have many synonyms to supply the varied requirements of a growing nation rich in provincial languages, Hindustani spoken to a Bengali or to Southern audiences will naturally have a large stock of words of Sanskrit origin. The same speech delivered in the Punjab will have a large admixture of words of Arabic and Persian origin. Similar will be the case with audience composed predominantly of Muslims, who cannot understand many words of Sanskrit Origin".

We think that these assurances do not go far and instead of allaying the fears of the Muslims they have only aggravated them. The real issue has been lost sight of. The controversy referred to by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has resulted in the accumulation of a vast

he result of an attempt to take a purely Aryan language and turn it into a common language so that both Hindus and Muslims may understand each other. It is not a purely Muslim language as the modern champions of Hindustani would have us believe nor is it spoken or understood in Islamic countries. The Muslims who came to India spoke either Persian or Arabic. There was no reason why they should have adopted an entirely new language if it was not for the purpose of having a common language with the inhabitants of the country. Urdu is thus the *lingua franca* of Indiathe great binder of different peoples.

Urdu was built up by the contribution of both Hindus and Muslims. The former have done as much to make it the common language of the country as the latter. If we find, Khusrau, Ghalib, Mir and Akbar Allahabadi among the Muslim giants of Urdu literature, we have also Pandit Rattan Nath Sarshar and Pandit Daya Shanker Naseem from amongst the Hindus. Even among the living men there is no one who is more keen on preserving the Urdu language than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a great scholar of Urdu.

It is thus clear that Muslims far from being opposed to the evolution of a common language for the country were in fact the first to realise its necessity and have done their best to evolve one. Unfortunately, however, the communal tension, which made its first appearance in the country in the beginning of this century, also affected the question of language, and Urdu, which had so far been accepted as the *lingua franca* of the country, was dubbed as the language of the Muslims alone.

We may further point out that the Muslims, having decided to have Urdu as their mother tongue, took to the language in right earnest and their entire literature, including all branches of knowledge, has been built up in this language. As such they attach great importance to the preservation of Urdu as written in the Persian script and would stoutly resist all attempt to destroy it.

The question of language has drawn the attention of the Congress leaders a great deal and various pronouncements have been made by them. The interpretations given to the term Hindustani by these leaders not only vary a great deal but amply show that there is no unity of thought even among those who direct the policy of the Congress.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his letter to the Congress Premiers declared that so far as the problem of language and script was concerned, a controversy arose in the United Provinces and Bihar as far back as 1902.

As a consequence new meanings were attached to words which were previously used for the same language. The term Urdu was said to refer to that form of the Hindustani language which was written in the

person than a responsible Minister of Education is a Congress Government.

The contributions of writers and thinkers of all communities should build up the national language and culture of the country. But if an attempt is made to introduce text-books and use officially a language which represents only the ideas, thoughts and sentiments of a particular community, the mere use of the Persian script will not change the communal nature of the language.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the tyranny of the English language in the Harijan, said: "The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imported has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. The tyranny of English has been so great that even Sanskrit and Persian have to be learned through English. I know what time I took to learn arithmetic, geometry etc. I should have learnt them easily in one year if I had not to learn them through English but Gujrati and my grasp of the subjects would have been easier and clear. I would have made use of such knowledge in my home. The English medium created an unpassable barrier between me and the members of my family who had not gone to an English school. I was fast becoming a stranger to my own home.

We may point out that Muslim boys and girls will suffer from all these disabilities, which have been so vividly described by Mahatma Gandhi, if the present attempts of Congress Ministers to impart education to them in the vernaculars of the various provinces are discontinued. An overwhelming majority of Muslims of India speak and read Urdu and that is their mother tongue. The Muslims of these minority provinces further point out that if their children are forced to receive education through the medium of a vernacular which is not their mother tongue, not only cultural degeneration will set in among them but they will also be placed at a disadvantage in competition with the boys of other communities, who are fortunate enough to receive their education in their own mother tongue.

The Muslims in Orissa and Maharatti speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berar look with alarm at the proposal of introducing Oriya and Maharatti as medium of instruction without including Urdu as one of the media. They point out that a Muslim will have to learn Oriya, Maharatti or any other vernacular, as the case may be, in addition to English and Urdu, his own mother tongue. Complaints were also made to us of the unwillingness of Government and local bodies to open Urdu schools where the number of Muslim boys of school-going age justified the existence of such schools. In Malabar of the 73 schools declared uneconomic by the Standing Committee of the District Board and recommended for abolition, 58 are Moplah Muslim schools. Moreover most of the special facilities

literature in both Hindi and Urdu in which increasing use of Sanskrit and Arabic and Persian words has been made by the writers of Hindi and Urdu respectively. This the Maulana's definition has no application to the language as written and spoken to-day. In fact, Hindustani is actually a non-existent language. It only exists in the minds of the Congress leaders. The living languages are Urdu and Hindi. The mere fact that a book, which is full of Sanskrit words, is published in Persian script does not make it any more intelligible to Muslims than if it were published in Deva Nagri script.

We are surprised at the supporters of Sanskrit advocating the use of a dead language, as no doubt Sanskrit, is, for supplying technical and scientific terms to the future common language of the country. Mahatma Gandhi seems to disagree with the definition of Hindustani provided by Maulana Azad, who thinks that the difference between Urdu and Hindi is only that of script and the two are really one. Further, if the question of script was not taken into account both languages would become Hindustani. The Mahatma, on the other hand, points out that Urdu and Hindi should be regarded as feeders for Hindustani, which is to supplement and not to supplant the provincial languages. Moreover, we doubt if his instructions about the use of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian words according to the varying circumstances would be conducive to the evolution of a *lingua franca*. We think that such a language, if it is evolved at all, would fail to serve the very purpose for which it is meant. It will fail to bring the various people of India together by the ties of a common language.

Another subject allied with the question of common language, is the question of classical literature. The speech of the Minister of Education, Bihar, throws ample light on the subject. Opening the proceedings of the Text-Book Committee, he declared that the soul of India was awakened once again and was crying for self-expression, self-realisation and self-fulfilment. He added that she would achieve none of these until she found the mould and channel, the medium and setting, the tradition and background in which Kabir, Rahman, Nanak and Tulsidas thought and taught and sang and prayed. We need hardly point out how narrow and one-sided a view of Indian cultural background has been taken by the Minister of Education. He forgets the very existence of Khusrau, Ghalib and Mir and the part played by them in moulding the culture of the country. We are further at a loss to understand how the temporal character of education is to be maintained with the inclusion of prayers. The foregoing remarks of the Minister give us an indication of what the cultural background is going to be and the wide gulf that separates the innocent looking resolution passed by the Congress and the actual practice enunciated by no less a

person than a responsible Minister of Education is a Congress Government.

The contributions of writers and thinkers of all communities should build up the national language and culture of the country. But if an attempt is made to introduced text-books and use officially a language which represents only the ideas, thoughts and sentiments of a particular community, the mere use of the Persian script will not change the communal nature of the language.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the tyranny of the English language in the Harijan, said: "The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imported has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. The tyranny of English has been so great that even Sanskrit and Persian have to be learnt through English. I know what time I took to learn arithmetic, geometry, etc. I should have learnt them easily in one year if I had not to learn them through English but Gujrati and my grasp of the subjects would have been easier and clear. I would have made use of such knowledge in my home. The English medium created an unpassable barrier between me and the members of my family who had not gone to an English school. I was fast becoming a stranger to my own home.

We may point out that Muslim boys and girls will suffer from all these disabilities, which have been so vividly described by Mahatma Gandhi, if the present attempts of Congress Ministers to impart education to them in the vernaculars of the various provinces are continued. An overwhelming majority of Muslims of India speak and read Urdu and that is their mothers tongue. The Muslims of these minority provinces further point out that if their children are forced to receive education through the medium of a vernacular which is not their mother tongue, not only cultural degeneration will set in among them but they will also be placed at a disadvantage in competition with the boys of other communities, who are fortunate enough to receive their education in their own mother tongue.

The Muslims in Orissa and Maharatti speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berar look with alarm at the proposal of introducing Oriya and Maharatti as medium of instruction without including Urdu as one of the media. They point out that a Muslim will have to learn Oriya, Maharatti or any other varnacular, as the case may be, in addition to English and Urdu, his own mother tongue. Complaints were also made to us of the unwillingness of Government and local bodies to open Urdu schools where the number of Muslim boys of school-going age justified the existence of such schools. In Malabar of the 73 schools declared uneconomic by the Standing Committee of the District Board and recommended for abolition, 58 are Moplah Muslim school. Moreover most of the special facilities

university, two technical high schools, and academy of music, 90 secondary schools (55 gymnasia, 22 "Realishuler and 13 girls" schools), 14 training colleges, 629 commercial and agricultural schools, 430 higher and 3,363 lower primary schools, and 501 kindergartens.

When a small country like Switzerland can afford to impart education in three languages, surely more than one language can be taught in an Indian province. In Switzerland while arrangements are made to impart education in the mother tongue of the children, the Muslims in India are deprived of this benefit because of the unwillingness of Governments and local bodies to make adequate arrangements. The demands of the Muslims are treated light-heartedly and they are accused of communalism. All this is happening in spite of the constant reiteration of the Karachi minorities resolution by responsible Congress leaders. In view of these facts we are constrained to remark that the Congress High Command is not able to enforce its declared policy in the Congress-government provinces, at least so far as the welfare of the Muslims is concerned.

provided to the Moplahs by the previous government to encourage education among them have been withdrawn by the Congress Government. Then districts like Saugor and Mandla in C. P. with a substantial Muslim population have no Urdu school. In Hinganghat Middle School all teaching is done in Maharatti both in primary and upper classes. Applications written in Urdu are rejected by the municipal boards in the Central Provinces and Berar. Then the text-books prescribed at present for study deal exclusively with the glories of Hindu divinities and Hindu heroes and saints and contain no reference to the cultural or social achievements of the Muslims or to any historic names held in veneration by them. The grievance of the Muslims is not that these text-books deal with Hindu heroes or Hindu great men, but that they do not speak of the Muslims at all. This is not a way to evolve a single nationality build up a common culture.

Then in Bihar, although the use of Urdu script is allowed, the courts usually insist on presentation of a copy written in the Hindi script. In the Legislative Assembly of C. P. and Berar the speeches of members who speak in Urdu are reported either in Hindi script or only a summary of their speeches is reported in English.

The foregoing are some of the examples of the methods employed to suppress Urdu in provinces where the Congress is in power.

It may not be out of place here to state briefly certain principles which have been applied to the solution of the language problem in Switzerland. Out of a total population of about three millions there are about 7,00,000 French, about 2,00,000 Italians and the rest Germans. There are 22 cantons of which only three are fully French-speaking, three-half French and half German-speaking and one is Italian-speaking and 15 are German-speaking cantons. The Italians do not form more than six per cent. of the total population, yet the Italian-speaking minority has got the same facilities for receiving education, and shares all the advantages with the rest of the population. In Locarno separate arrangements are made for teaching French and German in primary schools. In the canton of Fribourg there are two sets of schools to impart education, one in German and the other in French.

We may further point out the rights the minority enjoyed in Czechoslovakia before the occupation of the Sudetanland by Germany and in spite of that they complained of the lack of an autonomous German section in the Ministry of Education. The complete complaint, which they formulated regarding the inadequate building and subsidy in the German University and the erection of the so-called minority schools, and the closing down of German primary and technical school between 1931 and 1935, forms an interesting reading.

In the field of education the Sudetan German possessed their own

PART III—DETAILS OF MUSLIMS' GIREVANCES

BIHAR

In Bihar the deplorable effects of the Congress to force its politics on the younger generation together with its distinctly communal tendencies have given the greatest set-back to the national cause, which it professes to espouse, by driving the Hindu and Muslim students into the opposing camps. The attempts to hoist the Congress flag on all institutions and to introduce the Bande Matram song has had disastrous results on the relations between the students of the two communities, who had so far lived in harmonious co-operations.

It may be argued that the Government orders were meant simply to lift the ban on the song and the hoisting of the Congress flag but the Government cannot be unaware of the fact that, in spite of the optional nature of its circular, teachers and those responsible for the management of schools have been encouraged to ignore the feelings of the Muslims and they lose no opportunity of offending Muslim sentiments.

In a letter sent by the Muslim students to the Prime Minister the following incidents were enumerated:

The Congress flag was hoisted and Bande Matram sung on the formation of the Congress Ministry.

Both the hoisting of the flag and the singing of the Bande Matram were repeated on Independence Day and the Muslim students were persuaded to take part in the functions on the false promise that neither of these things would take place.

This was again repeated on the prize Distribution Day.

As to how the atmosphere in the educational institutions has been vitiated by over-zealous schoolmasters will be apparent from a statement of Syed Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, a former Minister:

“Muslim students sincerely and whole-heartedly intended to participate in the meeting convened to inaugurate the scheme for mass literacy. They joined the procession on the assurance by some teachers and headmaster that no flag of political significance would be carried, no political slogan raised and no political song would be sung on this occasion, which was purely of an educational character and was of common interest to all classes of people irrespective of religion or political creed.

prepared to do so. The Government have not taken any notice of the most legitimate demands of the Muslims with the result that the Muslims have boycotted the Municipal elections. They have further decided to boycott the elections of the District Boards.

COW PROTECTION

Various methods are employed to stop the slaughter of cows. We have received information that butchers, while returning with cattle from market places, have been assaulted. For instance, a few butchers were bringing cattle from village Kali, Sub-Division Jehanabad. They were attacked by Hindus at village Durmi in the Sadar Sub-Division District Patna, and one of them was severely wounded with a spear and was admitted into hospital.

In some of the Municipal towns licences for selling beef in particular quarters, where they used to sell it before, have been cancelled. In some places licences are not at all granted to butchers to carry on their trade. For instance, at Hatipur, a sub-division in the District of Muzaffarpur, such licences have of late been withheld.

The Muslims have repeatedly complained that orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. have been promulgated with a view to deprive them of their civil rights and religious liberties. In a statement issued by the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League it has been shown how the Muslims suffer under a sense of injustice in that province. The working Committee reviews some of the actions and the policy of the Local Government and their officials in respect of certain rights of the Muslims in Bihar. The Committee feels that the present Government has far surpassed the foreign bureaucratic rule in attempting to deprive the Muslims of their most important religious and civil rights. It is a national tragedy, says the Committee, that the Muslims feel so unsafe under provincial autonomy. It has been held by various courts, including the Privy Council, that the Muslims have a legal and religious right to sacrifice cows. Such being the legal aspect of this rights, the treatment meted out to the Muslims of Manjhaul, District Bhagalpur, stands out as a conspicuous example of Congress high-handedness. Manjhaul consists of 300 to 400 Muslim houses only. The inhabitants of the village assert that from time immemorial they have performed cow sacrifice in the village on Bakr-Id days and showed the representatives of the Muslim League receipts of sales of cow hides tallying with the Bakr-Id festivals of previous years. The Hindus of the surrounding villages reported to the Sub-divisional Officer, Madhipur, that no cow sacrifice ever took place in the said village, on which the Officer issued a notice against twelve persons under section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting them from sacrificing cows. The Muslims sent telegrams of protest to the Bihar Premier and the District Magistrate, on which the

This assurance, however, came to be broken no sooner than it was given, as some Hindu students began to unfurl Congress flags and shout Bande Matram, which caused the Muslim students to say Allah-o-Akbar. By the time the procession arrived at the Science College, excitement became intense and violence broke out.

At least two Muslim students received injuries with a sharp cutting weapon. I myself saw when I arrived on the balcony where some leading ladies and gentlemen were seated, a Muslim lad of about fourteen years of age standing near Dr. Syed Mahmud with blood oozing from his neck. The boy stated that he had been hit with a kirpan by a Sikh. His brother, Mannan, was protesting in a state of great excitement against the assault upon Muslim students. Neither of them came to the meeting armed with any weapon nor did they intend to cause any disturbance."

The Muslim students of T. K. Ghosh's Academy, Patna, went on strike following the expulsion of six students in connection with the agitation regarding the song Bande Matram. The unfortunate young men who were expelled found it impossible to get admission into any other institution. The Muslims of Patna have been forced to open a separate school.

The questions of Bande Matram and the hoisting of the Congress flag in school have become very serious. There has been some trouble over this issue in the Ram Mohan Seminary at Bankipore and other schools in the province. There was also some trouble on the occasion of the launching of the campaign for the removal of illiteracy over Bande Matram between Muslim and Hindu students. This has already been described in the statement of Syed Abdul Aziz. As long as a solution is not reached it will be a perpetual source of friction between the two communities.

LOCAL BODIES

Under the system of joint electorate the type of Muslims that are returned to the local bodies do not truly represent Muslim interests and do not enjoy the confidence of their community. A resolution was passed by the Provincial Muslim League of Bihar urging the boycott of elections to the local bodies. That the Muslims are determined to make the resolution effective is proved by the success of the boycott of Municipal elections at Motihari, Darbhanga, Samastipur, Katihar and other places.

There is a good deal of agitation against joint electorate in the local bodies as the Muslims had no chance of being returned unless they had the support of the Congress, which they could not expect unless they joined the Congress and the Muslims at present are not

Further, the principle of non-violence, which proved so successful a weapon in fighting the British bureaucracy, was now to be used for depriving the minority of their just rights. When cow sacrifice takes place in-side houses with due precaution and without any advertisement the establishment of a customary right by producing impartial witnesses becomes an impossibility. We think that the chance of breaches of peace will, on the contrary, increase by such a policy. The object of those who want to put a stop to cow sacrifice would be achieved by creating such circumstances which are likely to lead to a breach of peace even in places where Muslims and Hindus have hitherto lived peacefully. Generally, when it is known that a certain community is taking the law in its own hands, the Government should promulgate order under section 144, Cr. P. C. to stop such high-handedness and not to stop the performance of the accepted religious duty of the aggrieved community.

It may be further observed that when in this particular case it was admitted that the Muslims had a right of cow sacrifice on one particular day and it did not hurt anybody's religious susceptibilities on that particular day, how could it do on other days. If the residents of one village can perform their civil rights at a particular spot and without exception being taken to it what justification can there be if others come and join them.

These facts lead us to think that the orders issued under section 144 Cr. P. C. were not likely to establish friendly relations between the two communities or inspire confidence in the Government.

SUPPRESSION OF LANGUAGE

Replying to a question in the Bihar Legislative Assembly regarding the use of script in all courts, the Premier said that the procedure in the civil and criminal courts was governed by the Government notification dated June 1, 1937, on the subject of court language, but not in the revenue courts. Government had permitted Urdu script in revenue courts but the manner in which it was to be enforced was under examination.

Although Urdu is allowed in courts as one of the optional languages, it is always discouraged by the presiding officers and the clerks. If documents, statements and petitions are filed in Urdu, Hindi copies of the same are generally required by the courts. The officials have got to pass a departmental examination in Hindi but no such departmental examination is held in Urdu.

GENERAL POLICY OF GOVERNMENT

As regards the general policy of the Bihar Congress Government we cannot do better than reproduce relevant portions of the resolution

Hindus of the neighbouring villages, numbering from 10,000 to 15,000 surrounded the village armed with deadly weapons. Getting wind of this the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police along with a posse of armed constables reached the spot and on their assurance that they would allow no cow sacrifice the Hindus dispersed. On their way back they set fire to sugarcane fields and destroyed wheat crops belonging to the Muslims.

In these circumstances Muslims would have to decide soon whether they should migrate from this province or face annihilation if the present state of constant conflict with a section of Hindus and perpetual anxiety and insecurity, suffering and humiliation continue. The question also formed the subject matter of an adjournment motion in the Bihar Legislative Assembly.

The mover, Mr. Ali Manzar, pointed out that the one great source of all communal trouble had been the unsettled, indefinite, vague and wasscillating policy of the Congress Government in matters of cow slaughter and music before mosques. He maintained that the Muslims had the right to slaughter cows irrespective of customs, provided it was done with reasonable precaution. Another Muslim speaker complained that the order under section 144 Cr. P. C. was promulgated against Muslims only. The policy adopted and action taken by the Bihar Government in extending the period of notice under section 144 Cr. P. C. was unprecedented in the whole country as the special power to extend the period to six months under special Government notification has never been adopted by any Government in the past.

Kunwar Kalika Prasad Sinha narrating the history of the case said that "It was admitted that the villege of Amin had the customary right of cow slaughter. The dispute was whether the Muslims had the right of cow slaughter on Bakr-Id days alone or could they slaughter on other days also".

Another speaker stressed the fact that non-violence was a fundamental principle of the Congress and promulgation of section 144 Cr. P. C. to avoid violence was thoroughly justified.

The promulgation of the order under section 144 Cr. P. C. and the grounds given by the Government for its extension that the Muslims may have an opportunity of getting their rights declared by a civil court amply show that the Congress Governments have no definite policy. The residents of Zahidabad, Gorakhpur, U. P. had obtained a declaratory decree from the civil court in their favour but the district authorities stopped the cow sacrifice on the Bark-Id day by an order under section 144 Cr. P. C. on the ground that such sacrifice would lead to a breach of peace. In Bihar the Congress Government issued similar orders on the pretext of giving the Muslims a chance to secure a civil court decree but the idea behind both orders was to prevent Muslims from sacrificing cows.

that they proposed to kill cows openly or that it was a nuisance in the eyes of some people, and so on.

Present Anomalies and Irregularities:

In the first place it is not difficult for any impartial and reasonable person to see that when a cow is killed inside a house or in an enclosed or secluded place without informing the Hindus the custom cannot be proved by any evidence except that of Muslims concerned. But curiously enough little or no weight is attached to the claim and evidence of the Muslims.

Secondly, if in any case a report of the sacrifice is made to the Thana (police station) of the locality, those making the report and the recorders of the report, in a vast majority of cases, are Hindus and it is not in their interest, on communal and other grounds, to keep correct and full information on the subject.

Thirdly, if a report is made and recorded it is one-sided and made behind the back of the Muslims concerned.

Right Irrespective of Custom:

Fourthly, sacrifice of a cow has been prevented even where documentary evidence of custom kept at the Thana has been found. And above all, the rights of the Muslims to slaughter cows, buy or sell beef is irrespective of any custom and can be exercised as any other religious or civic right.

These invented grounds are being urged more widely than ever before. Some of the Municipalities, dominated and run by the majority community and the Congress party, are preventing the Muslims in the exercise of their old and legitimate trade, namely, to sell beef, or even mutton at a shop. This is being done either by executive orders and by threats of violence from riotous mobs who are treated as arbiters in the matters of the Muslims minority.

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League views with alarm the situation created by the Government and is surprised at their reply to Mr. Ali Manzar's adjournment motion in the Bihar Legislative Assembly on the 25th June that the Muslims of Amin in the District of Monghyr should go to a civil court to prove their custom to kill cows for domestic consumption on ordinary days and that the Government will then consider whether the rights, if so established, should be recognised by them or not.

It has already been held by various courts, including the highest tribunal (the Privy Council) in a number of cases, that the Muslims have a religious and civic right to sacrifice or kill cows for beef without seeking to derive authority from any custom. And above all, the

Muslims cannot allow any of their religious rights to be made dependent on custom or a decision of any court. Their right to sacrifice cows is based on their scripture (Qur'an) and no authority can be recognised by them as higher than, or equal to, this book in religious matters.

Congress Punishing Muslims :

“This meeting condemns the action of the Government in punishing and humillating the Muslims of Meghwan, Majhaul, Amin and other places, who only wanted to exercise a well-recognised right and in allowing the Hindus to go free, though they had formed riotous and unlawful assemblies and had caused considerable damage to the property of the Muslims maliciously. The policy and action of the Government and some of their officials have had the effect of encouraging a section of Hindus to take the Law in their own hands and prove the triumph of brute force and unlawful acts over justice and reason.

Outrageous and Unworthy of State :

It would be an outrageous policy, unworthy of any Government, to prevent a person or party from exercising his just rights on the ground that another party, who may happen to be in the majority, objects to the exercise of that right and, therefore, the weaker or the party in the minority must be deprived of their right in the name of the law and order. Muslims have been enjoined by their religion to prevent idol worship and other idolatrous practices. Will the Government abolish or restrict idol-worship and prohibit public exhibition of idols in processions in the name of law and order, if some Muslims object to it or form an unlawful assembly to secure their object?

In the interest of the Hindus and Muslims and in the name of toleration and good administration, it is necessary to demand from the Government a clear and definite statement of their policy on the question of killing cows. Do they intend to deprive the Muslims of their rights gradually and expose them to attacks or do they propose to perform their duties of protecting the weak firmly and effectively? Are they afraid to do the right or will they admit their incapacity to do it?

Will Muslims Migrate from Bihar:

Muslims will have to decide soon whether they should migrate from this province or face annihilation if the present state of constant conflicts with a section of Hindus and perpetual anxiety, insecurity, sufferings and humiliations continue owing to the present policy of the Government.

If this course is impracticable and undesirable they may in a body adopt another course to settle the vexed question once for all. It is perhaps useless to remind the Congress Party of their profession in the past and resolutions adopted at Karachi and other places since they appear to have been made without the intention of fulfilling them. If the Government wish to see the Hindus and the Muslims involved more deeply and widely into a disastrous quarrel of a character the Government might go on pursuing the policy they have adopted instead of preaching and practising and enforcing absolute toleration in matters of religious or sentimental differences between the two communities and punishing and restraining only the aggressors and opponents of a right effectively and compensating the weak and the aggrieved."

COMMUNAL RIOTS

Muslims in Bihar are mostly concentrated in the towns, only a very small minority being in the rural areas. But those that live in the villages are in constant dread of the Hindu majority and events have fully established that their anxieties and fears are neither unfounded nor unreal. There used to be communal outbreaks in the past but since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy these have increased greatly in number.

Tilkori:

At Tilkori, a village in district Hazaripur, where out of a population of 2,000 only 30 are Muslims (male adults being only 17) a riot occurred on April 24, 1938. A Muslim of the village was giving a wedding dinner to his co-religionists and was, for that purpose, preparing beef in his house. A number of Hindus of the village came to his house and charged him with killing a cow and demanded the head and skin of the animal alleged to have been slaughtered. The Muslim tried to assure the Hindus that the beef had been brought from a neighbouring village but the Hindus, refusing to accept this statement as true forcibly entered the zenana quarters of the Muslim house, dragged him out and belaboured him. Two Muslims of the village were beaten and, helpless as they were, the mouth of living pig was inserted into their mouths, an action highly shocking to Muslim sentiment. Four of the injured Muslims were sent to hospital. A report of the incident was made to the police by the village Chowkidar but until the arrival of the police Hindu lawlessness continued and even the police were able to restore order with some difficulty.

This incident, serious though it was, failed to attract the immediate attention either of the Government or the Congress. Atrocities bordering on Nazi terrorism had been perpetrated on a microscopic minority

in a village and the Congress remained unmoved. Compare this with the prompt notice taken both the Congress and the Government of a minor quarrel between a local zamindar and a Congress worker about a month before this riot in an adjoining village. Protest meetings were held and a huge demonstration was organised by local Congress workers. Even the Government sent one of their Parliamentary Secretaries post-haste to make inquiries on the spot.

Since the report was written the case has been decided. The Magistrate was disinclined to believe the story of the mouth of a living pig being inserted into the mouth of Muslims.

Bhagalpur:

As regards the Bhagalpur riots, Mr. M. A. Mannan, General Secretary of the Bhagalpur District Muslim League, wrote a lengthy letter in the *Advance*, Calcutta, and dealt with the situation in this district. We reproduce a paragraph from his letter here:

"It has now been well established beyond any doubt by statements issued from time to time by Molvi Abdul Hameed Rasumi (Congress), Assistant Secretary of the Muslim Mass Contact Sub-Committee, Bhagalpur, Mr. Qasim Husain, B. L., Congress Municipal Commissioner and zamindar, Mr. Nameel Ahmad Khan, B. L., Pleader and Congress Municipal Commissioner, Maulana Minnatullah Sahib, an Independent Party M. L. A., and no less a person than Maulana Ahmad Saeed Khan, a great supporter of the Congress and President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind that the Hindu Mahasabhaites and Congressmen of Bhagalpur entered into an unholy alliance with each other and were thus making preparations fomenting agitation against Muslims three months previous to the day of the actual riots in Bhagalpur."

So far we have received no information of any disciplinary action being taken against the Congressmen responsible for creating communal trouble according to the Statements of responsible Muslim Congressmen. We have purposely abstained from giving the details of these riots which are only too well-known to the public to need repetition here.

Khairatia:

It was on December, 1, 1937, that Mr. Abdul Ghani, M. L. A. came to know of the riot at Khairatia village, Saran district. He immediately proceeded to the village and found that the houses of Muslims had been burnt and looted and several persons had been badly wounded. Some of the Muslims had fled to Seewan on the very

night of the occurrence. The Muslims were panic-stricken as no help was rendered to them. Mr. Abdul Ghani on his arrival rendered first aid to the injured men. The village is divided into two main parts of which the northern half is entirely populated with Hindus and the southern one mainly by Muslims. This Muslim quarter is a narrow strip of land extending over several hundred feet, but is very thinly populated and is surrounded on all sides by Hindu houses. Hindus were greatly annoyed with the Muslims since last Bkr-Id festival when the latter filed a civil suit for declaration of their civil right of cow sacrifice in the village. This appears to have enraged the Hindus of the locality.

According to our information, in November last some trouble arose when the sugarcane of one Muslim peasant was being cut. Hindus assembled near the field and a crowd of many thousands attacked the Muslims, who were overpowered. They fled for their lives and some of them took shelter in their houses and some in a mosque. The Hindu rioters, who came from neighbouring villages, started looting and setting fire to the Muslim houses. Even the mosque was not spared by the Hindu who attacked the Muslims there with spears, lathis and brick-bats. A number of Muslims were injured and many had spear wounds. Pools of blood were found inside the mosque and its outer verandah by Mr. Abdul Ghani when he visited the mosque which, too, was badly damaged by the rioters. A shop, which was started to meet the needs of the Muslims who had been boycotted by the Hindu shopkeepers of the village, was also looted and destroyed altogether.

It is regrettable that no help was rendered to these sufferers either by the Congress workers or by the Seeva Samiti volunteers. Though responsible Congress workers were seen returning from the village Lohganjar, the headquarters of the rioters, by Mr. Abdul Ghani, the next day after the occurrence, they did not bother to have a look at their Muslim brothers whom they so often ask to join the Congress on economic issue.

It is indeed shocking to describe in words the brutalities, tyrannies and oppression perpetrated upon the poor Muslims of this village. All utensils, clothes, agricultural implements, animals, grain and other necessities of life were either burnt and destroyed or taken away by the rioters. The women and children took shelter in the neighbouring sugarcane fields. The Muslims had no grain left in their houses and no clothes to protect them from the cold. Altogether 19 Muslims were injured while two Hindus received minor injuries. Most of the Muslims had to be removed to the Siwan Hospital and were laid up there for weeks.

When we visited the locality the case was pending in court so we refrain from giving our findings.

CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR

Since the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy Muslims in no other province have suffered so much as in the Central Provinces and Berar, where they form a very small minority and are poor and educationally backward.

The province is almost entirely agricultural but the number of Muslim agriculturists is very small. The Muslims are mostly workers in mills or Biri manufacturers.

In fourteen districts of the province Hindi is the commonly spoken language, while in the Berar and the greater part of the five districts which constitute the revenue division of Nagpur, Marathi is the predominant language. Muslims all over the province speak Urdu. Before Berar was transferred to British rule the court language of this province was Urdu.

BANDE MATRAM

Muslims from all parts of the province complain that the song *Bande Matram* is forced upon Muslim boys in Government schools and in those managed by Municipalities and other Local Bodies. Khan Sahab Abdur Rahman Khan, M. L. A., visited the Vidya Mandir Training College and found that Muslim boys were compelled to stand with folded hands when this song was sung.

The Premier has issued instructions that all officials should stand when *Bande Matram* is sung.

Khan Sahab Abdur Rahman Khan states in the *Star* dated July 10, 1938, that at the time of the presentation of a civic address to Mr. S. C. Bose at Nagpur when the song *Bande Matram* was being sung the Congress Premier himself asked the audience to stand up. He was himself subjected to ridicule and abuses by the Congress organ, *Samaj Sevak*, edited by the Secretary of the District Congress Committee, on having refused to stand at the time of the recital of *Bande Matram* at a meeting addressed by Mr. Gupta, a Congress Minister.

Maulvi Abdul Haq, in a letter to Mahatma Gandhi, published in the *New Times*, dated September 20, 1938, says: "The Indian National Congress makes so much of its promise to safeguard the language and cultural interests of the minorities. That being so, you will feel hocked to know what a representative of my Anjuman had to witness at the village school of Pandharna in the district of Chindwara. Before the days' work was begun in that school, the Muslim boys had to offer, with folded hands, along with the Hindu boys, parasthana before the image of the goddess Saraswati. It was found that the Muslim boys

Darbhanga:

Mr. Muslehuddin, Secretary of the District Muslim League, Lahiria arai, personally investigated into the following incidents and submitted to us the following report:

“At Maghwan, police station Benipatti, Madhubani, notices were served under section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting the Muslims from performing cow sacrifice on the occasion of Bakr-Id, which was being performed in the village since time immemorial. Those on whom the notices were served performed no sacrifice but others did. Cases against the latter are pending. As a protest against the statement of the Bihar Premier in the Legislative Assembly, during the pendency of the cases, that the Muslims of Maghwan sacrificed cows against custom, the accused persons have refused to defend themselves on the ground that the Premier's statement on the subjudice cases had entirely prejudiced their defence.”

Madhupur:

The Hindus of Madhupur boycotted the Muslims three months after the Bakr-Id to get an assurance from the Muslims that they would not perform any cow sacrifice in future. Arrangements were made by the Muslim League to help the Muslims. A mud bazaar was built by the League members of Ratwara and Maniarpur; and several respectable League members who had never before done any manual work, lent a hand in the building of the bazaar for Muslim shop-keepers.

A Hindu teacher removed the Muslim League flag from the school while allowed the Congress flag to remain there.

Siwar:

The Hindus prohibited the Muslims from calling the Azan. A case was filed in the court. Then the Congressmen built two paper figures, one representing a Hindu and the other a Muslim with a long beard and a Turkish cap. A person started striking the beard with a stick saying, “Pray to the Congress Pandit for relief otherwise you will be nowhere.” The police took immediate steps and an ugly situation was averted.

were not to wish each other in their usual Islamic way, but to say Namaste and Ramje-ki-Jai. I ask you is this safeguarding the interest of our language and culture?"

LOCAL BODIES

In the Central Provinces and Berar there are 83 Local Boards which are elected on the system of joint electorate without any reservation of seats. It is almost impossible for the Muslims to get themselves elected under the present system. Previous Government used to redress communal inequalities by means of nominations. But since the Congress has assumed the reins of Government, even this method does not help the Muslims, for nominations are made for party purposes and the interest of Muslims are ignored. The Muslims are thus much worse off than they were under the previous Government.

DEBT CONCILIATION BOARDS

The Government appoints practically for each Tahsil of the province a Debt Conciliation Board consisting of all non-official representatives of debtors and creditors. The only exceptions is the Chairman who is usually a Government servant. Prior to the assumption of office by the Congress there was not a single Board without at least one Muslim on it. But now under the Congress regime there are many such Boards without any Muslim representation. It may be added that the Muslims in this province are generally very poor and are largely in debt. The Muslim members on these Boards represented the interests of not only his community but also of debtors in general. The creditors are usually Marwaris and Brahmans who usually carry influence with the Congress.

It was further represented to us that friends and relations of the Ministers were appointed members of these Boards, while Muslims and Harijans were excluded.

COW PROTECTION

A notice was served by the Municipality of Jubbulpore imposing extra taxes and other restrictions on cattle dealers. A bill has been moved in the C. P. Legislative Assembly to amend the C. P. Slaughter of Animals Act. The Muslims complain that if the Amendment Bill is passed it will make impossible not only animal slaughter for commercial purposes but also for social and religious purposes. Under the cover of economic and sanitary grounds and in the name of protection of animals attempts are being made to put a stop to the slaughter of animals by means of legislation and municipal regulations.

Reports of organized efforts in the cattle markets preventing the sale of cattle to Muslims were also made to us. Khan Sahab Abdur

Rahman Khan has pointed out in the *Star* of July 10, 1938. "The majority of local bodies have put heavy restrictions and have levied prohibitive fees on the slaughter of animals, the most objectionable of them being those which were adopted in the regime of the Hon'ble Mr. D.P. Misra (now a Congress Minister) as Chairman of Jubbulpore Municipality. The bye-laws prepared by Mr. Misra were kept in abeyance on the interference of the C. P. Government and that of the Government of India but they were confirmed and brought into force on the very day on which the Congress Government accepted office and Mr. D. P. Misra assumed the charge of the Local Self-Government portfolio.

Mr. M. G. Chitnavis is the President of the C. P. Hindu Sabha and Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. He brought a Bill in the Provincial Assembly to prohibit cow and cattle slaughter throughout the Province. This is how the Bill was introduced. On December 10, 1937, the speaker at 1-15 p. m. asked whether there was going to be any motion. Mr. Chitnavis was absent. He attended the Assembly at 4 p. m. His motion for circulation was allowed even without asking for an explanation from him or inviting objections from the House.

SUPPRESSION OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The Muslims generally complain of want of Urdu schools even in districts as Saugor and Mandla where the number of Muslims is enough to justify the opening of such schools. In high schools the medium of instruction is Hindi or Marathi. It is reported that some Municipal Boards abolished Urdu classes, while one refused grant to a secondary Urdu schools. The Anjuman Islamia Press at Jubbulpore was supported by the old Government. An arrangement was made by which Government printing work was given to that press and the profits were utilised for the maintenance of the Anjuman Islamia High School. The Congress Government is now contemplating to change this arrangement without providing funds for the school.

No application in Urdu is entertained by Municipal Committees. Complaints are also made of the want of supervision in Urdu Primary schools.

Speeches delivered in Urdu in Assembly are reported in Hindi or short summary of them is given in English. When the speaker was approached and the questions were asked in the Assembly both the Speaker and the Premier expressed their inability to grant request for speeches being reported in Urdu.

The whole of the Betul district has been converted into a compulsory education area. The Government has provided for expenditure with the express condition that medium of instruction will be only

Hindi. Thus the whole population of districts is being systematically converted into a Hindi-speaking population.

The following is a quotation from the letter of the Speaker of the C. P. and Berar Assembly to K. S. Abdur Rahman :

“As to the point of Urdu being recognized as one of the vernaculars of the Assembly, the question involved is probably a matter for Government. As it must have Government recognition as a language of the province, the use of the script, of course, presents a difficulty which we all know.”

The Government admits that there is not a single Urdu school throughout the rural area of Saugor district, while there are only five Urdu schools in urban area. Five schools situated in a city cannot satisfy the education of the whole district. This is another district where the Muslims are converted into Hindi-speaking population at the cost of their language and culture.

We reproduce here a circular letter from the Chairman, Local Board, Chandwar, which is one of the glaring examples of the methods adopted by the local bodies under the Congress regime to systematically force Hindu culture and religion on Muslims in the minority provinces. The fact, that the Chairman of a Local Board asked the Head masters of Urdu schools (where Muslims are in overwhelming majorities) to have the worship of an image of Mahatma Gandhi as part of the birthday celebrations, shows how callous the Congress is of the religious sentiments of the Muslims whose religious rights are supposed to be safe in the Karachi Congress resolution on minority rights.

CIRCULAR

JAWAK No. 446.

Dated 24th September, 1938.

From

The Chairman, Local Board,
Chandwar.

The Headmaster of the Urdu School.....is informed that September 2 is the birthday of that great personality Mahatma Gandhi, who has given the message of truth and non-violence (Satya and Ahimsa) to the world. Therefore, celebrations in honour of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday should be held in all schools.

On that day from 8 to 9 in the morning all members of the School Managing Committee as also all other gentry of the village should be invited to the school. The picture of Mahatma Gandhi should be worshipped and his high ideals should be explained to the audience.

After this the meeting should be dispersed and I should be informed, by return post, of the celebrations in connection with Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

(Sd.) Khandey Rao Pando Rang Deshmukh,
Chairman, Local Board, Chandwar.

Viddia Mandir Scheme:

The word Mandir in common parlance means a place of idol worship. As such the very name goes against the grain of Islamic tenets and becomes repulsive to a Muslim. Knowing all this full well, it is surprising how the great champions of Indian nationalism, the Congress Ministers, could give such a communal and anti-Islamic name to a scheme of education which is meant for the children of all communities. According to the scheme:

"Every village or group of villages within a radius of a mile having no schools and where about 40 boys and girls of school-going age are available shall have a Viddia Mandir. In all Viddia Mandirs, education shall be through the medium of the mother-tongue. We shall have, therefore, Marathi Viddia Mandirs, Hindi Viddia Mandirs and Urdu Viddia Mandirs, according to the needs and circumstances of the residents of each place where Viddia Mandirs are founded."

In theory the scheme does not neglect Urdu but in actual practice

Urdu has been entirely extinguished. According to the scheme, the schools will be founded within a radius of one mile of 40 boys and girls of school-going age are available and the schools will be according to the needs and circumstances of the residents of each place.

In a province like Central Provinces, where the Muslims are only four per cent, of the total population, will it be possible to have Urdu Viddia Mandirs under the scheme?

It is stated on behalf of the scheme:

"The name is attractive in more ways than one. To 99 per cent. of the population in villages it will be a source of inspiration, and it is hoped that it will appeal to their generous and charitable minds."

Considering the proportion of the Muslim population in the rural areas it is clear from the above quotation that the scheme is meant for the benefit of the majority community only and the appeal to the generous and charitable minds of the 99 per cent. of the total population in village is purely of a communal nature.

The scheme has already been elaborately criticised and commented upon by eminent educationists like Maulana Abdul Haque and others, so there is no need for us to say anything further.

COMMUNAL TENDENCIES OF THE CONGRESS REGIME

Several instances were given to us to show the communal tendency of responsible Congressmen. It was pointed out that one of the Ministers presided over a gathering held in honour of the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. Further, it was pointed out that the Congress Government had provided a huge sum of money for the Hanuman Akhara, which is the training ground for the Mahasabha. At a conference held under the presidentship of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and attended by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru a huge decorative arch was put up in the name of Mr. Savarkar, the Mahasabha President.

The Central Provinces Congress Committee according to Mr. Abdur Rahman's statement, had issued instructions that while a Hindu could enlist himself as a member of the Mahasabha and the Congress at one and the same time, no Muslim could become a member both of the Muslim League and the Congress.

Mr. Savarkar was presented with civic addresses at Khamgaon, Darwha, Yeotmal, Nagpur, Akola, where Congressmen took an active part in the functions. Prominent and leading Congressmen also addressed reception meetings held in honour of Mr. Savarkar. The Hon'ble Mr. R. M. Deshmukh, a Congress Minister, presided over a reception given to Mr. Savarkar at Nagpur. A decorative arch was

erected and named after Mr. Savarkar at Shendurjana where the Berar Congress Committee held a Congress conference under the presidency of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and which was attended by no less a person than the then Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Prime Minister has admitted that individual Congressmen attended the meetings addressed by Mr. Savarkar. This does prove that Mr. Savarkar still attracts the Congress people in the C. P. and Berar.

UNDUE INFLUENCE ON MUSLIMS

In the village Rehli, Saugor district, it was pointed out to us that Muslim labourers were turned out by their Hindu employers because they had voted for the Muslim League candidate in the Assembly bye-election. The poor men had to migrate to the city and elsewhere to seek their livelihood.

It was also represented to us that a sum of Rs. 500 used to be paid to the Mohammad Ali Seraj but since the Congress came into power the amount has been stopped and a resolution passed transferring the amount to the Shradhanand Asthan.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

A resolution was moved by Mr. N. P. Misra in the C. P. and Berar Legislative Assembly recommending to the Government to institute an inquiry into the causes that led to the disturbances at Jubbulpore during the last Dassehra festival. Khan Sahab Abdur Rahman Khan wanted to propose an amendment which wanted to extend the inquiry to the general causes of communal dissensions in the province. It was ruled that the amendment was not within the scope of the resolution. The Prime Minister gave an assurance that he would personally make an inquiry. The Hon'able Member representing the Anglo-Indian community thought that an inquiry as to why a certain trouble arose in Jubbulpore was almost futile. There were deeper causes underlying the communal troubles than just isolated outbreaks here and there.

The motion was adopted and the inquiry was held by the Hon'ble the Premier. Up to the time of our visit to the province the findings of the inquiry were not available. Speaking on the Holi riot, Mr. V. R. Kalapa, a non-Muslim, in his speech remarked that a riot had taken place five months before, but the same officials continued to remain in charge of Jubbulpore, though they had failed to manage a similar situation. Mr. A. N. Haq thought that it was no use hiding the fact that there was a feeling among the members of the majority community that the Congress Government meant Hindu Raj.

The C. P. Premier thought that certain persons wanted to seek notoriety by creating communal discord.

Later an adjournment motion was moved. M. Iftikhar Ali said

that the Moharram procession was boycotted by Hindus. There had never been any communal disturbance on that occasion. Notices were served under section 107 Cr. P. C. against a number of Muslims. Stones were thrown on the Muslim procession. Reports were made to the police and the Muslim maintained peace. Two or three persons were seen throwing stones. One of them was a resident of a distant mohalla. That shows what the man was there for. In spite of the fact that the Moharram processionists had mashals and lathis and were repeatedly provoked, they maintained a peaceful attitude. In one case the head of a pig was thrown on a tazia and yet the Muslims did not retaliate.

Mr. Iftikhar Ali further reminded the House that only one incident of alleged stone-throwing at the last Dassehra festival had created a riot which lasted for more than a week. The Holi procession was arranged, according to the Speaker, in a manner in which it had never been arranged before. Hitherto the Holi procession used to move in particular mohallas only and then dispersed. This year the procession was taken from one end of the town to the other.

Mr. Hardas (Depressed Class) took the view that the inquiry to the causes of Hindu-Muslim dispute might involve the examination of some responsible members of the Congress Party. According to his view, the Muslims sought the protection of his Excellency the Governor and not of the Ministers because they had no confidence in them. The Speaker also referred to the dispute over the proposed regulation regarding registration of marriages in the Jubbulpore Municipality. He, therefore, appealed that the inquiry may not be under taken. He added that the first inquiry had remained incomplete.

We do not propose to give details of atrocities committed. We shall confine ourselves to some general observations. We are inclined to agree with the observation made by the Rev. Rogers, the representative of the Anglo-Indian Community, during the debate that took place on the appointment of an inquiry committee in connection with the riots, that "the causes lie deeper". We are inclined to think that the general policy of the Government has not been conducive to the creation of a peaceful atmosphere. Stone-throwing may incidentally lead to a riot and the riot may be attributed to that fact, but where previous arrangements are made by any party they should naturally lead to the conclusion that riots are pre-arranged.

Before we conclude we may add that cases against all those arrested and charged with rioting in Jubbulpore have been withdrawn by the prosecution. The Muslims have strongly protested against this action of the Congress Government. It is action like this that leads to more communal tension and makes Muslims lose confidence in the government of the day.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

One of the handicaps under which Muslim minorities in the provinces labour is the provision in the Legislative Assembly Rules fixing the minimum number of members who must stand up to support adjournment motions before the House grants leave. In Bombay, the minimum necessary is 36, while there are only 30 Muslim members in the Legislative Assembly. Thus even if all the Muslim members join hands they cannot provide the requisite number for an adjournment motion. Most of the grievances of the Muslims of these minority provinces, specially those of Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, Orissa, Bihar and Bombay cannot, therefore, be ventilated on the floor of the Assemblies.

Since the Congress Government came into power injustices have been done to the Muslims but very few of them could be discussed in the Assembly due to the provisions in the Assembly Rules.

The Congress Government has issued orders to the District officials to consult the Presidents of the local Congress Committees regarding (1) the nomination to the local Bodies and Municipalities, (2) the allocation of seats on different bodies. No such orders have been issued about consulting the Muslim League officials, with the result that most of the nominations go to such Muslims who are definitely hostile to the League and, further, they are willing to subordinate the interests of the Muslim community to those of the Congress and the Hindu Community.

Then there have been many instances in which a Government official, who refused to be intimidated by the majority and upheld the just rights of the Muslims, has been victimised by being transferred. There is an Idgha at Rander in the Surat district. The waste land adjoining it belongs to the Government and was, until recently, used as a stand for vehicles during the Id festival. This land was also utilised by the peasants for storing their crops after cutting them. The Hindu peasants applied to the Government for permission to fence this land and thus prevent the Muslims from its use during the Id day. The Deputy Collector in charge of the Pargana, Mr. Suleman K. Desai, refused to grant this permission. His decision was upheld by the higher revenue authorities on appeal and the Collector cancelled the permission for the land's use for harvesting. The Hindus filed a suit against the Government and the then Government filed a written statement denying the right of the Hindus and decided to contest the suit. When the Congress Government came into power, the Revenue Minister admitted the claim of the Hindus and allowed

them to fence the land. Mr. Desai was transferred from the district to Sholapur.

Then the European Superintendent of Police, Khaira district, who removed the wreath of leaves tied across the road to prevent the passing of the tazia procession by the Hindus of the Vehra village, was replaced by a Hindu officer soon after the incident.

BANDE MATRAM

The School Boards of the local bodies in the Presidency have issued circulars ordering that the day's work in all schools should begin with the singing of the Bande Matram. The school Board of the Ahmedabad District Board issued one such circular, which led to a protest by the Muslims of the district but they did not get any redress. Then, on October 2, 1938, the Ahmedabad Municipality arranged celebrations in honour of Mahatma Gandhi's 70th Birthday. All teachers and pupils of the municipal schools, including Muslims, attended the celebration which began with the singing of the Bande Matram. Moreover, all the students were asked to wear Gandhi caps on the occasion and to join in the singing of the song. Other such instances were brought to our notice but we have purposely refrained from incorporating them in this report.

LOCAL BODIES

The Congress Government has abolished the system of nomination to the local bodies. The Muslim League members in the Assembly too supported this decision of the Government. Unfortunately, however, the redistribution of seats in the various local boards has affected the minorities adversely. In boards where the Muslims had four seats in a total of 40 they have now been given only three out of 50 seats.

Then the seven wards of the Bombay Municipal Corporation have been divided into 19 wards. It may be added that this is the only municipality where there is joint electorate. Under the old system the Muslims used to get an average of 26 to 27 seats in a house of 114. But now as the result of the sub-division of the wards the Muslims would only be able to return 18 or 19 members. This is not our or the Bombay Muslims' estimates but that of the Congress Minister of Local Self-Government. It is thus clear that the re-distribution of the wards is designed to cut down the number of Muslim seats. Muslims have been thrown in such minorities in different wards as to make them ineffective at the time of election.

Then the old City of Bombay Act provided that four seats on the Schools Committee of the Bombay Municipal Corporation should be reserved for Muslims. This representation of the Muslims was necessary as they have their special educational problems. Under the

new Act even this reservation of seats has disappeared with the result that the Muslims would hardly be able to secure more than one or two seats on this committee. This would also adversely affect the Urdu Schools under the Corporation.

IDENTICAL INTERESTS WITH MAHASABHA

The English School at Makhjan, Taluqa Sangmeshwar, district Ratnagri, gets a grant from the Education Department of the Provincial Government. It opened a lathi Sangh in 1935 for physical Education and affiliated this Sangh to the Hindu Sabha at Nagpur. A condition for admission to this Sangh is that all pupils who want to join it should be members of the Hindu community. The Muslim students thus cannot get any benefit out of the Sangh, which is supported by public money. No separate arrangement has been made for the physical training of the Muslim students of this school.

SWARAJ EQUAL TO RAM RAJ

Before the Congress took over the Government of the province, there was a provision in the budget of the interim Ministry for grant of scholarships to Muslim students as the Muslims are backward in secondary education. The Congress Cabinet cancelled this provision in the budget. This is one of the examples of how much the Congress cares for the educational advancement of the Muslims.

SUPPRESSION OF URDU PRESS

It was represented to us by the Bombay Provincial Muslim League that at the time of communal troubles in March last some Muslim papers were singled out for securities under Section 114 Cr. P. C. and they were ordered to show their news relating to the riots to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, before publication while no action was taken against papers edited and owned by Hindus in spite of the fact that allegations of fomenting communal feelings were made against them.

There are very few Muslim papers in the province and their financial position is not very sound. Three papers, two Urdu and one Gujrati, are published from Bombay, One weekly is published from Ahmedabad, and one from Surat. These new papers used to get advertisements from the previous Government but these have been stopped by the Congress Government. Since the Deen, Kalapur Panchpatty, took up the cause of the Muslim League, it has ceased to get Government or Municipal advertisement. Similarly the Muslims Gujrati has been banned from all recognised libraries.

demand to prevent a recurrence of the incident, but with no result. The Hindus in return socially boycotted the Muslims.

The Hindus of Vehra, a village in Khaira district, tied a toran (wreath of leaves) across the road in such a manner that on the day of Moharram tazias could not pass. The Muslims applied to the District Magistrate, who had the toran removed. The Hindus appealed to the higher authorities, who dismissed the appeal. When the Congress came into power the Hindus appealed to the Government, who cancelled the previous orders of the revenue authorities and ordered the toran to be tied. The Muslims could not carry their tazias on the last day of Moharram this year. The Muslims appealed to the officers to get the toran removed at least temporarily to allow the tazias to pass but nothing was done. When the tazias were lying there for two days the European Superintendent of Police had the toran removed and the tazias passed but the Superintendent was immediately replaced by a Hindu officer.

Another Hindu-Muslim riot took place at Nadiad in Khaira district during Moharram this year. Stones were thrown on tazias and many shops looted. Sixteen complaints were lodged by the Muslims and 9 complaints were lodged by the Hindus. The Police registered two Muslim cases and 5 Hindu cases.

A similar incident occurred at Boisar in the Taluqa of Palgarh when Hindus played music before the mosque and on protest being lodged by the Muslims the Hindus boycotted them socially.

There was an agreement between the Hindus and Muslims of Dhandukh, a town in Ahmedabad, that music will not be played within a certain distance of a mosque. But the Hindus broke this agreement in August, 1938. Telegrams were sent to the district authorities and the Home Member but no steps were taken to prevent the breach of the agreement.

CLOSING OF BURIAL GROUNDS

There is a 500-year-old Muslim burial ground in Ahmedabad, known as Pir Kamal's Qabristan. For the last four or five years the Municipality of Ahmedabad has started development of the locality round about the burial ground under the Town Planning Scheme and many rich Hindus have built houses in this part of the town. The Municipality, which has a Hindu majority, passed a resolution closing this burial ground. The District Muslim League took up the case of the Muslims and wanted to stage a demonstration before the Town Hall on the day that the resolution was going to be discussed. The Municipal authorities, coming to know of the League's intention, called the help of the local authorities. The district authorities prevented the procession from entering the Town Hall compound and from holding a protest meeting in a nearby Maidan. The League there upon held a meeting in the Jama Masjid and passed a resolution protesting against the closing of the burial ground. No action has been taken by the authorities for the restoration of this Muslim burial ground.

SCHOLARSHIPS SUSPENDED

Applications for exemption from fees in schools are generally invited at the beginning of the session and all those who secure exemption enjoy it for the whole academic year. At Chiloda, Ahmedabad district, these exemptions were granted in the month of June, 1937, and among the recipients were several Muslim pupils. But after the communal tension in the locality during the month of September, 1937, all the students were asked to apply afresh and the previous exemptions were cancelled. As a result of this extraordinary procedure all the Hindu students retained their freeships as their case was recommended by the members of the School Committee, while the applications of the Muslim boys were rejected because they were not recommended by the members of the School Committee. It is needless for us to point out that hardship this uncalled for procedure caused to the parents of the Muslim students.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

The Hindus of the village Satpati in the Palgarh Taluqa, District Thana, played music before a mosque on August 9, 1937. The Muslims tried to prevent it with the result that there was a minor Hindu-Muslim riot. The Muslims being in a very small minority had to yield and the Hindus kept on playing music, deliberately outraging the religious feelings of the Muslims, and no protection was given to the Muslims by the Government. The Muslims persisted in their

circular of the Government that the district officials should consult the Congress Committees. This had resulted in a demoralisation of the local officials and they could not take an independent attitude on delicate matters, Congressmen had taken up the position of non-official advisers to local officials. In the circumstances selfish people were utilising the situation to their own benefit or mischievous ends.

He added that communal clashes first started at Dadri. In Benares colour was thrown on some Muslims. He complained that adequate police arrangements were not made when processions were taken out. At Allahabad, too, there had been similar incidents. All this had happened because Government, by their action, had created a sense of insecurity and failed to maintain peace and order.

Mr. Sampurnanand, Education Minister, said that he had risen to speak not because he was bursting with feelings but because he wanted to place certain facts before the House. The origin of the trouble as stated by the mover was quite incorrect. The trouble started in a clash between the two groups of Hindus on March 16, in which one Hindu was killed. Continuing, he said that it had been alleged that licence had been given to Congressmen to do whatever they desired and that was the cause of the present situation. To him it appeared, however, that a large number of irresponsible persons had brought about the present situation by fostering the view that the Congress Government could be bullied and brought to their knees by false propaganda.

Mr. Mohammad Ishaque, supporting the motion, said that the charge that the whole trouble started with the Government circular to district officials was justified. Congressmen had begun thinking that they could do anything with impunity. Governments' action in interfering with the day-to-day administration was responsible for the present situation.

The Minister of Justice said that it had been alleged that Government had failed to maintain law and order and that the genesis of all trouble had been the circular of Government to local officials. He asked whether the Opposition member had any direct information on the points from the 48 District Magistrates and Superintendents. He questioned the correctness of the statements had been made by the League members. Incorrect statements were being published in the Urdu Press. A cry had been raised that Islam was in danger. Speeches had been made that Congress Raj was Hindu Raj and that Muslims should, if necessary, shed their blood. A campaign of lies was being carried on in the Urdu Press. Stories of Kidnapping and murder, which had never happened, were being circulated. The minority community was taking advantage of Government's solicitude for the freedom of the Press and speech. He wished that they had dealt with

UNITED PROVINCES

The Muslims form only fourteen per cent. of the total population of the United Provinces and of these the large majority are town dwellers. Of the urban population Muslims constitute thirty per cent. as compared with fifty-nine per cent. of Hindus. Before the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy, though religious feelings at times grew tense, they did not manifest themselves in the Legislature. In the present Legislative Assembly, however, things are different.

The Muslims of these Provinces were the first to organise themselves and enjoy the right of separate electorate in Municipalities and District Board. Attempts to restrict the civil rights of Muslims through Municipal regulations or legislative measures have not been so marked here as in some other provinces where the Muslims are in minority. So far they have been affected only by the general policy of the Congress Government.

Congress Flag:

There have been many disputes at various places regarding the hoisting of the Congress flag on public buildings.

It became the general tendency among local bodies to pass resolutions in favour of hoisting the Congress or Muslim League flag on public buildings. In the Municipal Board of Cawnpore the Muslims raised a storm of protest when orders were issued asking all aided institutions to hoist the Congress flag on their buildings on pain of forfeiting their grants-in-aid. On the other hand, when in the Municipal Board of Bareilly a resolution was passed that the League flag be hoisted on Municipal buildings difficulties were placed in the way of hoisting the flag.

Communal Riots:

There has been a crop of communal riots all over the province since the Congress came into power, the most serious being those at Pilibhit, Dadri, Pipra, Allahbad and Tanda. At Allahabad the situation still continues to cause anxiety.

Before going into details of these riots we give below a summary of the proceedings of the U. P. Legislative Assembly on the communal disturbances debate.

In moving the adjournment motion Mr. Farooqi said that a section of irresponsible persons had created the impression that there was now Congress Raj and the majority party had become so much conscious of its power that it thought that it could do anything and commit any excesses without any protest from the minority.

Proceeding, he said that the whole mischief was caused by the

basis. He did not dispute the League's right to carry on legitimate propaganda. But the League propaganda had gone to the extent of describing the Muslim members of Government as Kafirs. Referring to the firing at Allahabad, he said that it was better to risk injury to a few persons than to see a number of people massacred. He asked the permission of the House to resort to firing more frequently in cases of communal riots.

BALLIA

The following is the statement of Mr. Rizwanullah, M. L. A., of Gorakhpur, who went to Ballia soon after the Dadri incident:—

"I started for Ballia on behalf of the League on the evening of the 27th November and arrived in the morning of the 28th. I met a large number of persons from the public as well as from the gentry of the town and saw the District and Police authorities. I further made inquiries from members of the relief committee formed in this connection and had conversation with its president, Khan Bahadur Nazir-ud-Din, Advocate. This work of relief, it will be known, has been organised under the District Muslim League, Ballia. As a result of my inquiry I wish to give out the following important facts connected with these occurrences:

"Every year the Katic Purnmashi, a big fair, is held some two miles from Ballia town at village Dadri. This fair is specially important for cattle dealings and a large number of goods as well as infirm and useless cattle are sold. The infirm and useless cattle are mostly sold by Hindus and purchased by Muslim butchers. This year too, as usual, a large number of useless bullocks and cows were purchased by butchers. A considerable number of such cattle were already removed from the fair by the butchers but about 2,000 cattle purchased were still there and for which arrangements were being made to despatch. They were within the market enclosures and roughly about Rs. 20,000 worth. The price of all these cattle was already paid to the sellers. Before they could be taken away, at about 10 a.m. on the 20th November a large crowd of about a thousand well-armed Hindus attacked the butchers within the enclosure and beat them mercilessly, thus rendering the butchers unfit to protect their cattle. The assaulters took away all the cattle forcibly from the butchers' possession. A similar occurrence took place near the village Maldapur, about four miles from Ballia, at 2 p.m. and it is reported that a large number of butchers, of whom later on four were medically examined, were badly beaten and about more than a hundred cows snatched away. Another occurrence took place at Phaphna Railway Station (B. N. W. Railway)

such cases with strong hand. He pointed out that when a minister of his Government visited Cawnpore leaflets were distributed inciting the Muslims to murder him. Referring to the incident at Allahabad, he said that there would be a judicial inquiry into the matter, but the riot casualties showed that out of 12 persons killed, eight were Hindus and four Muslims. Day after day communal issues were raised in the Assembly and questions like the percentage of Muslims in various services were frequently asked. The result of fanning the communal feelings was what the Opposition wanted. The adjournment motion had been brought not with the object of ventilating any grievance but to make a political capital out of it. He appealed to the members not to play with human lives which were dear and sacred to everyone.

Mr. Aziz Ahmad (Muslim League) said that if instead of indulging in heated speeches they had tried to find out the root cause of the trouble the debate would have served a useful purpose. From his experience of Bareilly he could say that Congressmen were under the impression that their wishes could be defied by nobody. He alleged that Congressmen in Bareilly urged Hindus to observe hartal to protest against orders which were usually issued in previous years on such occasions. Referring to Allahabad, he said that the Moharram passed off peacefully due to the restraint shown by the Muslims. During Moharram section 144, Cr. P. C., was promulgated but despite the fact that colour was thrown on hundreds of Muslims on March 16 and persons stabbed section 144, Cr. P. C. was not promulgated in Allahabad till March 17. He was of the opinion that the authorities had been demoralised and Congressmen were riding rough-shod over them.

Mr. Zahiruddin Farooqi, replying, said that the speeches delivered on the other side gave him no hope of a solution of the problem. He alleged that the Congress people, intoxicated by power and thinking that they had brought the British Government to its knees, were bullying the minority. It was not correct to say that the minority was bullying the majority. The Minister of Justice had blamed only the Urdu Press for fanning the communal flame and had not apportioned any blame to the Hindi Press which was rankly communal in its outlook.

The Premier deeply deplored the motion. It has been asked what was the cause of communal tension. The debate of the evening illustrated it. It was the determination of the Opposition to create some sort of confusion and discredit Government. That was the key to the situation of the proceedings, the Premier said that unfortunately this year the Holi and Moharram fell on the same day. Added to this was the vigorous propaganda carried out by the Muslim League on Communal

ALLAHABAD

To present the Allahabad riots in a true prospective, it is necessary to deal with the events that immediately preceded them and which had an important bearing on them. It is an open secret that soon after the Congress came into power efforts were made to re-start the celebration of Dassehra and other festivals at all places where the Hindus had given them up as a protest against the restrictions placed on such processions by the district authorities in order to assure peaceful celebrations. In the U. P. the services of the Muslim Parliamentary Secretaries were utilised to cajole the Muslims to agree to the lifting of these restrictions at several places. Allahabad was one of the cities where the Hindus had given up the celebration of Dassehra as a protest against the restrictions imposed by the district authorities.

Further, this year the Moharram, a month of intense mourning among the Muslims, coincided with the Holi, which is a festival of rejoicing among the Hindus. It is thus clear that the celebration of these two religious festivals of different nature by the two communities, whose relations had already been strained due to the political atmosphere in the country, was fraught with grave dangers and required careful watch.

The Moharram started on March 4, 1938, and the Muslims of Allahabad requested the authorities that no marriage procession should be allowed on the streets which were used by the Moharram processions. This demand was based on an old convention in the City. The District Magistrate, however, refused to accede to this request. On March 6, while a marriage procession was passing in front of the Hospital some brick-bats were thrown on it by some unknown persons. Though the Muslims were prosecuted for this offence yet they were all acquitted. On March 7, the District Magistrate promulgated orders section 144, Cr. P. C., which prohibited the carrying of more than 25 lathis with each of the Moharram processions. The public was further warned that the police and military had been authorised to fire on rioters.

As a protest against the severity of these orders the Muslims of Allahabad gave up the celebration of Moharram and the Muslim shopkeepers observed a hartal as a protest. It may be added here that the carrying of lathis has formed part of the Moharram processions at Allahabad since time immemorial. At this stage Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, M. L. A., intervened and after some other influential Muslims had given an undertaking, assuring the authorities of peaceful Moharram celebrations, the order under section 144 Cr. P. C., was withdrawn.

On March 12 (9th Moharram), while a Moharram procession was passing through Katra, the Hindus of the locality started a quarrel

where late in the night, at about 10 p.m. in which about 190 heads of cattle were seized from Railway wagons and taken away by the party. As a consequence three butchers received serious injuries.

"The total number of injured butchers in connection with these three occurrences come to more than forty of whom one succumbed to his injuries in the hospital. These butchers belong to Fyzabad, Jaunpur, Azamgarh and Basti Districts. It is noteworthy in this connection that not a single Hindu is reported to have been attacked or injured.

"In order to come to a better understanding of these occurrences it is necessary to note that a few days before the commencement of the Dadri fair meetings were organised in the neighbouring villages to preach cow protection (Gau Raksha) in which, it is alleged, responsible Congress workers took an active part. It is said that in the course of the attack at Dadri Mela the assaulters were raising cries of Jai in which they were repeating "Chittu Panday's (President of the District Congress Committee) Jai". It is strange to know that responsible Congress workers and volunteers and Sawa Samiti Volunteers were present in large numbers in the fair and none either cared to try to stop the occurrence or to help and relieve the injured.

"On this occasion the Congress and Sewa Samiti people have displayed an utter disregard of nationalistic spirit expected of them.

"I hope that the present Government would not fail to look with suspicion at the activities of the Ballia District Congressmen and would try to find out the realities underlying these occurrences. The District and Police authorities in Ballia no doubt rendered appreciable services in obtaining full control over the situation within the least possible time. No doubt the spirit of retaliation that had sprang in the Muslim masses at the sight of these ruthless attacks was pacified by the responsible Musalmans and by the timely preventive measures adopted by the authorities to stop any further upheavals and clashes. It is proper that the present Government should strengthen the hands of the local authorities so that they may be able to make a complete and correct inquiry into the matter and may be successful in adequately punishing the offenders."

Mr. Rizwanullah also waited in deputation on the Minister of Justice who visited the district soon after the incident and laid all these facts before him.

This incident was the first of its kind in the province and the silence of the Congress Ministry as well as the Provincial Congress organisation was very surprising for a truly national organisation should have made a prompt inquiry into the behaviour of its member and taken disciplinary action against them if the allegations were found correct.

intercepted by the police who asked it to change its route. The processionists thereupon took another route but started assaulting the Muslims. A young man, Shakir, was killed while a Muslim student was severely beaten. An old Muslim woman was severely beaten, too. In short, there was serious rioting.

Orders under Section 144, Cr. P. C., were promulgated only in the evening. These orders did not empower the police or the Military to fire, as was done during the Moharram, on the rioters. The very presence of such a large number of armed persons in the procession should have been enough to warn the authorities that the Hindus meant mischief. But no precautionary measures were taken by the authorities.

General rioting broke out on March 18 and there were numerous cases of assaults and arson all over the city. The Hindus made organised raids on Muslim quarters and a glaring example of this was the collection of a large number of Hindus in the mohalla Hatiya. But before they could do mischief, police help arrived and the situation was saved.

In these riots four Muslims were killed and 43 injured were admitted to hospitals while the casualties among the Hindus were seven killed and 37 injured.

As for the behaviour of the members of the two communities towards each other during the riots, it is not possible to make a general statement. We can, however, speak of a few cases which came to our knowledge during the course of our inquiry. The Zero Road is mostly inhabited by Hindus and many highly educated and respectable persons of this community live on this road. The office of the Allahabad City Congress Committee is also located here. The houses of Mr. R. S. Pathak, Secretary of the Congress Committee, Mr. Kedar Nath, a leading Mukhtar and Mr. Rameshwar Prasad, an Honorary Magistrate, are also situated on this road. It was in this quarter that one Muslim, Mohsin, who was going to see his injured brother in the hospital, was attacked by Hindus and killed at about 10 a. m. on March 19. The crime was committed near the house of the Congress Secretary and the house of Mr. Rameshwar Prasad too was not more than 20 paces from the place of the Accident.

On the other hand, in the Attala mohalla, which is a predominantly Muslim quarter (the inhabitants being Muslim butchers and Ansaris), not a single Hindu was molested. In fact, some of the Hindu inhabitants of the mohalla, who thought themselves unsafe, were given shelter by the Muslims in their own houses. A poster issued by the Hindus of this locality fully bears out the brotherly treatment meted out to them by the Muslims. Similarly nothing happened to the Hindus of the mohallas Thanpur and Akbarpur where the Muslims were in majority.

over a tazia and snatched it away from the Muslims. Some Hindus were arrested on the spot and the Muslims remained entirely peaceful in spite of this grave insult to their religious susceptibilities. Next day as the tazias were being carried to the Karbala, a large number of Hindus collected at the spot where the arrests had been made last night. They demanded the release of the Hindus arrested the previous night. The situation was tactfully handled by the Muslim leader and the authorities and a breach of peace was averted.

The Moharram celebrations thus passed of peacefully and the District Magistrate, in a letter to Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, M. L. A., acknowledged the assistance given by the latter in re-starting the Moharram celebrations and setting many disputes during the celebrations that threatened a breach of peace. The District Magistrate, further appreciated the good behaviour of the Muslims at Katra on the night of the 9th Moharram when a tazia was snatched away and the restraint shown by them in spite of the grave provocation. The Magistrate further added that the promise made by the Muslims was faithfully carried out by them.

It is apparent from the above-mentioned facts that (1) the Muslims remained peaceful throughout and did not resort to violence even under grave provocation; (2) the influential and educated section of the Muslim community exerted itself in the cause of peace and succeeded in its efforts; (3) the attitude of the Hindus was militant and provocative; and (4) the Muslims, in spite of the fact that they were better organised during the Moharram never sought a quarrel.

The Holi Riots:

The Holi celebrations started on March 15. In Allahabad, as in other places in the province, no coloured water is thrown on Muslims as they resent it on religious grounds. However, on March 15, coloured water was thrown on Mohammad Ismail of Shahgunj as he was passing through the Mohalla Bhartibhawan. Many other such complaints were made to the police by the Muslims of the city, who impressed on the Kotwal the necessity of imposing restrictions (similar to those imposed on the Muslims during the Moharram) under section 144 Cr. P. C., on the Hindus. The authorities paid no heed to these requests.

On March 17, a Holi procession was taken out in Allahabad and an unusually large number of Hindus (the official estimate was 800 to 1,000 persons) took part. Most of these persons were armed with lathis, another unusual thing for Holi processionists. Moreover, the Muslims alleged, that high caste Hindus treated the depressed classes with free drinks at the toddy shops and then took them in the procession. As it was entering Bahadurgunj the processions was

Hindus generally, since the acceptance of office by the Congress asserted that Swaraj, in other words Ram Raj, had been established, The men in the street thought that the Muslims were their subjects, and could treat them in whatever manner they liked. Consequently the Hindus of the goonda type began to bully, even molest, the Muslim wayfarers. Upto the evening of March 15, the situation had not grown worse, but on this evening a Muslim named Mukhtar Ahmad, son of Muhammad Yusuf, a resident of Mohalla Bhika Shah Phalwan, went to the house of Mahabir Rastogi, in mohalla Thakuran, to realise his wages. Near the house of Rastogi he found an injured Muslim lying on the road. He tried to find out that the matter was. In the mean time several Hindus arrived and began to be labour him with lathis. He was injured, though his injuries were simple. A report of the incident was duly lodged in the police station by Mukhtar Ahmad on the morning of March 16. The injured man found by Mukhtar was a resident of mohalla Madanpura and was a weaver by caste, but as Mukhtar forgot his name he could not be traced. It is to be particularly noted that at the time when this incident took place no general riot had broken out and hence the Hindu mob, which had begun attacking the Muslim wayfarers; shows their feelings towards the Muslim community.

On the morning of March 16 there was a fight between two Hindu parties in which one Raja Ram was stabbed fatally. Rumour went round that there was a communal riot. Although this rumour was strongly contradicted, it upset the balance of mind of the excited mob all the same and the feelings of hatred, which had already been existing, became uncontrolable. On the same morning a Holi procession was organised which was accompanied by Hindus armed with lathis. It also contained horses donkies and people with their faces and clothes coloured and blackened rode on them. The processionists were indulging in throwing not only coloured water on the passers-by but also mud and filthy water of the Municipal drains was being thrown indiscriminately. This procession, shrieking, shouting, and indulging in all sorts of offensive manners proceeded slowly. The history of the procession is that it started some years ago, but it was never made to pass through any mohalla inhabited by Muslims. Again it is a long established custom in Benares that coloured water is never thrown on Muslims, if it is thrown, ever by chance, on any Muslim he very strongly resents it. This year this particular procession did not discriminate between a Muslim and a Hindu in throwing coloured water. The procession reached the Mohalla Qazipura Kalan, and stopped in front of the house of a Teli, who entertained the processionists. Here also coloured water was thrown on Muslims and the face of a Muslim boy was blackened forcibly. This was naturally resented by the boy. An altercation

Another regrettable incident, which has been repeated twice within a period of about six months, was the pollution of a mosque by throwing a pig's head into it. It is incidents like this that embitter the relations between the two communities and lead to rioting.

We also learnt with regret that the Hindus of Allahabad resorted to an economic boycott of the Muslims. If this boycott is persisted in, it is bound to further strain the relations between the two communities.

BENARES

The Committee visited Benares twice and spent four days in collecting evidence. The relations between the Hindus and the Muslims in Benares had been strained since March, 1938. At the time of Bakr-Id hand-written posters were stuck on walls and electric poles in which Muslims were asked not to indulge in cow sacrifice, and in case they disregarded these directions, they were threatened that their lives would be in danger and their property and houses would be looted and burnt. One such poster was sent by the Secretary of the Muslim League to the District authorities. The District Magistrate held a public meeting in which both the communities were asked to maintain peace, and a peace committee, consisting of influential members of the both the communities, was appointed to carry on propaganda for the maintenance of law and order. Peace was thus maintained during the celebration of Bakr-Id but the heart-burning which had been generated continued as before. On the night of the 9th of Moharram a tazia procession was taken out with great pomp. When this procession, after starting from mohalla Shewala, reached Khari Khuan the leaders of the processions were injured by thorns and pieces of broken glasses which had been scattered on the road. The volunteers of the Muslim League swept the land with their clothes and only then the procession could proceed after long delay. The District authorities who accompanied the procession witnessed the incident themselves. This act of cruelty was naturally attributed to some Hindus and this further embittered the relations between the two communities. The third incident in the same direction occurred when the Hindus objected to the Muslims putting their tazia, called the tazia of Beqar Husain, in the river from the Ghat. The practice was that the tazia instead of being buried, as is usual, was thrown into the river from the Ghat. This year the Hindus objected to it and the trouble was averted only through the efforts of the authorities. These incidents and others revealed that the relations between the communities were anything but friendly and the feelings could be inflamed even by some slight incident.

The Holi celebrations began from March 15. In Benares the

SITAPUR

Mr. Ehsanur Rahman Kidwai, Secretary of the U. P. Muslim League, Mr. Mobashir Hosain Kidwai, Secretary of the U. P. Muslim League Party, and Mr. Ali Bahadur Habib-ullah, member of the Central Muslim League Organising Committee, visited the Pipra village immediately after receiving news of a riot there. They issued a statement which showed the attitude of the Hindu community in Sitapur district.

As the matter is sub-judice we refrain from entering into its details.

PILIBHIT

Mr. Karimur Raza Khan, M. L. A., who was co-opted a member of the Committee, conducted an inquiry into the riot at Raipur in Pilibhit district and the following is his report.

The causes that led to the riot at Raipur in Pilibhit district were not communal but the trouble took a communal turn later on. Parties to the riot were Hindus and Muslims. Raipur is a small village in police station Barkhaira, Bisalpur tehsil. The population of the village consists of weavers, Manihars and barbers who do no cultivation. Most of the members of the League were residents of Paotha and Khamarva. Very few from other villages had joined the Muslim League. Up till April, 1938, only seven persons were enrolled as members of the League.

Bazaar is held twice a week in Paotha. The profit of the bazaar goes to the Paotha zamindars, who are Muslims. In July, 1957 the month in which the Congress assumed office in the U. P., a bazaar was started by the Hindu zamindars of Raipur in their own village to defeat the Paotha bazaar. In spite of persuasion, intimidation and coercion from the Hindu zamindars and Hindu inhabitants of that locality, the Muslims of Raipur continued attending the Paotha bazaar. This led to strained relations between the Muslims and Hindus as the Hindus wanted to see their own bazaar flourishing and could not tolerate this attitude of the Muslims. They had expected that the Muslims would always act according to the wishes of the Hindus of Raipur.

On March 15, 1938, there was some altercation between one Mahabat Shah and his son on the one hand and Abdur Rahim and other Muslims of Raipur on the other, but actual clash was averted. Apprehending trouble in the near future and finding themselves helpless, the Muslims of Raipur decided to shift to Khamarya village for good. They approached Khan Bahadur Imtiaz Ahmad,

followed which attracted some other Muslims who joined in the protest. At this place the Hindu processionists attacked the Mussalmans with lathis. After this the riot spread throughout the city like wild fire. In the beginning only the Muslims were injured but later on the Hindus also received injuries. But no open fight between the parties took place. Scattered attacks were made and in many cases persons were stabbed in lonely streets. Altogether 82 injured Muslims were admitted to the hospital and four were killed, and 73 Hindus were admitted into the hospital and seven were killed. The reason for this high role of casualties is that in Benares knives were freely used. Sporadic cases of assault continued for several days, but as the police were careful and military were called out at an early stage the situation came under control soon. On March 16 a student of the Hindu University was injured at about 12 noon while two others who had gone out were supposed by the students to have been killed. Several hundred students of the Benares University, armed with lathis and sticks and shouting slogans like "blood for blood" came out of the University, and began to roam about in search of Muslims. The Superintendent of Police and the District Magistrate promptly reached the spot and with the greatest possible difficulty controlled the situation. The students were taken back by the authorities to the boarding house where the Superintendent of Police was informed that some students had confined a Muslim in a room with the object of killing him.

The Superintendent of Police persuaded the students to release the Muslim, but they denied that anyone had been confined. After a long discussion the Superintendent threatened to search the boarding house unless the Muslim was released. On this one Ghulam Rasool, a tonga driver, was released from one of the rooms. This man, who had lost all hopes of release and was expecting to be butchered any minute, was extremely terrified at the time of release.

During the riots the Hindu members of the Congress adopted a partisan attitude towards their co-religionists which annoyed even those Muslims who had joined the Congress. These Muslims are now convinced that the Congress is a part and parcel of the Mahasabha and have, therefore, left it and have joined the Muslim League. They now believe that it is impossible for any Congress Muslim to be of any service to his community.

Before the riot in Benares broke out the relations between the Hindus and Muslims had become very strained and the atmosphere had been prepared to make a riot possible on the slightest provocation. The responsible sections of both communities tried their best to improve the relations but the mob could not be controlled and created mischief.

already appeared in the papers. An official inquiry has also been made. We think that this incident is an instance of the overenthusiasm of the Muslim supporters of the Congress in demonstrating the popularity of the Ministers.

Banda:

During Holi at Banda, coloured water was thrown on the Muslims, a mosque was desecrated and a house was set on fire.

Gorakhpure:

In the village Gujaikol, Gorakhpur district, a whole Muslim family was butchered and burnt in December, 1937.

Etah:

On a very insignificant matter a riot took place at Repura village, Aligunj tehsil, Etah district, Hindus assaulted the Muslims with lathis and one Muslim, named Tahir, was killed and many were injured.

Bulandshahr:

Serious complaints were made before the Inquiry Committee about the vindictive tactics adopted by Congressmen against Muslims of Bulandshahr district. It was alleged that after the bye-election in this district the supporters of the League were placed under an effective social ban and had to undergo other hardships. Complaints were received that the supporters of the League had been forcibly prevented from drawing water from public wells.

Basti:

There is a pucca mosque in the village Mianpur, tehsil Domargunj in Basti district. On the Holiday a crowd of Hindus entered the mosque and took away the wood which was collected there, loading it on bullock-carts. Then set fire to this wood. Next day the Khalyan (barn) of wheat of a Muslim was also burnt.

M.L.A., and other zamindars who lent them some bullock carts and men from Khamarya to help them in removing their household belongings. They started removing their luggage in the morning and when some of the luggage had been removed from Raipur, the Hindus of that village tried to stop them forcibly. About thirty Muslims were attacked by the Hindus who were about ten times more in numbers. Meanwhile Hindus from neighbouring villages had also arrived in a large number. The leader of this party had a naked sword in his hand.

The most unfortunate feature of the riot was that the local Congressmen helped in procuring and arranging prosecution evidence when the case came up in Court.

Local Congressmen were present during the investigation. That the Muslims had a right to leave Raipur cannot be disputed. The Hindus had no justification in obstructing them. Why they took to this course? Obviously, they thought that they were safe and could stop the Muslims by force with the help of the so-called Congressmen of that locality.

OTHER RIOTS

Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan, M.L.A., who was co-opted a member of the Inquiry Committee, reported as follows after an inquiry:

Bijnor:

The village Musapur in tehsil Nehthaur of Bijnor district is inhabited by a large majority of Hindus and the Muslims form only a small minority. The Muslim population is concentrated in one locality. The Muslim inhabitants have built a mosque for which they are involved in litigation with the Hindu landlord. It is alleged that the agent of the zamindar made it a communal question, though the question really relates only to the relationship between the zamindar and the tenant. On March, 15, 1938, a Holi procession was arranged and proceeded through the streets inhabited by Muslims. It was the first occasion when the Congress flag was carried along with the Holi procession. A few Muslims objected to the procession being led through those streets and it appears that this caused some trouble. It is alleged that in the afternoon a crowd of Hindus gathered. The Muslims shut themselves in their houses where, it is said, they were attacked. Marks and stains of blood inside the houses were found by Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan when he went to make the inquiry. The number of Muslims admitted into hospital was sixteen males and three females.

Cawnpur:

The incident that occurred in connection with the visit of the Hon'ble Hafiz Muhammad Ibrahim, Minister of Communications, has

redistributed the existing Muslim seats in these District Boards as to render them ineffective from the point of view of Muslims representation.

The Ministry of Local Administration has been doing its utmost to reduce the Muslim majority into a minority in some of the Panchayats so that they may elect Hindus as their chairman.

According to the Administration Report of the Local Boards in Malabar for the year 1935-36 the number of Muslim members in the Malabar District Board was 13, while the number of members, when the Congress is in power, in the said Board is only ten.

SERVICES

The last Government had a scheme of rotation according to which out of twelve appointments two were given to Muslims. The present Government (Congress) wanted to abolish communal representation in the services. But it could not succeed in doing so against the strong public opinion amongst Non-Brahmans and Muslims. In spite of the fact that policy of communal representation in the services is retained, the Muslims are not getting their due share in departments such as Medical and Engineering. Various methods have been adopted by the Congress Government to circumvent this communal Government Order. The Madras Public Service Commission, which is expected to keep the balance among the various communities in the matter of recruitment according to this communal Government Order, can do so only if the Government notifies vacancies. The Government in the various departments, by filling in vacancies for long periods on a temporary basis and by the appointment of Brahmans, prevents Muslims from getting their legitimate share in the appointments. In the Secretariate about 30 Brahman clerks were appointed on a temporary basis for a long period and were later made permanent by the present Government on the plea that these men had acquired a claim by working for a long period. The other method that is employed for preventing Muslims from getting appointment is by reducing the maximum age for various posts and by raising the standard of qualifications.

EDUCATION

One of the most important recommendations of the Committee appointed by the previous Government was the introduction of religious instruction for Muslims in schools and colleges. That Government accepted this recommendation along with others but in the name of economy a good number of Muslim schools are now being

MADRAS PRESIDENCY

Muslims form only seven per cent. of the total population of the Madras Presidency. They are mostly concentrated in Malabar where their strength is as high as one-third of the population. The Moplahs are educationally very backward and the previous Government had adopted special measures for their education. These, as will appear in the following pages, have been either totally given up or partially suspended by the Congress Government. We give below the details of injustices done to the Muslims of this Province by the Congress Government.

LOCAL BODIES

According to the local Boards and Municipalities Act 25 per cent. seats are reserved for minorities including Muslims, depressed classes, Anglo-Indians, Christians and women, but of this only two or three seats are reserved for Muslims, where-as according to the population basis, they deserve more. The cases of Malabar, Kurnool, South Kanara, Bellary and Cuddapah illustrate how the Muslim community is under represented. Whereas the Muslim population of Malabar is 32.9 per cent. their representation in the district is only 17 per cent. The following table gives the percentage of population and representation of Muslims in other districts.

<i>District.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Representation.</i>
Kurnool	13.2	7.7
South Kanara	12.8	6.8
Bellary	10.6	6.2
Cuddapah	13.1	8.8

Even in the Corporation of Madras, although the Muslim population is 11 per cent., Muslims got only three out of a total of 45 seats in the last election, whereas there were seven Muslims out of 30 elected members in the previous Council. In order to remove this inequality and to secure adequate representation, for Muslims in Municipalities and District Boards a Bill was introduced in the Legislature by Muslims to have separate electorate on population basis with a minimum of 15 per cent. The Congress Government refused to give permission to introduce this Bill.

Recently, the Government has increased the number of members in various District Boards. They have not given a single seat more to the Muslims in these boards. On the other hand, they have so

Bukhari below) there have been communal out breaks at two or three other places and it was represented to us that the sufferers in these riots were mostly Muslims.

The following are the relevant extracts from the statement of Syed Abdul Wahad Bukhari, M. L. A., on the communal riot at Choolai, Madras:

The first communal riot in Choolai (Madras) started on April 27, 1937, on Strahan's Road near the Saraswathi Talkies. The trouble started on a trifling matter. The Hindus were carrying a procession of their local deity when at about 11-30 p.m. a Muslim boy, who happened to be in the crowd, was roughly handled by the mob. Some others came to his rescue and the processionists, being in large numbers, overwhelmed the few Muslims, making free use of stones and brickbats. A Muslim hotel was looted and its bottles were used as missiles. The police got the situation in hand at about 2 a.m. This was the beginning of the trouble. Then riots occurred on August 16, 1937, and on October 2, 1937. During these months an actual state of guerilla war existed, resulting in loss of life and cessation of normal business for a long time.

In all about 250 Muslims were injured and as compared to this the number of Hindu wounded was very small.

closed down. There are many Muslim secondary schools under private Management which can only exist on equipment grant from the Government. Such grants have been denied to these schools, although the same Government has given a grant of several lakhs to the Pachorppas College, a purely Hindu institution, whose doors are completely closed to Muslim students. Even with regard to the Muslim orphanage similar treatment is meted out.

Admission of Muslim students in arts and professional colleges in the province used to be very difficult till the last Government appointed selection committees, including a Muslim representative on them. The selection committees were able to secure admission of Muslim students into these colleges. The Congress Government has abolished these selection committees with the result that admission of Muslim students is considerably restricted.

The Malabar District Board by a resolution, which it recently passed, resolved upon a ten year plan for amalgamation of all special schools with general schools, with the result that after ten years no Moplah school will be in existence.

Then the Standing Committee of the District Board of Malabar at its meeting, held on August 5, 1938, decided to abolish 73 schools on the ground that they were uneconomic. Of these, as many as 58 are Moplah schools. If sufficient opportunity had been given to these schools to justify their existence perhaps none of them would have been abolished. The proposal of the committee has been approved by the District Board.

Under an order from the Government the Malabar District Board abolished the posts of Conductors and Conductresses in Moplah schools. These persons were part-time teachers of Quran in the schools and also effective propagandists for attracting pupils to the schools. Their abolition has worked as great a set-back to the increase of Moplah pupils, specially Moplah girls.

There are Arabic Pandits in some of the High Schools under the Malabar District Board. Some months back the Board issued an order to the effect that ten posts of these Pandits would be abolished in all schools which have less than 20 students in the secondary stage, knowing full well that the Moplaha are extremely backward in the matter of secondary education and that the minimum insisted on by the Board would never be secured in most of the schools.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

Comparatively speaking there have been fewer riots in Madras Presidency than in other Congress-Government provinces. Besides the Choolai riot (on which we reproduce the statement of Mr. S. A. W.

PAKISTAN RESOLUTION

ORISSA

Almost all Muslim inhabitants of Orissa are the descendants of the original invaders and consequently retain their own language and culture. They speak and write Urdu. During the unsettled conditions and misrule that existed before the annexation of the province by the British, the Muslim aristocracy stood by the Oriya people. Orissa came under the British rule in 1803 and formed part of Bengal. Then it was amalgamated with Bihar. The condition of the Muslims remained more or less unchanged, though after its transfer to Bihar the Muslims could not remain in touch with the headquarters of the Provincial Government. Still their condition was much better than it is now after its separation.

RELATIONS BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

The communal relations were amicable in the Province for several years. The Muslim population is mostly concentrated in towns and only a few families are scattered in rural areas. Though there have been no communal riots recently yet there have been complaints that certain persons who called themselves Congress workers started propaganda at Nischint-ka-Hat (20 miles from Cuttack) against the sale of cows to the Muslims. It is stated that these workers and their sympathisers molested the Muslim butchers who had gone there to purchase cows from Agraht and even tried to take-possession of their animals by force. No report was made in the police.

EDUCATION

The Muslims are economically poor and educationally backward. They have not many schools of their own. In primary schools children are allowed to choose either of the two languages, Oriya and Urdu. But in aided schools only Oriya is recognised as the medium of instruction and no provision is made for Muslim students who want to learn the Urdu Language. Even in several Government schools attempts have been made and are being made to force the Muslim students to take up the Oriya language and numerous complaints have been made to us of indirect pressure being brought upon the Muslims to fall in. The arrangements for the teaching of Urdu are almost negligible. Out of a total number of 181 schools in the province, there is only one institution in which the medium of instruction is Urdu. This places the Muslim students at a disadvantage in competitions with other students inasmuch as the Muslims have to learn one more language in addition to Urdu and English.

On the 23rd March, 1940, the following Resolution was moved in the open Session of the All-India Muslim League :

“While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940, on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in, the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declare that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles,

MR. JINNAH'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

The resolution was moved by Mr. Fazlul Huq, the then Premier of Bengal. The resolution was unanimously adopted on March 24, 1940.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are meeting today in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in December, 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All-India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks, which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise Muslim League all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established Provincial Leagues in every province. The next point is that in every bye-election to the Legislative Assemblies we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Mussalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single bye-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U. P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organising the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us, because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under purdah. We appointed this committee with a view to enable them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were (1) to organise provincial and district Muslim Leagues; (2) to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League; (3) to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of a greater political consciousness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember, your children will not have much to worry about; (4) to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January, 1939, right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir in Nagpur.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and slavery of Mussalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences and particularly from the experiences of the past 2½ years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces we have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for every one not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed us. Ladies and gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress High Command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentlemen's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General was helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentlemen's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thank Heavens, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. Their bluff was called off. So far so good. I therefore appeal to you, in all seriousness that I can command, to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests and you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Now, what is our position with regard to future constitution? It is, that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to

We had to face the Wardha Scheme all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression to Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little State of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January, 1939, upto the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of federal scheme in the Central Government. We know that machinations were going on. But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the Central Federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of Central Federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared, the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature. Yet, the Viceroy never thought of me before. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All-India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that was the worst shock that the Congress High Command received because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the High Command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that, I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising ourselves, I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

imagine that a question of this character, of social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based affecting 90 millions of Mussalmans can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still, that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders—each one speaking with a different voice. Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the *ex-Prime Minister* of Madras says that the only pancea for Hindu Muslim unity is the Joint electorates. That is his prescription as one of the great doctors of the Congress Organisation. (Laughter). Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago says, 'Oh, what more do the Mussalmans want?' I will read to you his words. Referring to the minority question, he says:—

'If Britain would concede our right of self-determination surely all these differences would disappear.' How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

'But so long as Britain remained and held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone but also by representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorates, though the Congress regards separate electorates as an evil. It will be representative of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religion and political affiliations, who will be deciding, the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantees can the minorities have?' So according to Babu Rajendra Prasad the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations and religions and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March, 1940. And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March 1940. He says:—

'To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike, I cannot be frivolous'—but I think he is frivolous. 'I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother.'

The only difference is this, that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote. (Laughter).

'I would be happy indeed if he could keep me in his pocket', I do not know really what to say to this latest offer of his.

'There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so to-day.'

make a declaration: The Viceroy said, 'I have made the declaration.' The Congress said, (No, no, we want another kind of declaration. You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests; Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now apart from the impracticable character of this proposal and quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a constituent Assembly—apart from all that, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Central Assembly is to be elected, or suppose, we the solid body of Muslim representatives, do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this Assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge Sub-Continent except those in matters which may be germane to the safeguards of the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as the constitution comes into operation the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British will disappear and if so to what extent. In other words his proposal comes to this; first give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation then I will decide what I should give you back. Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Mussalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because, we are told, the British will have parted with their power mainly or completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer; the Hindu majority would do it and will it be with the help of the British bayonet or the Gandhi's 'Ahimsa'? Can we trust them any more? Besides, ladies and gentlemen, can you

solid backing of the Mussalmans of India (Hear, hear), why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Mussalmans? Why this declaration of non-co-operation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Mussalmans agree or they do not agree? (Hear, hear). Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Mussalmans. (Hear, hear and applause). This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points. At any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of future constitution of India should be examined *de novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that—I will not put it in my own words; This is the reply that was sent to us on the 23rd December.

My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 13th last does not exclude.

Mark the words—'does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based'. (Hear, hear).

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are:—(1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India without our approval and consent. (Hear, hear and applause), and that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back, (Hear, hear), unless our approval and consent is given to it. Well, ladies and gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and the destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Mussalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore, the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Massalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims to-day?
May I ask, ladies and Gentlemen?

'I do not read all that appears in the Urdu Press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement there can be no Swaraj.'

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

'You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly.'

He is fighting the British. But may I point out to Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that you are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslim say, we cannot accept, which, the Muslims say, means three to one, about which the Mussalmans say that they will never be able, in that way by the counting of heads to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable us to work as friends and therefore this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting the Mussalmans at all.

He says, 'I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly.' Mark the words, 'who come to the Constituent Assembly through the Muslim votes'—he is first forcing us to come to that Assembly—and then says, 'declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims then alone I would give up all hopes, but even then I would agree with them because they read the Quran and I have also studied something of that Holy Book.' (Laughter).

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the Mussalmans and if they do not agree then he will give up all hopes, but even then he will agree with us. (Laughter). Well, I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, is this the way to show any real genuine desire? If there existed any to come to a settlement with the Mussalmans? (Voices of no, no). Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of a Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, 'I am a Hindu, Congress has solid Hindu backing'? I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Mussalman. (Hear, hear and applause). I am right and I hope and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now that the Muslim League has

are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.-W. F. P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Mussalmans? We have been considering, and as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But what ever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhaite said. But before I read his letter it is plain from that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are Hindu. (Laughter). The word 'nationalist' has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

'There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu Muhammadan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of Muhammadan leaders in the non-co-operation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind.

You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Muhammadan in Hindustan than Qukim Ajmal Khan, but can any Muslim leader override the Quran? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic law is incorrect.'

I think his reading is quite incorrect. (Laughter).

'And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines.'

Ladies and gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was alright but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said 15 years ago that we cannot do so viz., rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the

not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Mussalmans of India will resist it. (Hear, hear and applause). And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs. Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours. (Laughter). We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine. (Hear, hear).

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops outside. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and, in fact, language does not justify it if there is any misapprehension, or apprehension that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance of was that Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim power. (Hear, hear). Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of the 23rd of December, having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee dated the 3rd of February, and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is where we stand after the war and up to the 3rd February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear, it has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Mussalmans are a minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions some time are very difficult to remove. The Mussalmans are not a minority. The Mussalmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on this basis. 'Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want.' 'What else do the minorities want?' just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where the Mussalmans

Hinduism to characterise them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are so divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statute. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve, cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an intercommunal but manifestly of an international character and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussalmans, but also to the British and Hindus. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these States should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of the one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country, will disappear. It will lead more towards natural good-will by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between the Muslim India and the Hindu India, which will for most adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither intermarry nor interdine together and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspect on life and of life are different. It is quite

minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further.

'What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Mussalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hosts of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible.' (Laughter).

'I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the Quran and the Hadth? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope that your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty.'

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great Hindu leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British Constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the *London Times*, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, 'undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilizations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation'. So according to the *London Times* the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political have been euphemised as mere 'superstitions'. But surely, it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society viz-a-viz that of

dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-co-operate and prepare for civil disobedience, Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in the way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the very interest of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the task before us, I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I have already published a little pamphlet containing most of the things that I have been saying and I think you can easily get that publication both in English and in Urdu from the League Office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains various important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I should appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Mussalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody." (Cheers).

SIR SIKANDAR'S PAMPHLET (1939)

"(1) For the purpose of establishing an All-India Federation on a regional basis the country shall be demarcated into seven 'Zones' as under :

Zone 1.—Assam + Bengal (minus one or two western districts in order to reduce the size of the 'Zone' with a view to approximate it to others 'Zones' + Bengal States and Sikkim.

Zone 2.—Bihar + Orissa (plus the area transferred from Bengal to Orissa). This would benefit Orissa which is at present handicapped to some extent on account of its limited resources and area.

Zone 3.—United Provinces and U. P. States.

Zone 4.—Madras + Travancore + Madras States and Coorg.

Zone 5.—Bombay + Hyderabad + Western India States + Bombay States + Mysore and C. P. States.

Zone 6.—Rajputana States (minus Bikaner and Jaisalmer) + Gwalior + Central India States + Bihar and Orissa States + C. P. and Berar.

Zone 7.—Punjab + Sind + N.-W. F. Province + Kashmir + Punjab States + Baluchistan + Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

(2) There shall be a regional Legislature for each zone consisting of representatives from both British India and Indian States' Units included in that zone. For the purposes of representations in the regional Legislature, every Unit will be entitled to send representatives in accordance with the share allotted to it in the scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, for representation in the Federal Assembly.

(3) The representatives in the various regional Legislatures shall collectively constitute the Central Federal Assembly which will consist of 375 members (250 from British India and 125 from the Indian States).

(4) One-third of the total number of representatives in the Federal Assembly shall be the Muslims.

(5) The other Minorities, also, shall be allotted the share apportioned to them in the Federal Assembly by the Government of India Act, 1935.

(6) The regional Legislature shall deal only with subjects which are included in the regional List under this scheme; but may at the request of two or more units included in the zone, legislate with regard to subjects falling in the Provincial List in order to secure uniformity and facility of administration within the zone. Such

members of the Federal Legislature or from outside and entrust to them the portfolios of Defence and External Affairs. Thereafter all the Ministers shall be selected from among the members of the Legislature.

(12) (a) The normal term of office of the Ministers shall be the same as the life of the Federal Legislature (i. e. five years).

(b) The Ministers will retain office at the pleasure of His Majesty's representative, i.e. the Viceroy and Governor-General.

(c) A Minister representing a particular zone shall be removed if he loses the confidence of the majority of the representatives of his regional Legislature.

(d) The Ministry as a whole except the Ministers referred to in paragraph 11 (iv) above, shall resign if a vote of no confidence against the Ministry is carried in the Federal Legislature.

(13) The representatives for the regional Legislatures shall be chosen in the following manner:

(i) In the case of the British Indian units by the Provincial Legislature in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, for the election of representatives to the Federal Assembly;

(ii) In the case of the Indian States, as nearly as may be possible, in accordance with the procedure outlined hereunder:

(a) during the first ten years from the date of the inauguration of the regional and Federal Legislatures three-fourths to be nominated by the Ruler and one-fourth to be selected by the Ruler out of a panel to be elected by the State Assembly or other similar institution which shall be set up for this purpose;

(b) during the next five years two-thirds to be nominated by the Rulers and one-third to be elected as in (a) above;

(c) after fifteen years one-half to be nominated and one-half to be elected, as in (a) above;

(d) after twenty years and thereafter, one-third to be nominated and two-thirds to be elected as in (a) above.

(14) There shall be a Committee of Defence to advise in matters relating to Defence. The Committee shall consist of:

(i) H. E. The Viceroy and Governor-General-President;

(ii) The Federal Prime Minister;

(iii) The Minister for Defence;

enactments would, for application in any unit within the region, require confirmation by the Government of the unit concerned and shall thereafter supersede any provincial (or State) legislation on the subject.

(7) In the regional Legislature, no Bill or other measure having the force of law, relating to a subject included in the Regional List, shall be considered to have been passed unless two-thirds of the representatives vote in favour of the measure. (This limitation is suggested in order to give additional security to the smaller units).

(8) The regional Legislatures may by a resolution authorize the Federal Legislature to undertake legislation with regard to subjects included in the Regional and Provincial Lists. But such authorization shall not be effective unless at least four out of the seven zones ask for such action. And unless such authorization is endorsed by all the seven regional Legislatures the enactments so passed shall have force only in those zones which ask for such legislation.

(9) Any law, enacted by the Federal Legislature at the request of the zones and by regional Legislatures at the request of the units, shall be repealed if in the case of the Federal Legislature at least three zones and in the case of the regional Legislatures at least half the number of units in that zone ask for its repeal.

(10) The Federal Executive shall consist of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General as representing His Majesty the King and a Council of Ministers, as far as possible, not less than seven and not more than eleven in number, including the Federal Prime Minister.

(11) The Federal Prime Minister shall be appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General from among the members of the Federal Legislature and the remaining Ministers also from among the members of the Legislature in consultation with the Federal Prime Minister, but subject to the following conditions and exceptions :

- (i) That each zone shall have at least one representative in the Cabinet;
- (ii) That at least one-third of the Ministers so appointed shall be the Muslims;
- (iii) That at least, two, if the number of Ministers does not exceed nine, and at least three, if the number is excess of nine, shall be chosen from amongst the representatives of the Indian States;
- (vi) That during the first twenty (or fifteen) years from the date of the inauguration of the Federal Scheme, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General may nominate two of his Ministers either from among the

- a zone against another Unit or zone ;
 (vii) to protect the culture and religious rights of the Minorities.

(18) The composition of the Indian Army (as on the 1st day of January, 1937) shall not be altered. In the event of a reduction or an increase in the peace-time strength of the Indian Army the proportion of the various communities as on the 1st January, 1937, shall not be disturbed. This condition may be relaxed in the event of a war or other grave emergency which may arise on account of a threat to the safety of the country.

(19) Only those subjects, the retention of which is essential in the interest of the country as a whole and for its proper administration, shall be allocated to the Centre, e.g. Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Customs, Coinage and Currency, etc. The remaining subjects, at present included in the Federal List, shall be transferred to the Units or zones. Residuary powers, in regard to subjects which are not specifically included in the Federal List, shall vest in the Units, and, in the case of subjects allocated to zones, in the regional Legislatures. The Concurrent List in the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be revised and limited to legislation only subject to the following conditions :

- (a) that the Federal Legislature shall not undertake legislation on any matter within the Concurrent List unless at least for zones have applied for it ;
- (b) that any legislation so enacted shall apply only to the zones which have applied for it.

(20) In the event of a doubt or difference of opinion as to whether a subject is Federal, Concurrent, Regional or Provincial (or State), the decision of H. E. the Viceroy and Governor-General, in his discretion, shall be final.

(21) The Federal Legislature shall be unicameral.

(22) Adequate and effective machinery shall be set up both at the Centre and in the Provinces to look after and protect the interests of the Minorities."

- (iv) The Minister for External Affairs ;
- (v) The Federal Finance Minister ;
- (vi) The Minister for Communications ;
- (vii) H. E. the Commander-in-Chief ;
- (viii) The Chief of the General Staff ;
- (ix) A Senior Naval Officer ;
- (x) A Senior Air Force Officer ;
- (xi) Seven Regional representatives, one from each zone ;
- (xii) Five official experts to be nominated by the President ;
- (xiii) Two non-officials to be nominated by H. E. the Viceroy ;
- (xiv) The Secretary to the Defence Department.

(15) A Committee shall also be constituted to advise in matters connected with the External Affairs with :

- (i) H. E. The Viceroy as President ; and
- (ii) the Federal Prime Minister ;
- (iii) the Minister for External Affairs ;
- (iv) seven regional representatives (one from each zone) to be selected by the President from among the members of Regional Legislatures ;
- (v) four other members (two officials and two non-officials) to be nominated by H. E. the Viceroy ; and
- (vi) the Secretary for External affairs ; as Members.

(16) The Federal Railway Authority shall be so constituted as to include at least one representative from each of the seven regional zones.

(17) Effective safeguards shall be provided in the revised constitution :

- (i) for the protection of the legitimate interest of the Minorities ;
- (ii) to prevent racial discrimination against British-born subjects ;
- (iii) against violation of treaty and other contractual rights of the Indian States ;
- (iv) to preserve the integrity and autonomy of both the British India and the Indian States Units against interference by the Federal Executive or Federal or regional Legislature ;
- (v) to ensure the safety of India against foreign aggression, and the peace and tranquillity of the Units as also of the country as a whole ;
- (vi) to prevent subversive activities by the citizens of a Unit or

DR. ZAFRUL HASAN SCHEME

“With a clear conception of the reality of our social and political problems and with in-shakable faith and confidence in the future of Islam in India, we beg to offer in the following a scheme for the consideration of the Muslims of India and the rest of the world. But before coming to it we must state the principles on which it is based. We are convinced that we, the Muslims of India, must insist persistently and strenuously on them, namely :—

(1) That the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves they have a distinct national entity wholly different from the Hindus and other non-Muslim groups; indeed they are more different from the Hindus than the Sudeten-Germans were from the Czechs;

(2) That the Muslims of India have got a separate national future and their own contribution to make to the betterment of the world;

(3) That the future of the Muslims of India lies in complete freedom from the domination of the Hindus, the British, or for the matter of that, any other people ;

(4) That the Muslim majority Provinces cannot be permitted to be enslaved into a single all-India Federation with an over whelming Hindu majority in the Centre ; and

(5) That the Muslims in the minority Provinces shall not be allowed to be deprived of their separate religious, cultural and political identity, and that they shall be given full and effective support by the Muslim majority Provinces.

Now, in order to save the Muslim nation in India, we have to demand repartition of India on the only fundamental and valid principle of division, viz., nationality and to get India divided into Muslim India and Hindu India; further, we must do all we can to safeguard the interests of our nationals living in Hindu India. On this principle British India must be divided into three wholly independent and sovereign States :—

(1) North-West India, including the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan;

(2) Bengla, including the adjacent district of Purnea (Bihar) and the Sylhet Division (Assam), but excluding the south-western districts of Howrah and Midnapore (Burdwan) and the north-western district of Darjiling; and

(3) Hindustan, comprehending the rest of British India. Inside Hindustan there must be formed two new autonomous Provinces ;

(a) Delhi Province, including Delhi, Meerut Division, Rohilkhand Division and the District of Aligarh (Agra Division), and

(b) Malabar Province, consisting of Malabar and adjoining areas on the Malabar coast.

Further, all the towns of India with a population of 50,000 or more shall have the status of a borough or free city.

Also, in Hindustan, Muslims in villages shall have live to together in considerable numbers.

The Indian States: The Indian or Native State inside the boundaries of any of the above three proposed States or exclusively on the frontier of one of them, ought to be attached to that State.

Those bordering on more than one of the three States should have the option of joining any of the adjoining States.

Hyderabad with its old dominions Berar and Karnatik (Carnatic) to be a sovereign State.

North-western India will include several Native States, e. g. Qalat, Jammu and Kashmir, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, Kapurthala, Malerkotla, Faridkot, and the Simla Hill States. With the inclusion of Kashmir it may well be called 'Pakistan' as it has been for some years past.

The Pakistan Federation will be a Muslim State. It will include about 25 millions of Muslims, i. e., more than 60 per cent of the total population. It is a self-sufficient unit on the basis of geographical, economical and political considerations. The realization of this federation will open a new and living future for the Muslims of India and will have a far-reaching effect on the whole of the Islamic world. Pakistan will form the north-western wing of Muslim India.

The Hindus and Sikhs are the two non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan. They will have the same cultural, religious and political safeguards granted to them as the Muslims will have in Hindustan. It will be of greater advantage for the Sikhs to be in this state than in an all-India Federation as envisaged by the Government of India Act of 1935, for they will be relatively in much larger proportion in their Province and in the Centre.

The new Bengal will again be a Muslim State. It will contain more than 30 million Muslims, i. e. 57 per cent of the whole population. New Bengal can be entirely self-sufficient on account of its natural wealth and agricultural richness. It will be equal to France in area as well as in population. Because of having no component Provinces, it will be no Federation. However, it will be a sovereign State, having a status analogous to Burma, and will be the eastern wing of Muslim India.

Hindustan will be a Hindu State. It will have population of 245 millions. It will include about 23 millions Muslims forming a minority of 10 per cent. It is our duty to safe-guard their interest politically as far

as it is at present possible. We must consequently insist on the formation of two new Provinces inside Hindustan, one in the north and the other in the South viz., Delhi and Malabar respectively.

In the newly-constituted Province of Delhi, there will be more than 3.5 millions of Muslims, forming about 28 per cent of the total population. Indeed they will still be a minority. However, they will be such an important minority as cannot easily be swept aside by the Hindu majority. Being highly cultured and educated as the Muslims of these parts are, and having their boundaries close to the Muslim Federation of Pakistan, they will be in a much stronger position to guard their interests than otherwise. Aligarh, the centre of Muslim education, must be included in this Province, for we cannot afford to leave it unprotected inside the remaining portion of the United Provinces which will be overwhelmingly Hindu.

The Malabar Province will comprise the southern part of Madras Presidency especially that lying adjacent to Malabar coast. This part is well populated by Muslims. There are about 1.4 million Muslims in it, forming 27 per cent of the total population. They have large trading interests in this Province and possess an eminent cultural position. Moreover, they are a virile race and being such an important minority can look after their interests for better than they can at present.

In Hindustan the Muslims largely live in cities and in considerable numbers. We cannot afford to leave them entirely at the mercy of the Hindu Government. Therefore, it is necessary to protect their interests. Left to themselves they can fight their own battle in those towns. All that can be done for them at present is to eliminate the undue interference of the Provincial and Central Hindu Governments. This can well be done by giving the status of free cities or boroughs to large towns of a population of 50,000 and more. They shall have their own police and magistracy, and they may have powers to legislate and execute on local matters to a large extent. In this way the interests of about 1.25 million of Muslims of Hindustan can be protected.

The Muslims in the rural area of Hindustan must be persuaded not to remain scattered in negligible minorities, as they do at present, in villages. They must be induced to aggregate in villages with a preponderant Muslim population. In this way alone can their cultural as well as economical interests be protected. A number of useful and constructive programmes for social, educational and economical improvement may at once be launched in rural areas of Hindustan for the sake of this object as well as for the immediate amelioration of the conditions of Muslims residing therein.

The afore-mentioned three States—Pakistan, Bengal and

Hindustan—should enter into a defensive and offensive alliance on the following bases :

- (1) Mutual recognition and reciprocity.
- (2) That Pakistan and Bengal be recognized as the homeland of Muslims and Hindustan as the homeland of Hindus, to which they can migrate respectively, if and when they want to do so.
- (3) In Hindustan the Muslims are to be recognized as a nation in minority and part of a larger nation inhabiting Pakistan and Bengal.
- (4) The Muslim minority in Hindustan and non-Muslim Minority in Pakistan and Bengal will have (i) representation according to population, and (ii) separate electorates and representations at every stage, together with effective religious, cultural and political safeguards guaranteed by all the three States.

Note.—Separate representation according to population may be granted to all considerable Minorities in the three States, e. g. Sikhs, non-caste Hindus, etc.

- (5) An accredited Muslim political organization will be the sole official representative body of the Muslims in Hindustan.

Each of these three independent States, Pakistan, Hindustan and Bengal, will have separate treaties of alliance with the Great Britain and separate Crown Representatives, if any. They will have a joint Court of Arbitration to settle any dispute that may arise between themselves or between them and the Crown.

Hyderabad commands a position which is exclusively its own amongst Indian States. It is even now recognized as an ally by the British Government, and its Ruler addressed by the distinctive title of His Exalted Highness. In truth it is a sovereign State by treaties. Berar and Karnatic (Carnatic) were taken from it by the British for administrative reasons. Now when the British are giving the control of India to its rightful owners, they must return to Hyderabad its territories, and recognize Hyderabad expressly as a sovereign State, at least as sovereign as Nepal. Karnatic will restore a sea coast to Hyderabad and Hyderabad will naturally become the southern wing of Muslim India."

CONFEDERACY OF INDIA B. A. PUNJABI

(1) The Indus Region's Federation, with the Punjab N.-W. F. P., Kashmir, Baluchistan, Bahawalpur, Amb, Dir, Swat, Chitral, Khairpur, Kalat, Las Bela, Kapurthala and Malirkotla as its federal units.

(2) The Hindu India Federation with the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar with some portions of Bengal, Orissa, Assam, Madras, Bombay and the Indian States other than the Rajistan and the Deccan States included in the States' Federations, as its federal units.

(3) Rajistan Federation with the various states of Rajputana and Central India as its federal units.

(4) The Deccan States' Federation comprising the Hyderabad, Mysore and Bastar States.

(5) The Bengal Federation; The prominent Muslim tracts of the Eastern Bengal and Goalpara and Sylhet districts of Assam as its provincial unit and Tripura and other States lying within the provincial unit or cut off by its territories from the Hindu India, as its state units.

Reshaping the map of the Indian sub-continent in accordance with the above suggestion, would necessitate :—

“(1) either creation of a new province consisting of the Ambala Division, Kangra district, Una and Garh Shankar tahsils of the Hoshiarpur district, and the Chief Commissioner's province of Delhi, etc., or inclusion of all these Hindu areas in the United Provinces;

(2) inclusion of the prominently Hindu parts of the Western Bengal in Behar or Orissa;

(3) inclusion of the districts of Goalpara and Sylhet of Assam in the Muslim Bengal;

(4) leaving a corridor in the North of the present district of Goalpara of Assam in order to connect the Hindu province of Assam with the Hindu Federation of the Hindu provinces;

(5) giving a similar corridor to the Deccan States, Federation through the Hindu Federation in order to link Hyderabad State with Mysore State; and

(6) giving a corridor to the Rajistan Federation to connect with its federal unit of the Patiala State. Half of this corridor can be taken from Hindu India and the other half from Indusstan.”

“In a confederation of India on the lines chalked out above, each federation joining it can have a governor-general with the governors of its provincial units under him, responsible to the central confederal

The author also warned:

"Often the dispirited amongst us allege that sepatation will offer his party or that party. Are we to be afraid of opposition? We should demand separation as our right and not as a favour that may depend upon the good wishes of anybody.

We should be determined to fight for separation and not to beg for it as a special concession. As the position of the Muslims is strong both in the North-West and in Bengal, the questions of their separation from Hindu India, should be taken up simultaneously. In case Hindu India disagrees with the confederacy proposal, we should be prepared to separate our regions, without any link between them and Hindu India. Separation alone can save us and we should be prepared to get it but our success is sure."

M. HANON AHMED
Chairman
Hindu Society Union
Gurdwara No. 33

authority in relation to the confederal subjects and matters relating to the rights and obligations of the Crown in respect of the Indian States within the federation. The confederal authority can be vested in the Viceroy, assisted by a confederal assembly consisting of members drawn from the various Indian Federations. The number of such members to be drawn from a federation can be fixed according to its importance judged from the point of view of its significance to the confederacy as regards its geographical situation in the sub-continent, population, area and economic position, etc. Foreign relations, defence, and matters relating to water-supply from the common natural sources, and rights and obligations of the Crown in relation to the Indian States (which may join any of the British provinces' Federations), can be entrusted to their governor generals, who will be responsible to the Viceroy. The various federations joining the confederacy can either directly contribute towards the revenues of the confederacy or assign some portions of their revenues from some specific heads towards its expenses.

We may also point out here that under no circumstances should the Muslim North-West consent to assign customs as a source of the confederal revenues. Such an assignment would mean no control over the tariff policy. In the case of the customs remaining a central subject, the Muslims of the North-West would permanently ruin all their future prospects of industrialization. It would also adversely affect their other economic interests"

The author gave peculiar reasons for the non-adoption of the name 'Pakistan':

“. We should be separationists-cum-confederationists, and if the Hindus disagree with the idea of a confederacy of Hindu India, and Muslim India, then we should be simply separationists, demanding secession of our regions from Hindu India without any link between them. We should desire separation simply because we want to evolve a happier and more contented India, whether it be by separation of the Hindu cultural zones and Muslim cultural zones to be linked together in a confederacy, quite independent of and separate from each other except for the confederal bond, or complete separation in order to constitute our regions into federated States independently and separately from Hindu India. The foreign element amongst us is quite negligible and we are as much sons of the soil as the Hindus are. Ultimately our destiny lies within India and not of it. And it is for this reason that we have abstained from using the word "Pakistan" and have instead used the word "Indusstan" to denote the North-West Muslim Block. "Pakistan" is a term which has somehow or other, gathered round itself some unwholesome and alien associations which are far from our mind."

CRIPPS'S OFFER

Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India on 23rd March 1942, and issued the following Declaration on behalf of the British Government:

His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realization of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way to be subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs.

His Majesty's Government therefore make the following declaration:

(a) Immediately upon cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India in manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body.

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to:

(i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangement so far as this may be required in the new situation.

**MEMORANDUM TO CONCILIATION COMMITTEE
FROM
THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-INDIA
MUSLIM MAJLIS**

(d) The Constitution-making Body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in to the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities.

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower House of provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution mkaing Body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion as to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their world war effort but the task of organizing to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

Sir Stafford did not succeed in satisfying Congress and Muslim League which had rejected his Proposals.

On the 6th, 7th and 8th of May, 1944, Nationalist Muslim held a conference at Delhi and passed many resolutions, copy of which is attached herewith. One of the resolutions ran as follows:—

Resolution No. 7.—This meeting of the Nationalist Muslims considers, in the best interest of the country, that a Hindu-Muslim settlement should be brought about without any delay. It appeals to both Hindus and Muslims that, having regard to the urgent need of such a settlement, they should take necessary steps towards this end, and considers that the release of Ghandhiji offers an excellent opportunity of which advantage should be taken. In the opinion of this meeting a solution of the communal problems satisfactory to all parties concerned can be secured on the following fundamental considerations, and such a settlement will satisfy the needs and aspirations of Indian Muslims:—

- (1) India should continue to remain a united country.
- (2) The constitution of India should be framed by its own people.
- (3) There should be an All-India Federation.
- (4) The Units of Federation should be completely autonomous, and all residuary powers should be vested in them.
- (5) Every Unit of the Federation should be free to secede from it as a result of a plebiscite of all its adult inhabitants.
- (6) The religious, economic and cultural rights of minorities should be fully and effectively safeguarded by reciprocal arrangements.

The All-India Muslim Majlis firmly stands for complete independence of India and her unity. It recognises that the attainment of this all-important object demands complete accord and unity between and joint action by all the elements in the vast population of this country. It also recognises that to-day the communal question, which is mainly Hindu-Muslim, obstructs the path of progress towards the realisation of whole hearted co-operation among the people of India. It is the continuance of the Hindu Muslim distrust that has culminated in the present demand for Pakistan in isolation. The Muslim League wants it for the Muslims, while the Hindus, in opposition to it, raise the cry of Akhand Hindustan. The Majlis considers Pakistan in Isolation or the partition of India to be detrimental to the interests of Muslims themselves but at the same time it feels that the cry of Akhand Hindustan intensifies the desire for the achievement of Pakistan among the Muslims. The causes which can be said to have created this desire among the Muslims are briefly summarised in the following paragraph:—

cry in the wilderness, unless the Conciliation Committee can erect first a platform of unity and good-will to build thereon a palace of freedom upon which may be hoisted the flag of United India.

In the opinion of the Muslim Majlis the present lamentable situation can be remedied by conceding the right of self-determination to the territories predominantly Muslim in their population. The members of the Muslim Majlis put complete independence of India first and every thing afterwards, and at the same time hold that, in order to achieve concerted action of Hindus and Muslims for the liberation of the country from the domination of the third party, no sacrifice can be too great, and consider that the speediest and most effective way of doing away with the present atmosphere of distrust, bitterness and fear among the Muslims would be to concede this right of self-determination on territorial basis. Hindus should leave the task of bringing home to the Muslims the evils of the claimed for Pakistan in isolation to their own co-religionists, who sincerely and strongly believe that partition is a remedy worse than the disease.

Briefly, the members of the Muslim Majlis while ardently subscribing to the goal of Unity of India, are equally anxious that necessary conditions should be created to secure that unity. It is our considered view that the acceptance of the right of self-determination together with efforts to eliminate the existing social economic and educational disparities in the predominantly Muslim areas will go a long way in creating that spirit of trust and confidence which is the foundation of an abiding unity.

With the above as the preamble necessitated by circumstances, we should suggest as follows:—

1. The fundamental rights should be declared unequivocally, and so far as these rights are concerned, all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsees, whatever their sub-divisions, should each constitute one religious community, and the others be classified according to the fundamental distinction of the first article of their faith or belief.

2. The fundamental rights should be declared to include the following:—

- (1) Freedom of association and combination.
- (2) Freedom of expression of opinion.
- (3) Freedom of conscience and free profession of and practice of religion.
- (4) Protection of the personal laws, culture, language, education, scripts, places of worship and burial, Aukaf, and charitable institutions of various religious communities.
- (5) Equal rights and obligations of all citizens without any distinction of sex.

The Muslims feel that in spite of the great efforts of the Hindu social reformers in general and of Mahatma Gandhi in particular, social exclusiveness still remains the dominating feature of the Hindu society, and the caste system amongst them and its numerous bans and tabbos not only prevent social intercourse between Hindus and Muslims but also, on many occasions, make the later feel insulted and humiliated. To this is added the exclusiveness of the Hindus in the economic field. On the other hand, the tendency among the Hindus to monopolise the advantage of economic development has become very much marked recently, and as in the country as a whole the Hindus are much more advanced in business and industry, the Muslims find that they are gradually driven to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. In fact the growing suspicion and bitterness on the part of the Muslims is due to the glaring disparity in the social, educational and industrial walks of life and the comparative backwardness of the Muslim regions as a whole when compared to the rest of India. The Muslims feel that no amount of assurance of legal safeguards of the minorities can secure the actual equality between the two communities. It is, therefore, incumbent on the future Government of India and the patriotic parties to formulate a definite plan with a view to eliminate the industrial, social and educational backwardness of the Muslim areas within a definite period. Again, the cultural unity which had been evolved during centuries of close sympathetic association of Hindus and Muslims is being sapped by the efforts that are being made to revive an exclusively Hindu culture and impose it on the country. Some of the most prominent Hindu leaders are heading the movement against Urdu or Hindustani and are agitating about it in season and out of season. Communal prejudice is allowed to prevail upon justice and efficiency in appointments of public interests. In villages where the majority of residents are Hindus, Muslims are not allowed to perform their religious observances often within their own properties. Justice is obstructed by communal combinations of official and non-official Hindus. Last, but not the least, the so-called Hindu nationalist Press and news agencies which are in the hands of the Hindus, deny the Muslim publicmen the ordinary courtesy of publishing their views or protests. All these factors have helped Mr. Jinnah to rally the Muslims round him in his cry for Pakistan and the Muslims, being unable to withstand humiliating conditions, now feel that they would rather live in the hell of Pakistan than serve in the heaven of Hindustan with its degrading social and unfair economic treatment.

This situation is undoubtedly lamentable and has to be remedied and remedied soon. In an atmosphere, such as the present, a solution of the constitutional question, however good, however just, would be a

any one be coerced to conform any particular social behaviour or religious observance.

(18) Neither the Federal nor the Provincial State, nor any local or Statutory body shall change the nature of any religious institution or place of worship, burial or cremation, statutorily or voluntarily maintained. The State shall ensure the uninterrupted enjoyment of all lawful rights and religious practices.

(19) No Wakf property or property dedicated to God or gods shall under any circumstances, notwithstanding the law of transfer, limitation, prescription, confiscation, or otherwise, be used for any purpose other than the purpose for which it was intended, provided that this provision shall have no retrospective effects.

(20) No person shall be debarred by legislation, executive action or social pressure from any kind of food allowed by his belief, nor shall any person be obstructed by legislation, executive action, the action of any statutory or local body or by coercion in the pursuit of any trade profession or calling.

(21) No citizen shall be debarred from any public service (which shall include service under any government or local or statutory body or anybody corporate or any Government aided or subsidised concern) merely on account of any disability based on sex, religion or creed.

(22) No provision of the constitution which relates to the exclusive rights and interests of the various religious groups shall be valid unless it is agreed to by the representatives of the group concerned. provided provisions validly formulated by the groups concerned shall be incorporated in the constitution. No such constitutional provision shall be added to amended or modified without the approval of a two-thirds majority of the group concerned.

(23) No legislative measure adversely affecting any of the fundamental rights of a religious group shall be introduced into the legislature unless the group concerned agrees to it by a majority of not less than two-thirds of its total number.

(24) Every social or religious measure relating to the personal law of a religious group, which does not affect any other religious group, if desired by a two-thirds majority of the entire representative of that group concerned shall be passed by the appropriate legislature.

(25) No restriction shall be placed on the movement of any citizen from one part of India to another and all shall enjoy equal rights of citizenship throughout the country.

(26) There shall be no discriminatory legislation.

(27) All grievances based on the contravention of any of the fundamental rights or of any provision of the constitution shall be cognizable by a Bench of the appropriate Provincial High Court, and an appeal shall lie to the Supreme or the Federal Court, as the case may be.

(6) No disability shall attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, casts or creep or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(7) Equal rights of every citizen in regard to public roads, wells, schools, places of public resort and all other public institutions.

(8) Right to keep and bear arms subject to general regulations applicable to all alike.

(9) No person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor his or her property or dwelling be entered, sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

(10) Universal suffrage.

(11) Free Primary education.

(12) A minimum living wage for all kinds of labourers, limited hours, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

(13) The state shall guarantee that no citizen shall remain unemployed and shall receive a minimum allowance from the State in case of involuntary unemployment.

(14) Neither the country as a whole, nor any part of it, nor the resources thereof, shall be claimed by any particular community, group or party as their exclusive domain, and the Constitutional structure of the country as a whole shall be Federal, non-unitary and the Provinces or Federal centre exercising only such as many powers on behalf of the several Federal Units as may relate to matters of common interest only according to an agreed list of Federal subjects, such, for instance, as External Affairs, Defence Communications, Customs, Harbours, Territorial Water, Lighthouse, Federal or Supreme Courts, etc.

(15) Every unit of the Federation should be free to secede from it as a result of a plebiscite of all its inhabitants.

(16) There shall be no State religion, nor shall the Government either the Federal or Provincial, give grants-in-aid nor endow any institutions or movements out of the revenues of the State; but if any religious community, by a majority of 75 per cent. of its representatives, desires to levy a special tax or cess from the community for the endowment or maintenance of a denominational institution, the Federal or the provincial State shall enact a measure to create a statutory trust of the community concerned, and shall assist the trust to realise the tax.

(17) In the matter of faith, religious belief and observances, personal laws, language, script, culture and the right to preach to others, all religious groups shall be free and fully autonomous provided that individuals shall have the freedom to change and declare their faith, and change of faith shall involve no punishment nor shall

(28) Every province shall have the right to develop its own language, provided that Hindustani shall be the official language of every province. Hindustani shall be written in both, i.e. Persian and Sanskrit scripts.

(29) Neither the Federal nor any provincial legislature shall have the right to interfere with the personal laws of any community or attempt to make any changes therein, except in accordance with the canons of that community.

(30) All elections, whether to any legislature or board, should be on the basis of joint electorates, provided that the minorities shall have the minimum of their seats reserved according to their number and shall be entitled to contest other seats also.

M. HAROON AHMED
Chairman
Housing Society Union
Committee No. 65.

2

TRANSFER OF POWER

On 20 February 1947 the Prime Minister announced in the House of Commons the British Government's 'definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transfer of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948. However, if a constitution could not be drafted by a 'fully representative Constituent Assembly before that time', Attlee continued:

His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government of British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.

In his dry; toneless voice Attlee told the House that Lord Wavell's 'war-time appointment' would be terminated, and that Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma would succeed him in order to effect the transfer of power.

Gandhi to Nehru

21 February 1947

This may lead to Pakistan for those Provinces or portions which may want it. No one will be forced one way or the other.

Nehru to Gandhi

24 February 1947

Mr. Attlee's statement contains much that is indefinite and likely to give trouble. But I am convinced that it is in the final analysis a brave and definite statement. It meets our oft-repeated demand for quitting India.

On this same day Wavell wrote to King George VI his last letter as Viceroy, referred to above (page 852, footnote I), and concluded with the words:

My efforts since I returned from England have been directed to the following objects, so far as internal security is concerned:

- (a) That we should have as good and detailed a plan as possible for the protection and withdrawal of our nationals in an emergency;
- (b) that we should try to prevent British troops being used for the suppression of one party in the interests of another, and that we should not become involved in communal or labour disturbances if we can avoid it; and

Constituent Assembly, set up and run in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's plan, and you should do the utmost in your power to persuade all Parties to work together to this end, and advise His Majesty's Government, in the light of developments, as to the steps that will have to be taken.

Since, however, this plan can only become operative in respect of British India by agreement between the major Parties, there can be no question of compelling either major Party to accept it.

If by October 1 you consider that there is no prospect of reaching a settlement on the basis of a unitary government for British India, either with or without the co-operation of the Indian States, you should report to His Majesty's Government on the steps which you consider should be taken for the handing over of power on the due date.

It is, of course, important that the Indian States should adjust their relations with the authorities to whom it is intended to hand over power in British India; but as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any successor Government. It is not intended to bring paramountcy as a system to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but you are authorized, at such time as you think appropriate, to enter into negotiations with individual States for adjusting their relations with the Crown.

You will do your best to persuade the rulers of any Indian States in which political progress has been slow to progress rapidly towards some form of more democratic government in their States. You will also aid and assist the States in coming to fair and just arrangements with the leaders of British India as to their future relationships.

The date fixed for the transfer of power is a flexible one to within one month; but you should aim at 1 June 1948 as the effective date for the transfer of power.

In your relations with the Interim Government you will be guided by the general terms of the Viceroy's letter of 30 May 1946 to the President of the Congress Party, and of the statement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords on 13 March 1947. These statements made it clear that, while the Interim Government would not have the same powers as a Dominion Government, His Majesty's Government would treat the Interim Government with the same consultation and consideration as a Dominion Government, and give it the greatest possible freedom in the day-to-day exercise of the administration of the country.

It is essential that there should be the fullest co-operation with the Indian leaders in all steps that are taken as to the withdrawal of British power so that the process may go forward as smoothly as possible.

(c) that we should for as long as possible maintain the stability and integrity of the Indian Army, which is at the present time perhaps the brightest part of the Indian outlook.

Field Marshal Auchinleck to Lieutenant-General Scoones 2 March 1947

. . . The recent announcement by H. M. G. has, as you will have realized, come as a considerable shock to very many people in this country who had thought, if they thought at all, that the process would be much more gradual. In fact, I think it would be true to say that a great number thought that it would never happen, or if it did, that it would come about so gradually as to be almost imperceptible.

This announcement has brought a sharp realization of the very short time left for preparation and of the extreme urgency of the whole problem. It is too early yet to assess the effect on the country generally, but I do not see how it can fail to have an unsettling effect on the Indian officers and men of the Armed Forces and I am feeling considerable anxiety about this. The lack of definition in the announcement concerning the party or parties to whom responsibility is to be handed over is causing the greatest uneasiness in practically everyone's mind and this is readily understandable.

There is a general feeling that the Viceroy has been rather shabbily treated and a strong feeling of regret in many quarters that he should be going. There is little comment, other than scurrilous, so far about his successor, who, in spite of his great record, is not really known to India or the Indians, which may seem strange but is, I think, true. . . .

In the preliminary discussions before Lord Mountbatten left for India he insisted—just as firmly as the King had insisted when he first heard of the proposal—that he be given a completely clear directive by the Prime Minister. That which Wavell had asked for in December and had been refused, was conceded to Mountbatten in March.

Prime Minister to Admiral Mountbatten March 1947

The statement which was issued at the time of the announcement of your appointment sets out the policy of the Government and the principles in accordance with which the transfer of power to Indian hands should be effected.

My colleagues of the Cabinet Mission and I have discussed with you the general lines of your approach to the problems which will confront you in India. It will, I think, be useful to you to have on record the salient points which you should have in mind in dealing with the situation. I have, therefore, set them down here.

It is the definite objective of His Majesty's Government to obtain a unitary government for British India and the Indian States, if possible within the British Commonwealth, through the medium of a

Muslim League political prisoners on condition that there was an end to civil disobedience. Congress supporters and Sikhs were as relentless in their opposition to the idea of Pakistan, and its inevitable effect on the prosperous, fertile province of the Punjab, as Muslim Leaguers were determined to bring it about. On the quite justifiable grounds that Attlee's statement on February 20 had altered the political situation, Khizr resigned on March 2. On the following day the Governor called on the Khan of Mamdot, the Muslim League leader in the Provincial Assembly, to form a Ministry.

That same evening Master Tara Singh, the political leader of the Sikhs, addressed a mass rally in a style of oratory with which India had become depressingly familiar :

O Hindus and Sikhs! Be ready for self-destruction. . . . If we can snatch the Government from the Britishers no one can stop us from snatching the Government from the Muslims. . . . Disperse from here on the solemn affirmation that we shall not allow the League to exist. . . . We shall rule over them and will get the Government, fighting. I have sounded the bugle. Finish the Muslim League.

As in Calcutta and Bihar the previous year, once the floodgates burst the slaughter was heavy. On March 4 there were thirteen killed and 105 injured in Lahore, and the trouble spread quickly to Amritsar, Attock, Multan and Rawalpindi. On March 5 there were seven killed and eighty-two injured in Lahore; but these, as the police admitted, were only 'provisional figures'. Murder raged unabated for more than a fortnight. When at last the Army—once again the Army—had established control, the score was totted up on March 20, on the eve of Mountbatten's arrival: 2,049 killed and more than a thousand known to be seriously injured.

Nehru toured the Punjab, as in the previous October he had toured Bihar. When he returned to Delhi he said :

I have seen ghastly sights and I have heard of behaviour by human beings which would degrade brutes. All that has happened in the Punjab is intimately connected with the political affairs. If there is a grain of intelligence in any person he must realize that whatever political objective he may aim at, this is not the way to attain it. Any such attempt must bring, as it has in a measure brought, ruin and destruction.

There was more, much more, to come; and the Army would go on trying to prevent it and alleviate it to the end,

The keynote of your administration should therefore be the closest co-operation with the Indians and you should make it clear to the whole of the Secretary of States's Services that this is so, and that it is their duty to their countries to work to this end.

You should take every opportunity of stressing the importance of ensuring that the transfer of power is effected with full regard to the defence requirements of India. In the first place you will impress upon the Indian leaders the great importance of avoiding any breach in the continuity of the Indian Army and of maintaining the organization of defence on an all Indian basis. Secondly you will point out the need for continued collaboration in the security of the Indian Ocean area for which provision might be made in an agreement between the two countries. At a suitable date His Majesty's Government would be ready to send military and other experts to India to assist in discussing the term of such an agreement.

You will no doubt inform Provincial Governors of the substance of this letter.

This document Lord Mountbatten took with him to India and he sent a copy of it to Auchinleck about a month after his arrival. Meanwhile, there was a stormy debate about India in the House of Commons on March 5-6, and energetic preparations went on for Mountbatten's departure.

Lord Mountbatten to Field Marshal Auchinleck

14 March 1947

My dear Claude,

God knows I did everything in my power to be allowed to go back to sea. Since however the King overruled me and I am to come to India I would like you to know that the feeling that I have such a true and wise friend in you makes all the difference to me.

I hope we shall see lots of each other.

Looking forward to seeing you,

DICKIE.

In India the fires of communal warfare flared up again, this time in the Punjab. Muslims, Sikhs and orthodox Hindus had, for months past, been forming—and arming—private armies. The Governor of the Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins, formerly private Secretary to the Viceroy, urged the Unionist Prime Minister, Khizr Hayat Khan, to suppress them, but Khizr put off action until January 24, by which time it was too late. Then the Muslim League, which had no representatives in Khizr's Cabinet and bitterly resented this fact, launched a mass civil disobedience campaign against the belated ban on private armies. They maintained this form of political pressure for more than a month. Khizr gave way, removed a ban on public meetings, and released

preliminary conversations with the chief political leaders of the country. The list of immediate problems which faced Mountbatten might have daunted the stoutest heart: frenzied communal blood-letting in the Punjab; Muslim League agitation mounting on the North-West Frontier and in Assam; virtual paralysis of the Interim Government; an imminent politico-economic crisis caused by a Budget whose stern taxation proposals looked like splitting Congress's industrialist and socialist wings; a sharp decline in the efficiency of the Administration, accompanied by a deep weariness and perplexity among many senior Civil Servants; a complicated, vague and virtually irreconcilable series of previous pronouncements by the British Government; the Congress demand for a united India which would be a sovereign, independent republic; the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan; the Sikhs' evident and violent determination to resist partition; and the almost fantastically complex question of the future of the six hundred princely States after the lapse of paramountcy.

In all this darkling landscape the Army offered, as Wavell had told the King before he left India, the one flickers of hope. It alone had stood firm through all the mounting chaos of the past year. Yet the politicians could not keep their claws off it, to pull it down, if they could, into the murky, blood-stained spate.

They were back at the issue of the I. N. A., on which, in an excess of perverse sentimentality, Congress and the Muslim League were united, baying and snarling at British military oppression. Under the patient, courteous instruction of Wavell and Auchinleck the party leaders had learned—belatedly—a little sense; but not their followers. A Muslim League back-bencher put down, for debate in the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday, April 2, a resolution calling for the release of all I. N. A. prisoners and the refunding of their forfeited pay and allowances.

Mountbatten held a meeting on April 1 to discuss methods of dealing with this motion. Auchinleck, Nehru, Liaquat Ali Khan and Baldev Singh attended it, and Alan Campbell-Johnson, the Viceroy's Press Attache, was present (at the Viceroy's request) as *rappporteur*. It gave him, he recorded in his diary, his 'first direct experience of the prevailing political climate at the highest level'—with the unusual variation of a sight of the Muslim League and Congress in alliance. He continued:

Nehru was clearly anxious to be rid of the whole problem, but was naturally worried at the possible strength of the Legislative Assembly's reaction. Liaquat, on the other hand, developed arguments which were, I felt, calculated to draw heavily on Auchinleck's limited reserves of temper and provoke a breach between the Government and the

Viceroy to Field-Marshal Auchinleck

22 March 1947

My dear Commander-in-Chief,

I should like to thank you, and to congratulate those concerned, for the excellent work done by the Army in re-establishing control in the Punjab.

I am having a copy of this letter sent to your Hon'ble Member.

Yours sincerely,

WAVELL.

* * *

Before he left London Mountbatten asked to be allowed to take some additional staff with him, in order to assist him in 'a special mission called upon to take unprecedented political and military decisions' in what was at most a quarter of the time allotted to previous Viceregal terms of office. Attlee acceded to this request. Mountbatten thereupon created four new posts never before known on any Viceroy's staff: a Chief of Staff, a Principal Secretary, a Conference Secretary and a Press Attache. The first two of these were of the utmost importance and were held by men of the highest calibre: General Lord Ismay, who came to this new task from precisely three weeks of retirement; and Sir Eric Mieville, who had recently gone into the City after a distinguished career in the public service, which had included five years as Private Secretary to the Viceroy (1931-6) and eight years as Assistant Private Secretary to the King (1937-45).

Mountbatten, his wife and younger daughter, and his personal staff reached Delhi on March 22. Auchinleck was on the airfield to greet them. Their friendship and respect for each other were real. They had been through a great deal together. Even more testing experiences lay ahead of them. Mountbatten was India's last Viceroy, Auchinleck her last Commander-in-Chief. The names of their predecessors made an august roll stretching back through Britain's imperial past, from the bland Edwardian noonday to the fierce morning glory of the paladins in the era of conquest and expansion. For these two men there waited a different task, the fulfilment of that mission of abnegation, education and training, and the accomplishment of that transference of power so long promised and so long delayed. Who could have told, as they shook hands on Palem airfield that hot March afternoon, that in less than five months British rule in India would have ended, totally and Finally?

* * *

Between March 22 and August 15 events moved in India with torrential speed. For Auchinleck there was a brief lull—or what could be called a lull by subsequent standards—while the Viceroy had his

the available judges of the Federal Court should be called in as advisers in this matter only and without creating any precedent whatever.

What we have in mind is that before any further consideration is given to the matter by the Commander-in-Chief these advisers should examine the proceedings of the various Courts Martial, give their opinion as to the desirability of reviewing the findings and sentences in each case, and report whether, in their opinion, the findings and sentences should be altered or modified in any manner.

Pandit Nehru to Field-Marshal Auchinleck

8 April 1947

Thank you for your letter of the 7th. It was good of you to write to me in such a friendly way and I am grateful to you for it.

It is true I felt a little distressed at what I thought was your lack of faith in our adhering to our word. I did not think of this in any personal sense. And thus there was a sense of weariness at having to discuss the same thing over and over again and repeat the same arguments. As a soldier and a man of action you will appreciate this. I am myself too indifferent a politician to like long-drawn-out talks which end vaguely and without producing results. And yet circumstances have conspired to make me play a politician's role and to indulge in these very arguments.

Yet despite these agreeable and sincere compliments and courtesies, this was not—even yet—the last of this unhappy affair.

But much mightier affairs were now pressing for consideration. Mountbatten was being forced steadily and rapidly to the conclusion that the partition of the sub-continent was the only solution, and that the idea of a united India could not be sustained except at the cost of a protracted and ruinous civil war. The sympathy and friendship which the Viceroy established with Nehru have long been a matter of history; but they were factors of major importance, and it was significant that Nehru's mind was working in the same direction at the same time. The first official indication however which Auchinleck received that the Cabinet Mission's plan (which, in theory, still held the ground) was to be abandoned and another substituted for it was a Muslim League move.

On April 8, at his daily Staff Meeting, the Viceroy had read aloud a letter from Liaquat Ali Khan, the Finance Member of the Interim Government, drawing attention to what he described as 'the inadequate representation of Muslims in the Armed Forces'. He wanted these reorganized forthwith so that they could be more readily split up between Pakistan and Hindustan at the proper time. Ismay stressed that to take any action on Liaquat's letter would be to prejudice the political issue. Until and unless the Viceroy reported otherwise to His Majesty's Government, the Cabinet Mission plan still held, and that plan envisaged one national Army.

Commander-in-Chief. None the less, underneath the surface tension it was clear that there was a tremendous respect for Auchinleck and genuine dismay at the threat of his resignation, which had brought the actual crisis to a head. After three hours of intense discussion, a formula was found. Auchinleck was prevailed upon to write it out himself. It invoked the Federal Court as an adviser on the merits of each particular outstanding case.

Early on the following morning Auchinleck set off on a tour of the North-West Frontier Province and the northern Punjab. He was away until April 5. After he had gone a difficulty arose about the formula with which the Government hoped to answer the attack.

Viceroy to Field-Marshal Auchinleck

3 April 1947

About an hour before the I. N. A. resolution was to be discussed Spens came to the Viceroy's House and said that he and his colleagues were still rather doubtful about the wording of the formula. They had a discussion with Abell and the upshot was that they did not want it to appear from the statement that they were requested to advise by the Commander-in-Chief or report to him. They thought that their position required that the reference should be from the Viceroy and their report should go to him.

2. This makes no practical difference and at our discussion with members of the Cabinet you agreed that the request to advise might come from the Government. To meet the Federal Court's point of view I had to modify the formula at very short notice. The text is attached.

3. I need not tell you that had you been in Delhi I should have consulted you personally, but knowing you would wish to stand by our agreement provided it were not materially altered I went ahead. I hope you agree.

4. Nehru made an excellent speech in the Assembly, backed you up very strongly, paid you a fine tribute, and said that the Government would have to resign if his amendment to the resolution on the lines of the formula was not accepted.

5. The mover of the resolution ultimately withdrew the motion which is a happy outcome.

Thank you so much for your help in this very difficult case.

Text of Formula

Although the Government does not question that in this matter the Commander-in-Chief has acted throughout in good faith and according to his lights for the good of India and the Armed Forces, they are, in view of the special circumstances of the case, prepared to request that

the available judges of the Federal Court should be called in as advisers in this matter only and without creating any precedent whatever.

What we have in mind is that before any further consideration is given to the matter by the Commander-in-Chief these advisers should examine the proceedings of the various Courts Martial, give their opinion as to the desirability of reviewing the findings and sentences in each case, and report whether, in their opinion, the findings and sentences should be altered or modified in any manner.

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the tenacity which Liaquat Ali Khan displayed. Second to Jinnah himself, he must be regarded as the creator of Pakistan. For the question of the division of the Armed Forces was the crux of the whole debate. If this fundamental point of principle were to be conceded, then the emergence of an independent Pakistan must inevitably follow. Liaquat's proposition was a rapier thrust at the very heart of the idea of a unitary India.

If the Armed Forces could not be divided, India could not be divided. If they could be split up, India would be bound to be partitioned. It is not to be doubted that Liaquat's communal opponents in the Cabinet appreciated this; why then did they not stand and fight? The implacable answer lay in their own past. The politicians of Congress had spent a lifetime disliking and despising the Indian Army—Nehru, the socialist, the pacifist, the internationalist above all. Through all Nehru's correspondence with Auchinleck, from the moment he entered the Interim Government, despite his courtesy and his sensitivity, he was haunted by his old prejudices. He seized on the traitors, the poltroons and the murderers of the I.N.A. and tried to make national heroes of them. These feeble instruments came apart in his hands. If a politician is to use an army, he must understand what an army is: if an army is to be of use to a politician, it must be a strong army. But Nehru was no Cromwell, Liaquat had him pinned on April 8 and knew it.

On April 18, ten days after Liaquat's letter was read to the Viceroy's Staff Conference, and two days before Auchinleck—going through the correct and constitutional channels—presented his views on the Hon. Finance Member's paper to the Hon. Defence Member Nehru, in a speech to the All-India States People's Conference, said: 'The Congress . . . have recently on practical considerations passed a resolution accepting the division of the country.' Later in the same month he declared:

The Muslim League can have Pakistan if they want it but on the condition that they do not take away other parts of India which do not wish to join Pakistan.

Auchinleck presented his views on Liaquat's paper to the Defence Member on April 20. He was robustly and unequivocally opposed to the Finance Member's suggestion, not on any grounds of affection towards Hindus rather than Muslims, but for sheerly military and administrative reasons. He began his *aide-memoire* with the round statement:

The Armed Forces of India, as they now stand, cannot be split

Mountbatten agreed that there could be no splitting of the Indian Army before the withdrawal of the British for two reasons. 'The mechanics won't permit it, and I won't.' . . . Even if it was decided to demit power to individual Provinces, it would still be essential to keep central control of Defence. . . . Abell said the key question was : Is the Cabinet Mission plan dead ?

Liaquat was too alert, too resolute and too well versed in the conduct of affairs to walk into a trap, even if it were neatly baited. He prepared a short and formidable document headed boldly: 'Preparation of plan for the partition of the Indian Armed Forces'. He went into no matters of detail at all, restated his thesis (which bore no marked relation to the facts) that the representation of Muslims in the Armed Forces was 'grossly inadequate', and remarked blandly:

In order that the constitutional issue should not be prejudged it is necessary to devise a course of action which should not be to the advantage or prejudice of either political party. This neutral position would be obtained by reorganizing the Armed Forces in such a manner that they can be split up when a decision on the partition of the country is taken. An essential preliminary is the preparation of a plan by the Commander-in-Chief and his staff for the partition of the Armed Forces. This will necessarily take some weeks and if taken in hand immediately should be ready by about the time that a decision on the main constitutional issue is reached. The time limit set by H. M. G. demands that no time should be lost in preparing such a plan which will in no way interfere either with the present political negotiations or the present status of the Armed Forces.

Liaquat was strongly entrenched in his position as Finance Member of the Interim Government. He was acting, on the surface, with complete constitutional propriety. But this was a Government deeply divided against itself. Each side was playing for immensely high stakes. The Muslim League members of the Government were in a minority. The Defence Member, Baldev Singh, through whose office this paper had to pass, was a Sikh. In Delhi itself, in the countryside around, and northwards across the great expanse of the Punjab, Muslims and Sikhs were engaged in a sharpening and ever more violent conflict. On the plane of political tactics the Muslim League at this moment appeared to be ringed with enemies, to whom—if they were going to get Pakistan—they could afford to concede nothing. They must strike as vigorously and as incisively as they could, and they must time their blows unerringly.

It is impossible not to admire the skill, the sureness of touch and

up into two parts each of which will form a self-contained Armed Force.

He supported this assertion with a wealth of sheer hard, factual knowledge about the state and composition of the Indian Army, the R.I.N. and the R.I.A.F. and concluded:

. . . . The formation of two separated Armed Forces is not just a matter of redistributing certain classes of men. It is a matter of the greatest complexity and difficulty, not only in the preliminary planning stages but also, and more particularly, in the practical means of bringing any such plan into being.

Any such drastic reorganization would have to be carried out in stages over a period of several years, and during this period there would be no cohesive Armed Force capable of dealing with any serious defensive operations on the North-West Frontier.

Meanwhile it has not been possible to suspend planning on the assumption that H.M.G. will hand over a unified Armed Force. In the absence of any such plan, the cost of the Armed Forces could not have been calculated, demobilization could not have been carried out and provision for the requisite officers, equipment, supplies and accommodation could not have been made.

In short, no plan at all could have been handed over by June 1948.

As it is likely that any rumour concerning a proposal to divide the Armed Forces would have an immediate and unsettling effect on the morale of the Muslim soldiers, ratings and airmen, it is urged that this matter should not be discussed except on the highest level.

I wish to stress that in the present state of communal unrest in India any publication of such discussions might well be disastrous to the continued morale and efficiency of the Armed Forces.

Baldev Singh—whether his reasons for doing so were purely disinterested is open to question—supported the Commander-in-Chief stoutly. He too composed a Cabinet paper, which was in large measure a recapitulation of Auchinleck's arguments, and ended with three cogent paragraphs:

. . . . Respect for law and order is rapidly waning. In certain parts, large sections of population have lost confidence in the ability of the police to protect life and property. The only relieving factor in this dark picture is that the integrity of the Armed Forces is still unsullied. Their aid is sought after and welcomed by all everywhere irrespective of group or communal considerations. They, on their part, have fully measured up to the expectations of the Government and the

people. It would indeed be an irreparable disaster if a Force such as this was exposed to risks that would not only weaken but ultimately destroy its worth.

For these reasons

(a) I am strongly of the view that the time is not opportune to discuss the proposal of H.M., Finance, in the Defence Committee of India in terms as stated by him.

(b) I cannot agree to suspend the present plans for the reorganization and nationalization of the Armed Forces which, on the other hand, must proceed in view of the urgency of many complex issues that cannot be shelved without serious loss of time and money, and risk of endangering the efficiency of the Forces.

In view of the difficulties I have stated and inherent in this problem at this stage, I would suggest instead that H.E. the Viceroy might informally discuss the issues involved personally with H.M., Finance, or any other Hon'ble Members as he may deem fit.

But by this time Mountbatten himself had decided that there could be no united India except at the cost of a major civil war. He was beginning to hammer out, in his own agile brain and in close and secret conclave with his personal staff, the details of what subsequently became known as the Mountbatten Plan. He perceived quite clearly that this would entail the division of the Armed Forces, to which the opposition by all sections of opinion—except the Muslim League—had been determined.

Mountbatten was anxious for all the expert briefing he could get.

Field-Marshal Auchinleck to Viceroy

24 April 1947

You asked me the other day to give you my opinion on the strategic implications of the setting up of an independent Pakistan. I enclose a note which sets out the situation as I see it, taking a long-term view of the problem.

I also enclose a note written by my Deputy Chief of the General Staff setting out a view which might well be taken by the advocates of Pakistan. In my opinion, this view is really a short-term one and does not take into account the potentialities of the future.

The D.C.G.S.'s conclusion was:

It will be agreed that Pakistan is economically a poor country, and that her resources are small. But it can be argued that she will be no poorer than Afghanistan or Persia, who have successfully retained their independence and preserved their nationality through two world wars.

At the worst, Pakistan can have an army equal to the armies of

Afghanistan, Persia or Burma. Within the whole international set-up, why then should she be in a worse position to defend herself?

I suggest that the above is, in outline, the sort of view of the situation that the advocates of Pakistan will take. They will refuse to consider the situation in terms of any threat from a first-class power or in terms of armoured forces or air offensives. They will regard their defence problem in terms of some local third-class war which will be settled one way or another with infantry and artillery.

Auchinleck's view was both wider and less naive. It did not hold out much hope for Pakistan:

. . . From the purely military and strategical aspect, which is the only angle from which the problem has been viewed in this paper, it must be concluded that the provision of adequate insurance in the shape of reasonably good defensive arrangements for Pakistan would be a most difficult and expensive business, and that no guarantee of success could be given.

Thursday, April 24, and most of the morning of Friday, April 25, were spent in drafting the plan to transfer power. But no member of the Interim Government was at these meetings. Nor was the Commander-in-Chief. During April 25 the agenda for a meeting of the Defence Committee India and a bundle of relevant documents (Liaquat's paper, Auchinleck's comments and Baldev Singh's comments) were circulated. They went, marked 'Top Secret and Personal', to the Viceroy's Private Secretary, to the Commander-in-Chief, to the Cabinet Secretary, to Nehru, Baldev Singh, Liaquat Ali Khan and five other Ministers.

The Deputy Secretary (Military) of the Cabinet, Brigadier J. G. Elliott, in a covering note, drew attention to Baldev Singh's suggestion that, in order to preserve secrecy, the Viceroy should at this stage only discuss the matter informally with Liaquat Ali Khan and any other members he might think fit. 'Members of the D.C.I. are requested,' the note concluded, 'to treat all these papers as *very specially secret*'.

The Defence Committee India met at six o'clock that evening. Liaquat's paper was item five on the agenda. Mountbatten opened the discussion:

I regret that I have had to override the advice of the Honourable Member for Defence and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and bring this paper before the committee. They have been so impressed

with the need for secrecy, because of the disastrous effect on the Armed Forces if it became known that this matter was even under consideration, that they have been reluctant to agree to the matter being discussed at all. I, too, fully appreciate the great importance of ensuring complete secrecy in this matter.

My reasons for bringing the matter to this committee are that I require your views for inclusion in my report to His Majesty's Government as to the form of government I shall recommend for India. Pakistan is an issue which must be faced, and the partition of the Armed Forces is one of its most important implications.

Baldev Singh spoke next. He stood staunchly by what he had written:

Any division of the Forces must follow the political decision in favour of Pakistan—always assuming that that decision is going to be taken. If it precedes such a decision, the consequences may be very serious.

Liaquat Ali Khan said:

I agree that the decision about the Armed Forces must obviously follow the political decision, but there must be a plan in readiness to go ahead with separation if Pakistan is accepted. Also, nothing must be done now which will in any way complicate what is already a difficult problem.

There was then a lengthy general discussion on many of the administrative complications which would present themselves. Auchinleck intervened once, to point out, gently but effectively, that his paper had been written merely in order to explain the practical difficulties, and was not intended in any way to influence the decision for or against Pakistan. 'There are obvious flaws in it,' he said, 'but that is because I've been given no clear terms of reference as to the relation between the two States.'

The Viceroy summed up fully and lucidly. He suggested that the issue should not be put to the Indian Cabinet until the political decision had been taken. He went on to stress the need for secrecy and proposed that those members of the committee who did not need their papers for subsequent reference should return them to the Cabinet Secretariat at the end of the meeting for safe custody, and that they should be reissued when the subject was again put on the agenda. He thought that the Armed Forces could probably complete nationalization by 1 June 1948 without reducing standards to an

The committee then reached their conclusions. They decided that the issue of the separation of the Armed Forces should not be put to the Cabinet until political decision had been made. They directed Auchinleck to think about both the personnel of the small high-level committee which he ought to set up and the broad outline of the problems this committee would have to tackle. For this purpose he would have to assume that the terms of reference of the committee would be drawn up by the Viceroy on the basis of the political decision. They authorized Auchinleck to hold up nationalization at his discretion until the political decision was reached, his guiding principle being that no action should be taken which would prejudice or complicate separation, should it finally become necessary.

The vitally important fact about this meeting, assessed in the light of history, is that the whole discussion, the Viceroy's summing-up and the committee's decisions were based on two assumptions which nobody challenged: first, that the earliest conceivable date for the transfer of power was 1 June 1948; and second, that since until that date the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, would remain responsible for law and order throughout India, he could not possibly accept any weakening of the Armed Forces.

This was on the evening of 25 April 1947. What happened between then and 15 August 1947 totally to invalidate these assumptions and expose them as mocking and delusive?

* * *

The path towards the final transference of power, the end of the Raj and the emergence of the two succession States, India and Pakistan, was swift and steep. The principle of partition was accepted by the Viceroy and his staff in the last week of April. Lord Ismay had sounded Jinnah on his reactions to a division of Bengal and the Punjab, both of which were Provinces with a narrow Muslim majority and large non-Muslim minorities.

'Better a moth-eaten Pakistan,' Jinnah answered, 'than no Pakistan at all.'

Of the Hindu leaders, Gandhiji alone remained intractably opposed to partition; but he no longer wielded absolute authority. Power had passed to Nehru and Patel, the two outstanding men in the All-India Congress Committee; and they had come, reluctantly, to accept the inevitable.

The three main interests concerned, therefore, the British Government (as represented by the Viceroy), Congress and the League, had reached—wearily but irrevocably—agreement on one basic principle: the transfer of power would not be made to a unitary State. But as late as the evening of April 25, in the Defence Committee of India—the most

unacceptably low level. As an alternative, he felt that the Armed Forces might complete separation by the same date without undue risk. But to attempt both nationalization and separation by that date was, in his opinion, running a very dangerous risk. He stressed the unique position of the Armed Forces and their reputation for impartiality in the existing state of communal tension. He continued:

I bear personal responsibility for law and order. I must carry this until such time as I can hand it over to one or more responsible authorities. While I bear that responsibility I have, in the last resort, the use of British troops to fall back on. After 1 June 1948 there will be no British troops. But the need for reliable and impartial armed forces may still exist. By unduly hastening the process of separation we may defeat our own ends and produce a situation in which the Armed Forces may be semi-organized and not reliable. Much as I should like to see the separation completed, I must emphasize my own doubts as to the possibility of achieving this in the time available, without weakening the Armed Forces. This I cannot possibly accept while I am responsible for law and order.

He threw out a suggestion that the forces of Hindustan and Pakistan might be pooled. Each could have its own G. H. Q., and there could remain a Federal G. H. Q. in general control until such time as separation could be completed without detriment to efficiency.

I agree that there must be a plan, because when Pakistan is announced it will be imperative at once to let the Armed Forces know where they stand, and to reassure them that preparations for their separation are in hand. Perhaps the Commander-in-Chief might make a personal broadcast, indicating how he proposes to proceed.

Finally, Lord Mountbatten put forward the idea of a small high-level staff which should consider, in secret, outline plans for going ahead with partition, if that proved to be necessary, and should think about the possibility of holding up measures of nationalization until the political decision was taken.

Auchinleck said:

What the discussion has brought out is that there is really no basis on which I can plan for separation. So many factors are uncertain. I do agree that I can put in hand—in broad outline—a certain amount of planning. All this can determine is the problem that will have to be tackled and the staff I shall need to do the job. As for nationalization, I agree that that can be temporarily postponed.

august and powerful policy-making body at that time outside the Interim Government itself—the accepted date for the transfer was 1 June 1948.

On Saturday, April 26, it was decided that Lord Ismay and Abell should fly back to London to secure Cabinet approval of the first draft of Mountbatten's plan, envisaging partition, and to hammer it out clause by clause with the Government and officials concerned'.

Lord Ismay was an officer of the Indian Army and one of Claude Auchinleck's oldest friends. Years of his splendid career had been spent far from India, at the centre and fountainhead of power in Britain. Beneath his charm, his suavity of manner and his sophistication, Ismay was a man of deep, tenacious affections and loyalties. He had come back to India, out of retirement, to render one last service to the land in which his youth had been spent. But was this the India he had known?

He said afterwards:

The communal feeling I found, I just did not believe possible. It tore at you, all the time. There was slaughter everywhere. We British had all the responsibility and none of the power. The police force was already undermined, and the Civil Service were frustrated and madly anxious. They were blamed by both Nehru and Jinnah for everything that went wrong.

This was one reason why, to delay partition, would be to increase the disasters. There was another reason: the Viceroy's Executive Council, which had been composed of six or eight wise men, had disappeared. We had instead a Cabinet of nine Congress leaders and five Muslim League leaders who could agree on only one thought—that the British should quit India.

June 1948 was obviously, in Ismay's view, not too early for the transfer of power, but too late. It would not, he believed, be possible to achieve an orderly hand-over to 'a government that barely existed, a civil service torn by internal strife, and many millions of people intent on killing each other. The perils were inevitable: with delay, they would only increase'.

The evidence to support this view accumulated rapidly in the week which elapsed before Ismay and Abell set off for London. On Sunday, April 27, George Abell, who had been up to Lahore, returned and told Viceroy that Sir Evan Jenkins considered that there was a grave danger of civil war. Abell asked Jenkins whether there was any alternative to a British withdrawal in June 1948; Jenkins said that there was none, but that there was a real peril that the hand-over would be made to chaos. On Monday, April 28, the Mountbattens set off on a brief, exacting and at times dangerous tour of the North-West Frontier and the Punjab.

On Tuesday, April 29 Auchinleck flew to London. He too had come to accept the fact that there was no alternative to partition. Its strategical and administrative consequences would be vast. The administrative burden he would have to shoulder alone; but it was essential that he should make clear to the Government in London and to the Chiefs of Staff his view of its effects on British, Commonwealth and Allied world strategy. He spent some time in London on this task, and then took several days' delayed leave in Switzerland.

Meanwhile, events moved at breakneck speed in India. Mountbatten was back in Delhi on the evening of Wednesday, April 30. His wife, whose fearlessness was of great moral and indeed political significance at this time, continued her tour of the riot areas. On Thursday the Viceroy's Staff Meeting had a long discussion on the question of India remaining within the Commonwealth, and on the consequences if—after partition—one part of India decided to stay and one part to go.

There were significant differences of approach to this intensely important question, out of which in the end emerged the solution to the whole problem of the transference of power. Mountbatten was firmly opposed to the idea of one part only remaining in the Commonwealth, with the consequent risk of Britain being involved in the support of one Indian sovereign State against another; only British India as a whole, he held, should be permitted to remain in the Commonwealth.

Ismay argued that it would be virtually impossible, on moral as much as on material grounds, to eject from the Commonwealth any part of India that might ask to remain in it. If Pakistan were involved, he foresaw grave effects in the whole Islamic world, including the Middle East, British backing; he said, if not of the whole then of a part of India, might be the one way to avoid a civil war.

Abell, like Ismay, was conscious that Britain would have a continuing moral responsibility, but said that the worst way of fulfilling it might be the unilateral support of Pakistan.

Micville pointedly drew attention to the obligations of the Commonwealth nations under the Statute of Westminster, and then—almost as an afterthought—added that V. P. Menon had told him that Patel might be ready to accept an offer of Dominion status for the time being. V. P. Menon, at that time Reforms Commissioner to the Government of India, was one of the ablest senior members of the Indian Civil Service. His relations with the Congress leaders, particularly Patel, were close and cordial. The idea of Dominion status as a way out of the deadlock was Menon's. Before Wavell's departure Menon had seen Patel and pointed out that an agreed form of partition was the only alternative to a continuation and expansion of civil

war. He argued that so long as Congress held out for a united India and complete separation:

... the Viceroy ... the civil and military services and London would support the League. Partition, with both India and Pakistan as Dominions, would eliminate the League's preferred status with the British, would facilitate parliamentary approval of the transfer of power and would restore the Congress to the good graces of Delhi.

Menon therefore propounded the formula of Indian acceptance of Dominion status for the time being; Patel was impressed and said that he approved it. It is indicative of the atmosphere which surrounded Indian politics at this time that Patel did not tell Nehru. Menon's analysis of the British attitude was biased and inaccurate, but it had led him to a workable formula, on which Mountbatten's alert brain seized. On the morning of Wednesday, May 7, the Viceroy went to Simla for several days, taking V. P. Menon with him. By this time Menon had been fully apprised of Mountbatten's interest in his proposal and had secured Nehru's approval for it. In the afternoon, at a meeting which Menon attended, it was discussed at some length. Menon 'confirmed both Patel's and Nehru's positive approach to the subject'; he also said that it would be necessary to drop the terms 'King-Emperor' and 'Empire', to which many Indians objected. Menon

... was finally asked to prepare a paper setting out the procedure whereby a form of Dominion Status could be granted to India under the alternative Plans of Partition and Demission.

By the morning of Friday, May 9, the Dominion status solution had acquired, in Mountbatten's mind, the utmost urgency and importance. The processes by which he had reached this conclusion were these: the Cabinet Mission plan, to all intents and purposes, was dead by April 22, when Mountbatten himself had begun to think in terms of Dominion status but could not see how it could be achieved; the reports of various Provincial Governors, his own and his wife's experiences in the strife-torn areas, and Ismay's reactions and opinions, all convinced him, between April 28 and May 5, that to delay the transfer of power until June 1948 would prolong the civil war and create conditions of greater chaos even than then existed; Ismay and Abell went to London, their minds—and hearts—full to overflowing with the sense of urgent need to avert this enlargement of the disaster; V. P. Menon came upon the scene with a possibly feasible solution—if the opposing sides could be brought to accept it.

All the forces which could bring about a break—albeit a profoundly convulsive break—in the deadlock were now converging and compelling a decision: Ismay in London persuading the Cabinet that there would be appalling consequences if the transfer of power were delayed, supplied the moral and emotional impulse; Mountbatten in Simla gave the energy and the drive towards radical and ruthless action; V. P. Menon offered the practical formula.

At his Staff Conference on Friday, May 9 Mountbatten said that he thought it

... most desirable that if Dominion status was to be granted to India before June 1948 the grant should in fact take place during 1947. He went so far as to say that he would like to see Dominion status by 31 December 1947. . . .

Nehru arrived in Simla during that Friday, accompanied by his new adviser and close friend, Krishna Menon. This remarkable individual, who was no relation of V. P. Menon, had lived as an expatriate in London for many years. He was a barrister and a journalist, and on the eve of his departure for his homeland early in 1947 he was a leading Socialist member of the St. Pancras Borough Council and Chairman of its Public Libraries Committee. When he returned to London in August it was as his country's High Commissioner. His influence on Nehru at this time was great, but far from helpful.

His first move was to resist any splitting of the Army if early Dominion status were accepted. But adroit as he was, he was too late by a little over a fortnight. In principle, the idea of a division of the Army had been accepted on April 25; and on this, however grim a prospect it held out, there was no going back.

* * *

The details of the political manoeuvres, tergiversations and somersaults of the next few weeks are not the direct concern of this narrative. The decision reached was a sheerly political one: all other considerations—administrative, military and strategical—were flung overboard. There is no evidence to show that, after April 25, the Commander-in-Chief was consulted again as to policy: he was simply given his instructions and told to carry them out. This is not to be construed as a deliberate affront either to Auchinleck or to the Armed Forces which he commanded; but it was the expression of an extraordinary and unprecedented revolution in fundamental attitudes on the part of the Viceroy.

On April 25, with 1 June 1948 firmly in his mind as the earliest possible date for the transfer of power, Mountbatten had warned the

Defence Committee India, in the most solemn and explicit terms, that by hastening the process of separation of the Armed Forces they might defeat their own ends and produce a situation in which the Forces might be semi-organized and not reliable, and had said that he could not possibly accept a weakening of the Army, the R. I. N. and the R. I. A. F. so long as he remained responsible for law and order.

On May 9 he had come to regard 31 December 1947 as a practicable date for the termination of British rule. During May 10-11 he showed Nehru a version of his Partition Plan which, with Ismay's help and advice on the spot in London, had been revised by the British Government. Nehru's objections to this revised plan—he insisted that constitutionally 'Hindustan' should be regarded as the successor of the Government of India, and that Pakistan should have the legal status of a seceder nation, and he made his point—led, first, to a postponement of the public announcement of the plan from May 17 to June 2 and second, to the Viceroy's making a rapid journey to London.

Prodigious, all-consuming haste thereafter became the dominant characteristic of this astonishing and momentous operation. It had taken more than two centuries to build up the Indian Empire, and to give to the sub-continent a unitary political and constitutional structure. The whole structure was demolished in exactly two and a half months.

Mountbatten and Auchinleck returned to Delhi on May 31. Mountbatten's arguments in London, added to those of Ismay and Abell, had convinced the British Government that the most rapid and drastic solution was the only solution. The Government therefore agreed to the proposal to establish two self-governing Dominions of India and Pakistan, equal in all respects with the other member States of the Commonwealth and both having the right, in accordance with the Statute of Westminster, to decide whether or not they remained in the Commonwealth. The chief physical and ethnological difficulties in the way of a clean-cut division between the two new States lay, as they had always lain, in Bengal and the Punjab. The final decision in respect of partition was left to the votes of the Provincial Governments of the Punjab and Bengal and it was agreed that, in the event of a favourable vote, a Boundary Commission would be appointed. Mountbatten also persuaded the British Government, at the end of May, to put the necessary legislation through Parliament before the summer recess.

On June 2 Mountbatten, after ceaseless activity behind the scenes, announced his plan to the Indian political leaders and obtained the agreement of Nehru and his Congress colleagues and the tacit acquiescence of Jinnah. On June, 3, in London and in Delhi, these enormous decisions were made public. In Delhi the Viceroy, Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh—these three as a result of Mountbatten's cajolery—made

broadcasts explaining the decisions and asking for public co-operation through the transition period.

Nehru, that strange and complex being who had told Auchinleck that though not a politician he was forced to play a politician's part, had a poet's appreciation of the terrible grandeur, at once challenging and tragic, of the vast enterprise on which, at headlong speed, they were now embarking. And into the microphone in the hot, crowded little studio at All-India Radio, while the technicians flustered about with voice tests and timing for later speakers, he uttered a single sentence whose poignancy must echo down the generations to come.

'We are little men,' he said, 'serving great causes, but because that cause is great something of that greatness falls upon us also.'

* * *

But the sense of greatness was to be recaptured only through travail and tribulation. What of that final bastion of stability, that one final breakwater against the raising tides of communal hatred, fractricidal conflict, social and civil chaos, the Indian Army? That too was for division and demolition. The politicians scorned it in the days of its strength and its victory; in their own hour of self-absorbed and self-conscious triumph they ignored it, pushed it aside as of minor importance, and treated it as one more insignificant item of office equipment, as easily disposed of as the telephones, the type-writers and the filing cabinets, over which there was to be such fierce haggling in the next few weeks. A time would come when they would wring their hands and cry for the Army they had despised and rejected; and even then, so great a mercy were they granted in their blind, angry folly, they did not cry in vain.

On June 4, the Viceroy held a Press conference in the Legislative Assembly in New Delhi for some three hundred Indian and foreign journalists. In the course of this conference he 'gave the first informal indication that August 15, would be the likely date for the actual transfer of power to the new Dominions'.

There followed, for Auchinleck and his small, heavily depleted and grossly overworked staff, weeks of the most arduous and concentrated endeavour in the full heat of summer. Administratively alone—apart from its emotional undertones and its political overtones—the task which he had been set was of nightmare complexity. A delicate and elaborate operation which it ought to have taken at least a year to perform had to be hustled through in under two months.

The motive power behind the relentless speed which characterized the British withdrawal from India was Mountbatten's. He believed, and he had convinced the British Government, that this was the only way in which it could be done. He also believed that only the shock of

realizing that the British were going, and going at once, would bring the opposing sides in India to face the consequences and accept their own responsibilities.

A Punjabi, a magistrate grown old in the British service, observed sadly in the autumn of 1947:

The British are a just people. They have left India in exactly the same state of chaos as they found it.

This was a natural enough verdict against the immediate background of that terrible time, but it cannot be regarded, in historical terms, as a fair or adequate assessment of British motives and actions. It was not fair to the British Government or the Viceroy: it was hashly unjust to the Commander-in-Chief and the British officers of the Indian Army.

The first effect of the Viceroy's shock treatment was to numb the senses of the Indian leaders. They went on repeating, like men in a trance, the movements and gestures which had become habitual over years. The Viceroy and his staff therefore gave them a second shock, a memorandum entitled 'The Administrative Consequence of Partition'.

To divide the personnel, assets and liabilities of the great and cumbrous structure of the Indian Empire in the brief period—seventy-two days precisely—which remained before the transfer of power, a Partition Council was set up and held its first meeting on June 13, ten days after the promulgation of the Mountbatten Plan. It consisted of two representatives each of the succession States, which were now described officially as India and Pakistan, and its president was the Viceroy. It appointed a Steering Committee of two. These were two Indian members of the Indian Civil Service, nominated respectively by the Congress and Muslim League representatives on the Council; they were H. M. Patel, who was the Cabinet Secretary, and Muhammad Ali, Financial Adviser in the Military Finance Department. They were conspicuously able, had often worked closely together, and were on the best of terms with each other.

Through them ten Expert Committees, composed of officials only, submitted recommendations to the Partition Council. The separation of the Armed Forces, and the control of and responsibility for them during the period of transition, presented their own specially grave problems which called for special treatment.

The first step was the establishment of an Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee and a Joint Defence Council. Auchinleck, in a report which he subsequently submitted to the British Cabinet and the Chiefs of Staff, said :

The term 'Reconstitution' was specifically adopted in order to avoid what was at the time considered likely to be the adverse psychological effect of the term 'division' on the Indian officers and men who had for so long regarded themselves as a closely integrated and unified body, whatever their creed or class.

Auchinleck put up his proposals for the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee to the Viceroy on June 11. With these proposals there was a covering note of some significance:

Field-Marshal Auchinleck to General Lord Ismay

11 June 1947

I can not stress too strongly my conviction that the success of any plan for the division of the Indian Armed Forces depends on the willing co-operation of the British officers now serving with them, the great majority of whom it will be essential to retain during the process of reconstitution.

The goodwill of British officers is more likely to be secured if the Partition Committee—on behalf of the future Governments of Hindustan and Pakistan—openly state that the services of British officers are essential to the success of reconstitution, notwithstanding the 'Quit India' cry of the past, and request them to remain in positions of command and on the staff during the period of the reconstitution of the Armed Forces.

I hope that this may be done, as I am not at all certain in my own mind that the requisite number of British officers will wish to stay on, and I am most strongly opposed to the application of any form of compulsion to them.

Without Auchinleck's personal leadership and his selfless devotion to duty, the whole complex enterprise would have foundered at the outset. One of Nehru's biographers said that 'British Officers generally were opposed' to the the division of the Armed Forces. The truth is that, whatever their dismay, alarm, sorrow, or disbelief in the practicability of that division, they all co-operated loyally and held their personal feelings in check.

On this troubled scene there arrived, on June 23, for a three-day visit to India, the new C.I.G.S., Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery. He was markedly ignorant of India and Indian conditions. Although he was splendidly entertained by the Viceroy, and had conversations with both Nehru and Jinnah, it cannot be said that his intervention was helpful or constructive.

Montgomery noted in his diary on June 24, that partition at such a speed raised terrific problems, and prophesied that if these were not settled by the closest co-operation between the two Dominions,

there would be 'the most awful chaos and much bloodshed'. He was quite right; but so were those who, with much more knowledge, experience and insight, had been making the same sombre prophecy for months past, and had been trying to bring about that co-operation. Montgomery merely formed the impression (and recorded it) that Jinnah had an intense distrust of Auchinleck and hated Mountbatten. His visit, he asserted, had two purposes: first, to settle the programme for the withdrawal of British troops; and second, to get agreement for the continued use of Gurkha troops in the British Army after India had gained her independence. The first was the constitutional responsibility and close concern of the Commander-in-Chief in India; on the second matter Auchinleck had been negotiating for many months and had concluded an entirely satisfactory agreement which subsisted for many years afterwards.

On July 1, Auchinleck sent to Mountbatten a copy of a letter he had received from a Sikh in Delhi, who pointed out that, while the 7th Sikhs were still in the Basra area protecting British oil installations in Persia,

... during these twelve months tragic events have occurred in their homeland which have upset the minds of our Sikh brothers abroad. When India is being divided our men should be home with their kinsfolk. I trust you will issue orders for speedy return to their home before the August drama unfolds itself.

This was an indication of the ominous atmosphere which surrounded every aspect of Auchinleck's work in these days.

Early in July it was possible to begin the detailed planning of the division of the Armed Forces of India. On July 5, Auchinleck gave the members of the Armed Forces Reconstitution Committee their terms of reference:

In close consultation with the Steering Committee acting under the orders of the Partition Council, to make proposals for the division of the existing Armed Forces of India, namely, the Royal Indian Navy, the Indian Army and the Royal Indian Air Force (including the various installations, establishments and stores owned by the present Defence Department of the Government of India).

The committee will work on the following assumptions:

1. Existing members of the Armed Forces serving in either State will be governed by their existing terms and conditions of service. If, subsequently, new terms are promulgated and if they do not desire to serve on the new terms, they will be allowed to terminate their services and proportionate benefits will be admissible in the case of permanent personnel.

2. Any Indian officers or other ranks it may be necessary to engage for service in the Armed Forces between now and the date of the transfer of power should be engaged under existing terms and conditions of service, with the option of resigning from the service should they not wish to serve on under any new terms or conditions which may be imposed by the new Dominion Governments.

3. The liability for non-effective charges in respect of pensions, gratuities, annuities, etc. earned by Indian officers and other ranks of the three Services prior to the transfer of authority to the new Dominion Governments will be undertaken by these Governments and publicly so announced.

4. Except as demanded by the processes of reconstitution of the Armed Forces, there shall be no changes in the basic organization and nomenclature of formations, units, establishments and installations of the three Services, or in the class composition of units until such reconstitution is completed.

5. For the successful division of the Armed Forces the services of a number of British officers now serving in them will be required. Therefore the implementation of the plan for complete nationalization may take longer than was anticipated.

There was a note attached to the terms of reference describing the principles on which the work of the committee was to be based:

1. The division of the Indian Armed Forces is bound to be a complicated process. If it is to be accomplished without confusion and without any marked loss of morale and efficiency, it is essential that all the existing forces in India should be under a single administrative control until:

- (a) they have been finally sorted out into two distinct forces; and
- (b) the two Governments are in a position to administer, i.e. to pay, feed, clothe and equip their respective forces.

2. On the other hand, it is essential that the Union of India and Pakistan should have each, within their own territories, forces which;

(a) are with effect from August 15 under their own operational control;

(b) are on August 15 predominantly composed of non-Muslim and Muslims respectively; and

(c) are as soon as possible after August 15 predominantly reconstituted on a territorial basis.

3. The requirements set out in paragraph (c) above necessitate that partition should be in two stages. The first stage would be a more or less rough and ready division of the existing forces on a communal

basis. Plans should be made forthwith for the immediate movement to the Pakistan area of all Muslim majority units that may be outside that area, and similarly for the movement to India of all exclusively non-Muslim or non-Muslim majority units at present in the Pakistan area. In moving units to the Pakistan area, non-Muslim companies would as far as practicable be detached, and similarly Muslim companies would be detached from units being moved into the rest of India.

4. The next stage would be to comb out the units themselves on the basis of voluntary transfers. All personnel now serving in the Armed Forces would be entitled to elect which Dominion they choose to serve in. To this, however, there would be one exception, namely, that a Muslim from Pakistan now serving in the Armed Forces will not have the option to join the Armed Forces of the Indian Union, and similarly a non-Muslim from the rest of India now serving in the Armed Forces will not have the option to join the Armed Forces of Pakistan. There will however be no objection to non-Muslim personnel from Pakistan and Muslim personnel from the rest of India electing to serve in the Armed Forces of the Indian Union and of Pakistan respectively. The serving personnel will have the option to resign if they do not wish to serve in the Armed Forces of either Dominion.

While this reconstitution is being carried out, arrangements should be put in train to ensure that each Dominion shall have as soon as possible its own administrative machinery to enable it to maintain its own Armed Forces. It is not until these two processes have been completed that central administrative control can be dispensed with. Every effort should be made not only to complete the reconstitution of units, but also to provide each Dominion with its own administrative and maintenance services for its own Armed Forces by 1 April 1948, thus making it possible to dispense with central administrative control by that date. This of course does not preclude arrangements or agreements between the two Governments for sharing any administrative or training establishments.

5. If both Governments are to have operational control over their respective Armed Forces by August 15, they must each have heads for the three Services, i.e. the Navy, the Army and the Air Force, and headquarters staffs through which to exercise their functions. It is therefore important that these six heads should be selected forthwith and that they should have authority to begin setting up their headquarters so as to be ready to take over command by August 15. The heads of these Services will be directly responsible to their respective Ministries through their Defence Ministers and will have executive control of all the forces in their territories.

6. So far as central administration is concerned, the Indian

Armed Forces as a whole will remain under the administrative control of the present C.-in-C. in India who in his turn will be under the Joint Defence Council. This Council will consist of:

- (a) Governor-General or Governors-General;
- (b) the two Defence Ministers; and
- (c) the C.-in-C. in India.

If for any reason either or both of the Defence Ministers are unable to attend, another Minister or Ministers might attend in their place and, further, each Defence Minister (or the Minister acting for him) will be entitled to call in one other Minister and experts to assist him, if he so chooses.

*The Commander-in-Chief in India will have no responsibility for law and order, nor will he have operational control over any units, save those in transit from one Dominion to another; nor will he have any power to move troops *within* the borders of either Dominion.

7. In order to avoid confusion, the existing C.-in-C. in India might be entitled Supreme Commander from August 15 until his work is completed. His existing staff would of course be reduced progressively as his functions diminish.

An annexure to this document set out the methods by which the Army—and the Navy and Air Forces—would have to be controlled throughout the period of reconstitution. It emphasized the key position of the Joint Defence Council and of G. H. Q. India, which would, after August 15, become the Supreme Commander's Headquarters. Continuity of maintenance and administration could only be ensured by the retention of central control by this Headquarters. 'If there is no central control confusion and even chaos is almost certain to ensue to the detriment of the welfare, morale and contentment of the troops.'

These were the factor which, to the end, seemed of paramount importance to the professional soldiers who had served India all their lives. The politicians and the hate-maddened mobs, however, had other aims in view.

On the British side the portentous process of undoing, legally and constitutionally, the work of centuries went on apace. The Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the House of Commons on Friday, July 4. Its twenty clauses provided for the creation of two new Dominions on 15 August 1947, to whose Governments were to be transferred all the powers hitherto exercised by the British Government in India, except that of paramountcy in treaty relations with the Princely States. Each Dominion was to be headed by a Governor-General, but one of the stipulations of the Bill was that one person might serve in a dual capacity. This clause was inserted in the hope that Mountbatten might be acceptable to both new Dominions.

But on July 5 Ismay again flew to London for consultations with the Prime Minister, and to report (among many other matters of great gravity) that Pakistan did not wish Mountbatten to be its first Governor-General. Ismay was in London for a fortnight; on his way back to Delhi by air he dictated a personal progress report to his secretary. Certain of his observations in this report were subsequently published. He described the partition of the Armed Forces as 'the biggest crime and the biggest headache' and added:

It is just possible that two really good armies will emerge from the process. It is true that they will not in sum total be equal to the single army out of which they have been fashioned.

He pinned considerable hopes on the work of the Joint Defence Council. How far these hopes were in excess of fulfilment was soon to be seen.

Less than a month before the date irrevocably fixed for the transfer of power, while Auchinleck was labouring to preserve the morale and spirit of the Indian Army which it was now his duty to divide, Nehru was again niggling and nagging away about the I. N. A.:

Pandit Nehru to Admiral Mountbatten

19 July 1947

You will remember that the case of the I.N.A. prisoners was considered at length some time ago and ultimately it was decided to refer it to the judges of the Federal Court. I made a statement to this effect in the Legislative Assembly. I do not know how far this consideration by the Federal Court judges has proceeded and when we are likely to have their recommendations.

As you will no doubt appreciate, an entirely new situation arises, because of the political changes that have taken place. Normally speaking it would be entirely inappropriate for any political prisoners, or those who are considered as political prisoners, to be kept in prison after the declaration of Indian Independence. There would be a widespread feeling among the people that this independence was not real and was only a facade if such prisoners continued to be detained. It seems to me essential therefore that on or before August 15 I.N.A. prisoners should be released. I am quite certain that if this release does not take place, the matter will be raised in the Constituent Assembly which will be functioning then as a sovereign Legislative Assembly.

There is another aspect of this case. It is possible that the Pakistan Government may take some action in this matter and release the prisoners in their charge. If this happens, as it very probably will, then the retention in prisons at the instance of the India Government

would be very difficult if not impossible, and would give rise to tremendous public opinion.

In view of this situation I wish to suggest to you that very early steps should be taken to release these prisoners. This can be done quite appropriately and without any reference to the past in view of the new political status of India. If this is not done soon, a new public demand will arise and then we shall have to do it in response to that demand. It is thus for better to keep the initiative with ourselves than to be compelled by circumstances to take action.

The Viceroy's Private Secretary sent this amiable missive to Auchinleck with a request for his advice.

Field-Marshal Auchinleck to Sir George Abell

21 July 1947

I note that the Chief Justice is being asked to expedite the report of the Federal Judges' Committee on these cases.

I do not agree with all the statements made by Pandit Nehru in his letter. It is not a fact that an entirely new situation has arisen because of the political changes that have taken place. A new situation undoubtedly will arise but the political changes causing it have not yet taken place so the situation has not yet arisen.

Furthermore, it is not correct to say that the 'I.N.A.' convicts are in jail for political offences. They were convicted of crimes such as murder and brutal conduct, and not for any political reason.

I am prepared to put into effect without question any recommendations that the Judges' Committee may make, but I can not agree to take independent action for the summary release of these men on the grounds of purely political expediency. There is no logical reason at all that I can see why this should be done and I recommend most strongly that it should not be done.

On August 15 either or both the Dominion Governments will be at liberty to take any action they like in the matter.

* * *

On July 10 the House of Commons gave the Indian Independence Bill its second reading. It passed through its final stages with great celerity and without a division, and became law on July 18.

At the beginning of August new Commanders-in-Chief were appointed for the Armed Forces in the new countries. The Pakistan Army's first C.-in-C. was General Sir Frank Messervy, who had begun his soldiering career in Hodson's Horse in 1914. The new Army of India was headed by a Scot, General Sir Rob Lockhart, who had first joined the 51st Sikhs, Frontier Force, in March of that same year.

On 4 August 1947 Auchinleck addressed to these brother-officers and friends of more than thirty years this letter:

Please accept my warmest congratulations on your new appointment.

I wish you every success and all good fortune in your vital and difficult task.

If reconstitution of the Armed Forces is to be carried out rapidly and efficiently and without friction, we shall all of us, in your Headquarters and mine, have to work together in the closest co-operation and with the firm intention of doing all we can to help each other in our common task. I have already impressed this necessity on the officers who are to serve on my staff when I become Supreme Commander, and I am sure you will do the same with yours.

The strongest possible spirit of friendliness and co-operation will also be essential between the Armed Forces Headquarters of the two Dominions. I shall be glad if this may be specially impressed on the British officers detailed to serve under you as I feel that we must all work as one team with one object.

You will hardly need any assurance on my part that you will receive from me and my Headquarters all the help that we can give you and that we shall have no other aim than to serve you and to help you to put your house in order with the least possible delay. . . .

You are, I think, aware that I, as Supreme Commander, have been made responsible by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for the command and administration of all British Forces staying in India after August 15. I have been empowered to report direct to the Chiefs of Staff in the United Kingdom in all matters concerning the administration, employment and well-being of these Forces.

I shall exercise this responsibility through the G.O.C. British Troops in India and Pakistan and the A.O.C.-in-C. at Supreme Commander's Headquarters. . . .

Official instructions will shortly be issued under the authority of the Joint Defence Council, of which I am a member, and by myself as Supreme Commander, defining the duties and powers of the Joint Defence Council, the Supreme Commander and the Commanders of the Dominion Forces during the process of Reconstitution.

The position can not be other than complicated and the relationships will not always be easy to define, but I have no doubt that we shall be able to work in harmony and the closest co-operation, remembering that a spirit of give and take is the best solvent of most problems. In this way we shall, I hope, have no difficulty in achieving our common object, which is to reconstitute the Armed

Forces of India with the minimum of disturbance and delay and the maximum of efficiency in the equal interest of both Dominions.

Good luck to you.

On the same day, in far-off Aberdeen, the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University wrote to Auchinleck:

On October 21 next we are to instal Field-Marshal Earl Wavell as Chancellor of this University. It is his wish, and the wish of the Senatus Academicus, that you should be present on that occasion and receive from the Chancellor the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, the highest distinction which the University can award.

I very much hope it may be possible for you to be in this country at the time of the Chancellor's installation, but, if not, I hope you will come and receive the degree at some later date.

Eleven days later British rule in India ended. On the eve of this momentous happening, Jawaharlal Nehru began a speech in the Constituent Assembly in New Delhi with the words:

Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom

Jinnah, entering Government House in Karachi for the first time as Governor-General, said to his A.D.C.

Do you know, I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime. We have to be very grateful to God for what we have achieved.

The politicians' phrases and praises abounded. Their sentiments were elevating in the extreme. Other men, who had loved India no less, responded differently. Auchinleck was not normally sparing of words. On this occasion he was markedly reticent:

SPECIAL INDIA ARMY ORDER

by

His Excellency Field-Marshal Sir Claude J. E. Auchinleck,
G.C.B., G.C.I.E., C.S.I., D.S.O., O.B.E.,
Commander-in-Chief in India

New Delhi, 14 August 1947

S.I.A.O. 79/S/47. Discontinuance of India Army Orders.

This is the last India Army Order.

R. A. SAVORY, *Lieutenant-General,*
Adjutant-General in India.

HAMDARD LABORATORIES (WAQF)

Hamdard (Pakistan) is one of the greatest pioneering institutions in Eastern as well as Western medicine in Pakistan, its growth and progress is synonymous with the growth of Pakistan. It is more than a pharmaceutical concern. It is a great national Trust (Waqf).

Founded by Hakim Muhammad Said in 1948, with a small group of devoted colleagues, it has registered phenomenal growth and now employs over 700 scientists, chemists, pharmacists, physicians and others in its various departments. However, Hamdard is distinct from other pharmaceutical concerns in that it has a mission, the noble mission of :

- (a) conducting scientific research in Eastern Medicine, a precious treasure and heritage left by old Masters of Medicine like Ibn-e-Sina, Razi, Ibn-e-Rushd, Zahravi, Ibn-e-Baytar and Jobir Ibn-e-Hayyan, Hakim Abdul Majeed and Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan.
- (b) Serving suffering humanity even in the remotest parts of the country—both wings where normal facilities are not available.
- (c) Utilising the vast wealth of medicinal plants in the country.

A sense of dedication to this mission made Hakim Muhammad Said convert his personal enterprise into a Waqf in 1953. The income thus obtained has been devoted to the progress of Eastern medicine and education for which a full-fledged Academy of Eastern Medicine (Jamia Tibbiya Sharqia) has been established in 1958. Moreover, a conscientious and steady effort in health education of the public is made through medical journals in Urdu, Bengali, English, Persian and Arabic. Hamdard provides curative and preventive medical services through a chain of fully equipped clinics at Karachi, Sukkur, Lyallpur, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Dacca a pathological examinations are conducted in its Pathological Laboratory on a no charge basis.

The Hamdard National Foundation has set up a colossal undertaking viz., the Institute of Health and Tibbi Research. The Institute has immediate plans for a Health Education Centre and a Hospital of which the foundation stone has been laid in December 1966 by the President of Pakistan, Field Marshal Muhammad Ayub Khan, N. Pk., H. J.

Hamdard Products :

Hamdard Products are mainly and chiefly herbal in nature. They are prepared by the Greco-Arab system of medicines which is "poly-pharmaceutic" in the sense that it is based on what has now come to be known (under modern scientific terminology) as "combination therapy" and quite a large number of ingredients often go into its therapeutic preparations. Most important and salient feature of Eastern medicine to note is that it believes in the combined total effect of the various active and corrective constituents of a preparation than of any individual component. Yet another factor comes into play in determining the nature and character of these preparations, namely, that in their processing, chemical and physico-chemical changes can occur as a result of which all constituents of the recipe combine to produce one single effect. We cite here the most interesting result of the research carried out by Hamdard on our very renowned

preparation "Khamira Abresham Hakim Arshad". It is a preparation for cardiac treatment and contains some nineteen different constituents. This shows a marked hypotensive and anti-arrhythmic activity through the liberation of 5-Hydroxy tryptamine and catecholamine. It is very striking to note that this Khamira, although it seems to act like the well-known Rauwolfia type preparations, yet does not show any sedation like them even at high dosages. This sedative activity which is an undesirable complication in the treatment of some cardiovascular diseases is wholly eliminated in the multipharmaceutical combination—acting and corrective constituents—while the hypotensive and anti-arrhythmic actions are not only retained but greatly potentiated.

This striking attribute of multi-constituents recipe in the Eastern system of medicine finds a scientific explanation in modern times. A finding has been reported at the Congress of Vienna which relates to comparative studies in the anti-fibrillant cardiac actions of quindine, novocaineamide, ajmaline and serpajmaline. Professor Duerner of the University of Giessen (Germany) has shown that while serpajmaline is by far the most potent and least toxic of these four individual drugs, when a combination of quindine and novocaineamide is used in the animal experiments, their anti-fibrillant action is greatly increased and their toxicity lowered. The above finding will further substantiate scientifically the multipharmaceutical recipe theory of the Unani medicines of not being toxic even at high dosages. Hamdard enjoys the distinction of being the pioneer in standardising many of its Unani products under modern scientific methods. For the control and standardisation of the products, a small research-cum-control unit was established in 1958. This research-cum-control laboratory is equipped that all necessary analytical processes can easily be conducted. Modern analytical techniques like chromatography, electrophoresis, infra red and ultra violet spectrum, flame spectrophotometry chlorometric determination and spectrophotometric determination are usually applied to control Hamdard products. Most of the raw materials, including even some of the chemicals which are imported are subjected to control process before they are used. A strict liaison is maintained between production and control laboratories.

Hamdard is the only pharmaceutical house in the country which possesses a research unit for basic research on indigenous medicinal plants. Jhao, a plant which has long been used in Eastern medicine in jaundice, is being scientifically investigated and a purified crystalline substance has been obtained. Research on Rhazya stricta, yet another indigneous medicinal plant, found in the suburbs of Karachi, is under investigation. An alkaloid has been separated which shows hypotensive activity.

Medicinal Herbs and Plants :

Hamdard maintains a store of over 1,000 medicinal plants, the biggest of its kind in this field. Their different parts, roots, rhizomes, stems, leaves, seeds etc., etc., are stored under most suitable conditions. If a team of research scholars, botanists, pharmacognosists and others start research on yet uninvestigated medicinal plants, they would work for more than a century to complete research on them.

Another most vitally important is the plan to grow harvest and store all medicinal plants under strictly scientific conditions, which is under active consideration of the Hamdard Group. A preliminary experiment has shown that Chaksu seeds contain three adulterants. All this is a colossal undertaking that Hamdard has on its hands and we are marching forward to achieve our aims. It is a virgin field of scientific endeavour and we look forward in all earnestness to serve humanity in better and still better measures.

چند نئی اور اہم کتابیں

اردو اکیڈمی سندھ کراچی نے مندرجہ ذیل کتابیں "اکیڈمی لائبریری" کے سلسلہ میں شائع کی ہیں۔ ان کتابوں کے مستے ایڈیشن

☆ بڑا سائز ☆ عمدہ طباعت ☆ دیدہ زیب کور



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