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1916.GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.
HOME DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL—A.

Proceedings, May 1916, no. 173.

by the Punjab Government under the Defence of India Rules against the publishers of the "Resalat," and "Iqdam," three Urdu daily newspapers of Calcutta, and correspondence of Government of Bengal on the subject of taking similar action.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Letters, etc., and subjects.	Page.
Notes	1—8
Appendix	9—11
Letter from the Government of the Punjab, no. 487-8-P. B., dated the 16th February 1916, forwarding three orders under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, issued to the publishers of the "Tarjuman," "Resalat," and "Iqdam"	12—25

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February 1916, no. 24.
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A., July 1910, nos. 5—32.

LATER REFERENCES.

NOTES.

POLITICAL A.—MAY 1916.

No. 173.

ACTION TAKEN BY THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT UNDER THE DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES AGAINST THE PUBLISHERS OF THE *TARJUMAN*, *RESALAT* AND *IQDAM*, THREE URDU DAILY NEWSPAPERS OF CALCUTTA, AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL ON THE SUBJECT OF TAKING SIMILAR ACTION.

Demi-official letter from Lieutenant-Colonel W. C. Black, General Staff Branch, Army Headquarters, to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Delhi, the 26th January 1916.

I enclose an extract from a report dated the 18th January 1916, a copy of which I see has been sent to you by Sir Charles Cleveland, from which it would seem that the papers mentioned are doing a certain amount of harm in the Punjab.

The internal tranquillity of the country and a satisfactory feeling in the Indian Army are matters of the greatest importance to us just now, and it would seem that the license allowed to these papers is a decided danger to both.

It is, of course, primarily for the Home Department to decide whether action against any of these papers is advisable, but I would like to point out that the Punjab is our best recruiting ground and the sentiments of the civil population must be largely reflected in our depôts and regiments.

Extract from Report.

2. I have already stated in one of my previous letters that the editor and ostensible proprietor of the *Iqdam* newspaper of Calcutta is Mohi-ud-Din Ahmed, alias Barkat Ali, B.A. He is a son of Maulvi Abdul Qadir, Pleader of Kasur in the Lahore District. * * * * * Though printed in Calcutta the paper is sold in the bazaars of Upper India. The paper is full of objectionable matter and is doing incalculable harm. It has done every possible mischief in connection with the withdrawal of the British and French forces from the Dardanelles. In other directions, too, it is doing great harm. The *Tarjuman* and the *Resalat*, which also sell in the Punjab, are also being conducted on the same lines. They are a little less rabid than the *Iqdam*. The price per copy of the *Iqdam* is six pies whilst the Lahore dailies are sold for three pies. In Lahore the *Iqdam* sells better than the *Zamindar*. It is certainly a pity that the *Iqdam*, the *Resalat* and the *Tarjuman* are, to a large extent, undoing the good done in the Punjab by a firm and judicious administration of the Press Act. The spheres of mischief of these papers is daily widening. As soon as the printing machines of the *Iqdam* are in working order in Calcutta, there will be a considerable reduction in the cost of production.

Submitted. Director, Criminal Intelligence, recently sent us two files to see about the *Tarjuman* and *Resalat*, which were seen and returned.

The *Iqdam* paper does not appear in the latest list of newspapers we have, viz., up to the 31st December 1914. It must have started some time in 1915. The selections from the beginning of December have been examined and all the articles of which summaries are given go to show that the paper is well-written and no exception could be taken to them. It may, however, be possible that the paper issues one set of papers for perusal in the Presidency of Bengal and quite another for circulation in the Punjab.

Director, Criminal Intelligence, may be asked to note his views on the case.

A. L.,—2-2-16.

The report attached to Colonel Black's letter would have been more useful if it had given more details regarding the objectionable matter.

S. R. HIGNELL,—2-2-16.

We have already written to Bengal about these new Muhammadan papers but the difficulty is, as office points out, that if the selections are being properly prepared they are not violently objectionable. On the other hand this particular informant keeps on referring to the harm being done. We do not know if Bengal have taken any action—probably not. Director, Criminal Intelligence, may see in case he has other information.

H. WHEELER,—3-2-16.

Director, Criminal Intelligence.

I place below a series of extracts from O. M.'s reports against the rabid Muhammadan papers of Calcutta. It is hardly O.M.'s function to go into great detail (see Mr. Hignell's note of 2nd February 1916).

The Punjab Government have proscribed three of the papers and I believe the Bengal Government must now be considering what action to take. I venture to think that the action taken by the Punjab Government gives the Government of India a lever with which to move Bengal.

S. R. HIGNELL,—18-2-16.

C. R. CLEVELAND,—13-2-16.

Home Department.

Director, Criminal Intelligence's note of 13th February 1916 is submitted for orders.

2. Please see paragraph 6 of the Punjab Government's fortnightly report for the second half of January. The Punjab Government and Bengal have had some correspondence on the subject and it will perhaps be desirable to await the result before proceeding further.

A. L.,—17-2-16,

It appears from the extract (in the Director, Criminal Intelligence's file) from the *Civil and Military Gazette* dated 11th February 1916 that the Punjab Government has taken action in the matter.

I think we might well ask the Bengal Government what action they have taken or propose to take in the matter.

S. R. HIGNELL,—18-2-16.

I agree; it is intolerable to have one province proscribing papers and the province of origin omitting to take action.

H. WHEELER,—19-2-16,

I agree. I wonder whether these papers were allowed to start without giving any security.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—20-2-16.

Bengal reported the action taken by them as Secretary has noted. I have since seen somewhere (I think the last fortnightly report) that Bengal is taking security from these papers. Th's might be verified.

S. R. HIGNELL,—21-2-16.

H. WHEELER,—21-2-16.

FROM THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT, NO. 487-8-P.B., DATED 16TH FEBRUARY 1916.

For information. This is the official report of the action taken by the Punjab Government in regard to these three papers.

Paragraph 6 of the Bengal fortnightly report for the 1st half of February 1916 is submitted with reference to Secretary's note above. Please see also paragraph 6 of the Delhi fortnightly report for the same period.

Political D., March 1916, no. 49.

A. L.,—22-2-16.

No further action seems necessary at present.

The *Resalat's* future issues may be carefully examined with a view to seeing if the preferential treatment accorded it by the Bengal Government is justified.

Director, Criminal Intelligence, may see,

S. R. HIGNELL,—22-2-16,

I still think we should address Bengal and submit a draft. His Excellency should see.

H. WHEELER,—22-2-16.

Yes. I think that it is a scandal that papers of this kind should be allowed to be started without the usual security being taken.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—23-2-16.

Summary.

Recently, possibly in view of the more rigorous administration of the Press Act in the Punjab, certain Muhammadan papers have started in Calcutta, amongst them being the *Al Bilagh*, the *Tarjuman*, the *Resalat* and the *Iqdam*. No security seems to have been taken from them.

There have been various complaints about their tone, and in January last the attention of the Bengal Government was drawn particularly to the *Al Bilagh*.
Political D., January 1916, no. 37.

Sir M. O'Dwyer has recently found it necessary to exclude the *Resalat*, *Tarjuman* and *Iqdam* from the Punjab, whereas the Bengal Government is only now considering the taking of security from the last two and warning the third, along with the *Al Bilagh*.

It is thought desirable to draw their attention to the situation thus created in which the Punjab takes severe action and the province of origin is content with milder measures.

A draft demi-official letter is submitted for His Excellency's approval.

H. WHEELER,—23-2-16.

High time this was done.

H[ARDINGE],—25-2-16.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.E., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, no. 835, dated Delhi, the 28th February 1916.

In my demi-official letter no. 94-Political, dated the 13th January 1916, the attention of the Government of Bengal was drawn to the paper *Al Bilagh* and to certain Muhammadan papers recently started in Calcutta.

I am now to enclose copy of a letter (with its annexures) from the Government of the Punjab, no. 487-8-P.B., dated the 16th instant, relative to the *Tarjuman*, *Resalat* and *Iqdam*.

In paragraph 6 of your demi-official letter, dated the 17th instant, you mention that the Presidency Magistrate is demanding security from the *Iqdam* and *Tarjuman*, but that the *Resalat* and *Al Bilagh* have merely been warned.

As a recent incident concerning the *Resalat* I am to draw attention to a paragraph in the issue of the 31st December headed "Highly Exaggerated News," but purporting to be an extract from the *London Times* giving it as from Turkish sources, that the commander of the English troops in the Gulf had been driven back to Basra. We can trace nothing in the *Times* to this effect, and apart from the objectionable nature of the quotation it would be interesting to request the editor to point specifically to the extract which he has reproduced. If he cannot do so his conduct is obviously indefensible.

I am to invite the attention of the Governor in Council to the unsatisfactory position in which the head of a province containing an inflammable Muhammadan element thinks it necessary to forbid the entry of these papers, while the province of origin only after delay takes security from two of them and merely warns the third. The Press Act was intended as a preventive; a well-conducted paper has nothing to fear from the furnishing of security, which is, however, a deterrent to the ill-disposed, and it was intended to be so. If, however, that deterrent is only applied after mischief has been done, much of the efficacy of the Act is lost, and even if Bengal itself is satisfied to run the risk it is not seemly that other provinces should suffer from their action and be left to take exceptional measures to protect themselves.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. E. H. Kealy, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Peshawar, the 24th February 1916.

Sir George Roos-Keppel wishes me to forward, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of Notifications nos. 18, 19 and 20, dated the 23rd February 1916, issued by him

11 4

under rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, prohibiting the entry into the North-West Frontier Province of all copies of the vernacular newspapers entitled the *Tarjuman*, the *Resalat* and the *Iqdam* which are published at Calcutta. The Bengal Government and the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta have been informed of the action taken by this Administration.

Notification by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, no. 18, dated Peshawar, the 23rd February 1916.

Whereas in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, there are reasonable grounds for believing that Sayid Ali Qaumi, Publisher of the *Tarjuman*, an Urdu daily newspaper of Calcutta, has sent and is about to send, directly or indirectly, the said paper for circulation in the North-West Frontier Province, and whereas such circulation is in the opinion of the Administration of the North-West Frontier Province prejudicial to the public safety; the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, in exercise of the powers conferred by rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Sayid Ali Qaumi shall abstain from sending, or causing or permitting to be sent, either directly or indirectly, for circulation in the North-West Frontier Province any copies whatever of the said paper.

Notification by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, no. 19, dated the 23rd February 1916.

Whereas in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, there are reasonable grounds for believing that Ghulam Hassain alias Abul Qasim Rafiq Dilawari, Publisher of the *Resalat*, an Urdu daily newspaper of Calcutta, has sent and is about to send, directly or indirectly, the said paper for circulation in the Punjab, and whereas such circulation is in the opinion of the Administration of the North-West Frontier Province prejudicial to the public safety; the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, in exercise of the powers conferred by rule 3(c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Ghulam Hussain alias Abul Qasim Rafiq Dilawari shall abstain from sending, or causing or permitting to be sent, either directly or indirectly, for circulation in the North-West Frontier Province any copies whatever of the said paper.

Notification by the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, no. 20, dated Peshawar, the 23rd February 1916.

Whereas in the opinion of the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, there are reasonable grounds for believing that Nazim-ud-Din Ahmad, Publisher of the *Iqdam*, an Urdu daily newspaper of Calcutta, has sent and is about to send, directly or indirectly, the said paper for circulation in the North-West Frontier Province, and whereas such circulation is in the opinion of the Administration of the North-West Frontier Province prejudicial to the public safety; the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, in exercise of the powers conferred by rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Nazim-ud-Din Ahmad shall abstain from sending, or causing or permitting to be sent, either directly or indirectly, for circulation in the North-West Frontier Province any copies whatever of the said paper.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, no. 3975 P, dated Calcutta, the 25th February 1916.

I am desired to refer to your demi-official letter no. 94-Poll., dated the 15th January 1916, in which you draw attention to certain articles in Arabic which appeared in the *Al Bilagh* of the Political D., January 1916, no. 37.
26th November 1915.

2. The Press Censor interviewed the editor of the *Al Bilagh* and informed him that Government had noticed the articles and warned him seriously that any attack on Europeans as such, especially in the disguise of a religious discourse, could not be allowed and that, if references to *pan-Islamic* ideals and particularly to *jihād* continued to appear, Government would take stronger measures at once under the Press Act or the Defence of India Act. The paper, which has furnished security of Rs. 2,000, will be carefully watched.

3. As regards other Muhammadan papers started recently in Calcutta, the cases of the *Resalat*, *Tarjuman* and *Iqdam* engaged the serious attention of this Government a short

time ago. In consequence of the objectionable character of several articles which appeared in these papers, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, who had exempted the publishers of the *Tarjuman* and *Iqdam* from the deposit of security under the Indian Press Act on the ground that they intended to publish only translations of English and other newspapers, was requested to cancel his orders and to call upon them to furnish security of Rs. 1,000 each. The Chief Presidency Magistrate accordingly called upon the *Iqdam* and the *Tarjuman* to furnish security of Rs. 1,000. They have failed to do so up to the present, and have suspended publication.

Political 1486, dated 28th February 1916. It was not considered necessary to demand security from the *Resalat* as the tone of that paper had been generally free from objection, and its editor has usually shown himself amenable to advice. The editors of all three papers have, however, been warned that their future issues will be examined critically, and that Government will proceed against them without fail should they transgress. The publishers of all three papers have also been served with orders which were issued under the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules by the Government of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, prohibiting them from sending, or causing or permitting to be sent, any copies of their papers for circulation in those provinces.

4. I am to add that our late Muhammadan Press Censor, in spite of warnings, failed to keep this Government fully informed as to the contents of these papers and only put up the translations of the *Al Bilagh* articles after great delay. He has been removed, and a more competent substitute appointed.

For information. Director, Criminal Intelligence, may see. This communication was written before Secretary's demi-official letter of 28th February reached the Bengal Government.

A. L.,—2-3-16.

We may I think wait and hear what the Bengal Government has to say in reply to Secretary's letter of the 28th ultimo.

S. R. HIGNELL,—3-3-16.

For perusal. Paragraph 4 of Mr. Kerr's letter of the 25th February is instructive. I still think Bengal might have taken more vigorous action.

H. WHEELER,—3-3-16.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—3-3-16.

Director, Criminal Intelligence.

Seen and returned with thanks.

C. R. CLEVELAND,—16-3-16.

Home Department.

Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.E., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Delhi, dated Calcutta, the 18th March 1916.

I am desired to refer to your demi-official letter no. 835-Poll., dated the 28th February 1916, regarding the conduct of certain Muhammadan papers published in Calcutta. Your letter was apparently written before the receipt of my demi-official letter no. 3075-P., dated the 25th February 1916, which was a reply to your demi-official letter no. 94-Poll., dated the 15th January 1916. In your letter of the 15th January the attention of this Government was drawn to certain articles in Arabic which appeared in the *Al Bilagh* of the 26th November 1915. You also referred to the new Muhammadan papers started recently in Calcutta, and stated that there were indications that certain restless spirits were endeavouring to restart operations in the Punjab. In my letter of the 25th February you were informed of the action taken by this Government in regard to the Muhammadan Press in Calcutta, and also of the fact that the *Al Bilagh* had furnished security of Rs. 2,000. The deposit of security by the *Al Bilagh* was also mentioned in my report on the political situation for the first half of October 1915.

2. As regards the *Resalat*, it has been ascertained that the paragraph in the issue of the 31st December headed "Highly Exaggerated News" is a literal translation of a paragraph (extract enclosed) which appeared on page 1050 of the *London Times*, Weekly Edition, of the 10th December 1915. The publication of the translation constituted a breach of the instructions issued by the Deputy Chief Censor in January 1915 regarding the publication of news from enemy sources even though it has appeared in English papers, but it appears that owing

to the slackness of the late Muhammadan Press Censor, the Deputy Chief Censor's instructions were not definitely communicated to the *Resalat* till January 1916. The editor of the *Resalat* cannot therefore be held to blame for the publication of the paragraph in the issue of the 31st December. The Governor in Council has, however, carefully reconsidered the question of taking security from the *Resalat* in the light of the remarks contained in your letter. The paper was exempted by the Chief Presidency Magistrate in August 1914 from furnishing security. During its career its articles have been generally free from objection, and have frequently been distinctly loyal in tone. There have been a few instances of the publication of news from enemy sources taken from English papers, but for the reasons already explained, the editor cannot be blamed on this account. The only serious indiscretion of which it has been guilty was the publication in its issue of the 10th December 1915 of a translation of a character sketch of Enver Pasha, which appeared in the September number of the *Review of Reviews*. When the impropriety of this action was pointed out to the editor, he immediately expressed his regret and explained that he thought that there was no harm in the article as it dealt with Enver Pasha's position and views at a period some time before the outbreak of the war. As already reported to the Government of India, the editor of the *Resalat* has always shown himself amenable to advice and control and in all the circumstances of the case, the Governor in Council does not feel justified at present in moving the Chief Presidency Magistrate to modify his order exempting the paper from furnishing security. The action taken against Muhammadan newspapers generally has caused a good deal of irritation to the educated section of the Muhammadan community in Bengal, and it would, in the view of His Excellency in Council, be impolitic to add to this irritation by attacking, without real necessity, a paper which is being conducted on inoffensive lines.

4. His Excellency in Council trusts that the Government of India will acquit him of disregard of the interests of other provinces in this matter. As already explained, the Bengal Government were much hampered by the unexpected failure of the late Muhammadan Press Censor (who was a Muhammadan Deputy Collector of distinction, and who had been very carefully instructed in his duties and warned as to their importance) to keep them informed of the contents of these papers; but as soon as the matter was brought to notice, the Censor was promptly removed and replaced by a more competent officer, and immediate action was taken in regard to the offending papers. The *Tarjuman* and the *Iqdam* have already ceased to exist. The tone of the *Al Bilagh* is not altogether satisfactory, but it has given substantial security and will be carefully watched; while the *Resalat* is a paper of a different class and need not, in the opinion of His Excellency in Council, be regarded as dangerous, so long as it is conducted by its present editor on its present lines.

Extract from the "London Times," Weekly Edition, dated December 10th, 1915.

"In addition to the above official reports, the following further telegrams from Constantinople are circulated by the German wireless stations:—

"According to further reports received from Baghdad the Turkish Army is pursuing the English. The commander of the English troops fled to Basra. Amongst other things the Turks captured a wireless telephone installation.

News of the Turkish victory over the English in Mesopotamia, which became known in Constantinople yesterday afternoon, caused great rejoicing in the city, and the houses were bedecked with flags. The population of Baghdad immediately gave a concert for the benefit of the wounded.

According to later reports received three English motor-boats were damaged, and one was sunk. A major of English cavalry was amongst the killed, and there were several flags amongst the booty."

For orders. (It will be seen that the extract from the *London Times* which was republished by the *Resalat* was taken from the Weekly Edition, which is not read in office.)

A. L.,—23-3-16.

What exactly have we against the *Resalat*? The anomaly pointed out in Secretary's note dated 19th February 1916 will still continue.

S. R. HIGNELL,—23-3-16.

Director, Criminal Intelligence, has a file which would perhaps state the case against the *Resalat* in greater detail. On this file, so far as the *Resalat* is concerned, we have only the extracts forwarded with the Punjab Government's letter no. 487-8-P. B., dated the 16th February 1916. We enquired of the Bengal Government about the article headed "Highly

Exaggerated News," but the notes on the subject are in the Director, Criminal Intelligence's file referred to above.

A. L.,—28-3-16.

Perhaps it will be best on the whole to let the anomalous position continue for the present and see if the *Resalat* justifies the preferential treatment shown it by the Government of Bengal.

S. R. HIGNELL,—28-3-16.

We need not address Bengal further at present, but may let Director, Criminal Intelligence, see the Bengal letter of the 18th March.

H. WHEELER,—30-3-16.

I agree that we need not address Bengal on this particular paper; but have not Bengal got away from the original intention of the Press Act that all new newspapers should give security unless specially exempted, e.g., on grounds that they are purely literary or scientific and did not touch politics. If examination shows our position to be clear on that point, then I think that we should address Bengal again. Their present policy of exemption in the first instance merely gives newspapers many free lives and enables many political rags to be started with little or no capital which drop out when asked to find security and lays us open to a charge of suppressing newspapers.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—31-3-16.

Please look up the original orders passed after the Press Act. There was at least one circular issued and perhaps more.

H. WHEELER,—31-3-16.

Please see paragraphs 4 and 5 of the Home Department Circular letter nos. 324-333, dated the 1st March 1910. It is laid down in paragraph 4 that "Although the Act does not require any preliminary warning to offending newspapers or presses, yet when it is believed that such a warning will be effective it is desirable to give it rather than to issue such an order demanding security." Paragraph 5 of the above letters was further explained in Home Department letter nos. 403-412, dated the 31st March 1910.

These are the only orders traceable on the point raised in Hon'ble Member's note of 31st March 1916. In this connection please see the amendment proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale to section 3 (1) of the Press Act and the decision of the Council on it—pages 134 to 137 of the proceedings noted in the margin.

A. L.,—10-4-16.

S. R. HIGNELL,—10-4-16.

I do not think there is anything in the instructions issued which overrides the clear expression of the law (section 3) "Provided that the magistrate may, if he thinks fit for *special reasons to be recorded by him*, dispense with the deposit of any security." The voting on Mr. Gokhale's amendment clearly shows that Government did not accept the proposition that the taking of security should be the exception; it is the exemption from security that is the exception.

The action of the Bengal Government in exempting new papers which might be foreseen to be dangerous, and subsequently having to take security after much harm has been done, rather seems to indicate that they are drifting round to Mr. Gokhale's proposal and a letter to them would not be out of place. I submit a draft.

H. WHEELER,—11-4-16.

I think that this is quite clear, and if we look at the Eastern Bengal and Assam letter of the 12th April 1910 to all their District Officers, paragraph 6, it will be seen that they were instructed not to demand more than the minimum security from new presses and publications, and no ordinary exemptions were contemplated at all, except those indicated by the Government of India, namely where the character of the new publication was non-political, or the liability for giving security was technical only. The necessity for a letter is very clear.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—24-4-16.

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Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.E., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, no. 1409, dated Simla, the 26th April 1916.

I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your demi-official letter no. 4286-P., dated the 18th ultimo, on the subject of certain Muhammadan papers.

2. Apart from the merits of these particular cases the Government of India are uncertain whether the taking of security from fresh presses, etc., in Bengal is being regulated altogether according to the intention of the Act.

Sections 3 and 8 of the Press Act provide that the magistrate may dispense with the deposit of security "if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him," and if you will refer to the proceedings in the Imperial Legislative Council of the 4th February 1910, you will see that an amendment of the late Mr. Gokhale, the object of which (as explained by the mover) was "that only where the magistrate thinks that the press is intended or is likely to be used for the publication of prohibited matter, he should demand security," was decisively negatived. Paragraph 5 of the Home Department letter no. 326, dated the 1st March 1910, gave examples of publications, etc., which might suitably be exempted, and in the case of existing presses these instructions were amplified in the Home Department letter no. 405, dated the 31st March 1910, but these orders would not apply to certain recent instances of exemptions in Bengal which have come to notice. These cases have raised a doubt whether the administration of the Act in Bengal in respect of securities demanded of fresh presses, etc., is not drifting on to the lines of Mr. Gokhale's rejected proposition. Especially in the present state of opinion fresh Muhammadan newspapers of apparently little financial calibre and backed by men of questionable antecedents in some cases are scarcely fit subjects for exemption from the preliminary requirement of security, and I am to express the hope that, as contemplated by the Act, original exemptions should only be granted for special and adequate reasons. Otherwise an undesirable paper may be allowed to start and to do considerable mischief before it can be checked, while if it fails to furnish security on a subsequent demand, Government is accused of suppressing a paper which in fact should never have been allowed to start publication without security.

Director, Criminal Intelligence.

Seen and returned with thanks.

C. R. CLEVELAND,—4-5-16.

Home Department.

APPENDIX.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 30th September 1915.

There are at present three Urdu newspapers daily on sale in the bazaars of Upper India and they now and then contain objectionable matter. These papers are called *Resalat*, *Safir* and *Tarjuman* and they are published in Calcutta. Written in the Urdu language they are perhaps considered to be of no consequence by the Government of Bengal; but, though published in Calcutta, they are circulated largely in Upper India. Thus the leniency shown by the Government of Bengal in this matter is permitted to undo much of the good done in Upper India by a vigorous administration of the Press Act.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 14th October 1915.

In one of my previous letters I referred to a new paper lately started in Calcutta and called *Tarjuman*. It is a daily and is published in the Urdu language. Enquiries made by me show that the paper has been started by Ghulam Haidar Khan, brother of Zafar Ali Khan, with the help and co-operation of the latter. The paper will revive the policy of the *Zemindar*. Its promoters think that in Bengal they will be free from the restrictions in force in the Punjab. The paper is published from Siraj Buildings, 31, Lower Chitapore Road, Calcutta.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 7th December 1915.

Another Urdu daily paper will shortly begin to appear in Calcutta. It will be entitled *Iqdam* and will be conducted on lines similar to those of the *Tarjuman*, and the *Resalat*. Both these newspapers often contain news relating to the war to which objection is taken, and that is the reason that they sell well in the bazaars of Lahore. It is generally believed that the Government of Bengal is lenient to the Press and that the reason why it is feared that the good done in the Punjab by a judicious and vigorous administration of the Press Act will be neutralised, to a considerable extent, by the free and unrestricted conduct of such papers as the *Tarjuman*, the *Resalat*, the *Al Bilagh* and the *Iqdam*. Strenuous efforts are being made by Harkishen Lal, Mr. Iyenger of the *Tribune* and Lala Duni Chand, Barrister-at-Law, to persuade the educated Punjabis to go to Bombay to attend the next Congress. So far they have not been able to secure more than a dozen promises to go, from the whole of the Province; but I doubt if even half of them will really go after all.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 11th December 1915.

I enclose a copy of the issue of the *Resalat* newspaper dated the 8th instant containing on page 3 a most objectionable paragraph slandering English women. The *Resalat* reproduced it from the *Urdu Bulletin* of Lahore, dated the 5th instant. Paragraphs such as this do a great deal of harm as among the ordinary Indians the morals of English women are held in poor estimation. The publication of paragraphs such as this has the effect of *ghi* poured over fire.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 13th December 1915.

The *Zemindar* newspaper which began to publish two editions (one in the morning and the other in the evening) a month ago has decided with effect from to-day to revert to the old arrangement and to publish only one edition. The cause of this change again is the want of adequate public support. The *Zemindar* is now being carried on financially at a loss. The *Tarjuman* and the *Resalat* of Calcutta have driven it from the market. The reason why these two papers of Calcutta sell largely in Lahore, and I presume in several other places in Upper India, is that they contain translations or adaptations of news of a pro-German character published in the English papers. The *London Times* and several other London papers contain now and again news headed "Thorough German Spectacles" and the *Tarjuman* and the *Resalat* frequently contain translations from these papers. Some members of the staff of the *Zemindar* have gone to Calcutta to serve on the staffs of the *Resalat* and the *Tarjuman*. (The *Resalat* of the 10th instant contained a laudatory article on *Enver Pasha*, the author of the entire Turkish mischief. Such an article as that cannot but do great harm.) I think what is wanted is that the Government of Bengal should make a more vigorous use of the provisions of the Press Act than is the case at present. It is perhaps thought that Urdu newspapers in Bengal are not of much account. But when they circulate in the Punjab and Upper India generally they do much mischief. They are also sold in Peshawar and other places in the North-West Frontier

Province. Besides, Muhammadans in Bengal who can read Urdu read these papers. The *Tarjuman* and the *Resalat* afford powerful help to the pan-Islamic cause.

Report of "O. M.," dated the 13th December 1915.

Paragraph 5.—We do not examine the *Resalat* but rely upon the Bengal Selections. We have therefore not seen the eulogistic article upon Enver Pasha.

V. VIVIAN,—15-12-15.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 31st December 1915.

During Christmas week I have had occasion to talk with people from several places in the Punjab and I learnt from them that the papers such as *Tarjuman*, *Resalat* and *Iqdam*, which are published in Calcutta, find a ready sale in the bazaars. These papers, they tell me, are doing the mischief which used to be done at one time by the *Zemindar*, the *Alhikal* and the *Hamdard*. The general impression among loyal and well-disposed Muhammadans is that the good done by the suppression and discouragement of such papers as the *Hamdard*, the *Alhikal* and the *Zemindar* is being, to a considerable extent, undone by mischievous writings published in the *Tarjuman*, the *Resalat* and the *Iqdam*. By the way several men who used to be on the staff of the *Zemindar* and the *Hamdard* are now responsible for the conduct of the *Tarjuman*, the *Resalat* and the *Iqdam*.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 4th January 1916.

In my previous letters I have made references to the *Iqdam* newspaper of Calcutta. The politics of this paper are extremist and pan-Islamic and its writings are calculated to do much mischief. Its editor, who has changed his name to Mohyuddin, is Barkat Ali, B.A., son of Sheikh Abdul Qadir, Pleader, Kasur. The boy had notorious extremist and pan-Islamic propensities when at the College. He is a great admirer and supporter of Muhammad Ali, Zafar Ali and Abul Kalam Azad. I have reliable information that Abul Kalam Azad contributes to the *Iqdam*, the policy of which is identical with that of the defunct *Alhikal*.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 14th January 1916.

Nationalist Muhammadan newspapers such as the *Observer*, the *Tarjuman*, the *Iqdam* and the *Resalat* have published long articles accusing the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, of having brought about the *rumpus* in the Muslim League meeting on the 31st December 1915. The *Iqdam* blames the British Government for trying to prevent Hindus and Moslems from uniting together in their demands for self-Government. In the article published in its issue dated the 10th instant the British are openly accused of reliance on the policy of *divide et impera*. Articles of this description are calculated to do great and incalculable harm just at present.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 18th January 1916.

I have already stated in one of my previous letters that the editor and ostensible proprietor of the *Iqdam* newspaper of Calcutta is Mohi-ud-Din Ahmed, *alias* Barkat Ali, B.A. He is a son of Maulavi Abdul Qadir, Pleader of Kasur in the Lahore District. He was a student of the Lahore Government College and was made to leave the College because he was notorious for committing unnatural crime with boys. He joined the Islamia College, where he graduated. Whilst reading in the latter college he was notorious for his extremist views and he was a great friend and admirer of Zafar Ali Khan and Muhammad Ali. His father and uncle have purchased two lithographic printing machines for Rs. 2,400 from Abdul Haq of the "Rifat-i-Am-Press" and these have been despatched by train to Calcutta. Though printed in Calcutta the paper is sold in the bazaars of Upper India. The paper is full of objectionable matter and is doing incalculable harm. It has done every possible mischief in connection with the withdrawal of the British and French forces from the Dardanelles. In other directions, too, it is doing great harm. The *Tarjuman* and the *Resalat*, which also sell in the Punjab, are also being conducted on the same lines. They are a little less rabid than the *Iqdam*. The price per copy of the

Iqdam is six pies, whilst the Lahore dailies are sold for three pies. In Lahore the *Iqdam* sells better than the *Zemindar*. It is certainly a pity that the *Iqdam*, the *Resalat* and the *Tarjuman* are, to a large extent, undoing the good done in the Punjab by a firm and judicious administration of the Press Act. The sphere of mischief of these papers is daily widening. As soon as the printing machines of the *Iqdam* are in working order in Calcutta, there will be a considerable reduction in the cost of production.

Extract from O. M.'s report dated the 28th January 1916.

2. The *Iqdam*, the *Tarjuman* and the *Resalat* continue to be sold in large numbers in the bazaars of Lahore. As soon as the copies of these papers are brought into the bazaar, eager crowds of people surround the newsboys and buy their copies. These papers sell largely because they are full of the kind of matter which the *Hamdard* and the *Zemindar* published at one time. They publish a good deal which is calculated to discredit the allies and to glorify the Germans and the Turks. Bisharat Ali Jalib, who was Muhammad Ali's principal assistant in the *Hamdard*, is now the editor of the *Resalat*. Wajahat Husain and Ghulam Haidar, who conducted the *Zemindar* during the absence of Zafar Ali Khan for a long time, are now running the *Tarjuman*. The *Iqdam*, though the last to come into existence, is the worst and the most objectionable of the lot. A lot of harm is being done by the circulation of these papers in the Punjab.

No. 487-8-P. B., dated the 16th February 1916.

From—A. B. KETTLEWELL, Esq., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copies of three orders under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, issued by this Government against the publishers of the "Tarjaman," "Risalat," and "Iqdam," Urdu daily newspapers published in Calcutta. The Lieutenant-Governor's attention has repeatedly been drawn by leading gentlemen, both Muhammadan and Hindu, in the province as well as by District Magistrates and Police Officers to the mischief that is being done and the pernicious influence exercised on public opinion by the continued circulation in the Punjab of these three newspapers, two of which are edited by journalists, who were lately on the staff of the "Zamindar" newspaper of Lahore. The Bengal Government had prior to the issue of the present orders been addressed and their attention invited to the pan-Islamic and anti-British tone of these journals, and it is understood that security proceedings under the Press Act are now being taken in regard to at least two of the three publications. But Sir Michael O'Dwyer decided that, whatever action His Excellency the Governor-in-Council may take, it is no longer safe to permit these newspapers to circulate in this province, where the Muhammadan element forms a substantial majority of the population. Recent reports shew that the circulation of these papers is rapidly increasing and it was for this reason necessary to take prompt action.

Full and literal translations of certain articles published in recent issues of these papers are attached, which should sufficiently indicate the persistently disloyal attitude adopted by them.

Whereas in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab there are reasonable grounds for believing that Nazim-ud-din Ahmad, publisher of the "Iqdam," an Urdu daily newspaper of Calcutta, has sent and is about to send, directly or indirectly, the said paper for circulation in the Punjab and whereas such circulation is in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab prejudicial to the public safety: the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Nazim-ud-din Ahmad shall abstain from sending, or causing or permitting to be sent, either directly or indirectly, for circulation in the Punjab any copies whatever of the said paper.

By order,

LAHORE,	}	A. B. KETTLEWELL,
<i>The 7th February 1916.</i>		<i>Additional Secretary to Government, Punjab.</i>

Whereas in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab there are reasonable grounds for believing that Sayid Ali Qaumi, publisher of the "Tarjaman," an Urdu daily newspaper of Calcutta, has sent and is about to send, directly or indirectly, the said paper for circulation in the Punjab, and whereas such circulation is in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab prejudicial to the public safety: the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Saiyad Ali Qaumi shall abstain from sending, or causing or permitting to be

sent, either directly or indirectly, for circulation in the Punjab any copies whatever of the said paper.

By order,

LAHORE, } A. B. KETTLEWELL,
The 7th February 1916. } for Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Whereas in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab there are reasonable grounds for believing that Ghulam Hussain *alias* Abul Qasim Rafiq Dilawari, publisher of the "Risalat," an Urdu daily newspaper of Calcutta, has sent and is about to send, directly or indirectly, the said paper for circulation in the Punjab, and whereas such circulation is in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab prejudicial to the public safety: the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in exercise of the powers conferred by Rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Ghulam Hussain *alias* Abdul Qasim Rafiq Dilawari shall abstain from sending, or causing or permitting to be sent, either directly or indirectly, for circulation in the Punjab any copies whatever of the said paper.

By order,

LAHORE, } A. B. KETTLEWELL,
The 7th February 1916. } for Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

The "Iqdam" (Calcutta) of the 12th January 1916, publishes the following:—

The arrest of one thousand British and French officers.

Amsterdam—9th January. In revenge of the arrest of her ambassador stationed in Salonika, Turkey has passed orders for the arrest of those British and French Officers who lived under the care of the other legations at Constantinople. She has also kept one thousand persons of the allies under surveillance with a view to avenge the arrest of the other Turks in Salonika.

The "Iqdam" (Calcutta) of the 20th January 1916, publishes the following:—

THE INSTRUCTIVE QURAN AND THE BIRTH OF THE PROPHET.

A page of commentary on the verses (in the Quran) entitled "Sura Kausar."

If you study the instructive Quran with keen insight, you will not find in it a single chapter, the verses of which are not closely connected with each other, the subject matter of which is not systematic and the aims of which are not fixed. (If you) look at the arrangement of the verses, cast a glance at the arrangement of the chapters, and then consider its (the Quran) subject matter, you will instantly find, that a single chapter (of the Quran) embodies the teachings of some particularly important objects, expounds their results and consequences, and inspires fear (in the mind of a person reading it) by dwelling on their dreadful consequences. Often it so happens that the events and the incidents of the past people are related (in it) with a view to still more emphasise one and the same subject, and the bright and the dark sides of their lives are dwelt upon, in order that they might serve as a warning (to others). When the hearts (of the readers) are accustomed to it and the cries are raised within for (making) progress, and a mad desire, a devoted longing and a stirring wish are created in the mind, another chapter is revealed, in order that the same may serve the purpose of being a supplement and complement of the first, which become a guide for the different phases of their lives. The temperaments (of the people) were already fond of this subject, but notwithstanding the utmost effort, they could not approach (its sublime idea). At last God revealed it.

The *Sura Kausar* is before you. If you count its verses (you will find that) the verses are not more than three. But if you look at the verses (you will find) how they are closely connected with each other. If you glance at the subject matter (of the verses), you will find how it is systematic. Look at its object, you will find how necessary and useful it is.

The *Sura Kausar* was revealed at Mecca (may God enhance its purity and reverence) at a time when the enemies of the (Muslim) community were powerful, when their dignity, their splendour, their eminence, and their obstinacy to (commit) sin were wholly hostile to Islam. Now the Prophet of God (may God send peace on him and his successors) is alone (friendless) and has no body to share his views. If he raises his voice in the declaration of Truth, the champions of heresy and ignorance try to suppress his voice of freedom. The sufferers from love come in the street of their beloved in the hope that after so long a separation, they will be united with their beloved; but each and every cry of Truth raised by Islam serves the purpose of a thunderbolt on the heretics of anti-Christ, and each declaration of freedom and sacrifice, made by Islam, becomes destructive for them; because it is the same voice of Truth and freedom which (is apt to) cut off the fetters of slavery of many years (past). The heretics will openly declare a revolt. All the ties of relation are snapped. (The followers) turn away from every one, in order that they might bow their heads on the threshold of God, that they might live for Him, that if they desire to court death, they might lay down their lives for him and that they might be slaughtered for Him.

The Prophet of God (may God bless him and his successors) shouts "who comes to the help of God?" and with his magnetic influence he draws to his side some devotees of freedom, who cut off the fetters of the slavery of heretics and polytheists. They forsake their kith and kin and turn their face away from wealth and riches, so that the word of righteousness and truth may rise aloft, the human laws be disgraced and humiliated, and the laws of God alone may be enforced all over the world. They forsake their homes, their wealth and, last of all, their dear lives for the sake of glorifying the word of God. The enemies of the (Muslim) community are numerous, the foes of the religion are many, and an army of Satan has spread on all sides. Those who shout "We are the helpers of God," step forth in the field and busy themselves in making efforts.

Will the efforts of these lovers of the strong religion turn out to be significant and will they bear fruit? Will that promise of God be fulfilled for this army of God (the Muhammadans) in which it is recorded that only the true and devout Muslims will in the end be successful in gaining the caliphate (of the world) and the vicegerency of God? Will the champions of heresy and error be destroyed? If so, in what form they will be degraded and disgraced?

This is a question which rises in the mind of every such Muslim, as has complete faith in the instruction of the Quran, who is sure that a Muhammadan can never be humiliated, and who knows that the Muhammadans are born only to rule. Go through the whole of the Quran (and) you will find therein laws and regulations for every phase of life. But how strange it is that you will not find a single verse in connection with leading a subjugated life. 'So learn a lesson from it, O ye who can see' (an Arabic verse). How can then the enemies of the Muhammadans be humiliated, ruined and destroyed?

The *Sura Kausar* was revealed simply with a view to teach you the sole remedy and to tell you how you can humiliate your enemy, and how you can glorify and raise to lofty heights of the laws of God. Your number is small and your enemies are stronger than you in riches and in (worldly) dignity and eminence. But there is only one means of their destruction and their extirpation, which is the sole object of this *sura* (chapter) and without which no success is possible.

We gave you *Kausar* (lit. nectar but here 'the Quran')! We gave you the instructive Quran. 'Pray for thy God.' Reflect upon the nature of prayer (Muslim prayer) and you will find so many mysteries and lessons in it that a big voluminous book is required to explain them. But you should bear in mind that the practical way of reading the prayer and its spirit are two different

things. In practice although we trust in practical things, the real object is the spirit of the prayer. Take the case of prayer. Its object is to preserve the remembrance of God. The worshippers of God belonging to the (Muslim) community are required to gather five times in a day, so that by frequent practice they may develop the faculty of obedience and subjection, and that whenever the Islam may require the services of its devotees of truth, only one voice be sufficient to call them, and these lovers of religion may become all-obedient to their ruler.

It is required to create this feeling of obedience in every Muhammadan. You might have noticed that the European powers are enforcing compulsory Military service on their subjects and frame laws for the purpose. But their condition itself shows how far they have gained success in connection with the matter. The Islam has understood the point and has made the reading of prayers compulsory for every Muhammadan, of whatever age, in whatever condition and of whatever sex he may be. In this way it has converted all the Muhammadans into one brave army at a fixed time (of prayer). This was the spirit which could have been created by prayer. Therefore, it was ordained 'Say prayers, recite the Quran and think over it (and) then you will come to know what wonderful deeds the worshippers of monotheism (the Muhammadans) performed in the past. Their events and incidents will become your guide.' Their success will make you sure of your own success; and along with it you will see before your eyes the condition of the champions of heresy who, despite their strength and splendour, were in the end, humiliated and the Truth came out triumphant.

In order to explain 'And slaughter a sacrifice' it is better to consider other tenets of Islam also.

The prayer has created some virtues. The (following) is (*lit*: was) now necessary after this: The army is standing on the battlefield in battle array and a war is going on in summer. It is possible that the army may get nothing to eat and drink for several days. (But) it is essential that the army should have patience and perseverance, should suffer (every) distress and should remain steady on the battlefield. Hence it has been obligatory (on the Muhammadans) to keep fast in the month of *Ramzan*, so that these true feelings may be created (in them) and they may be so strong as if they are strong and compact walls (an Arabic verse) when confronting the enemy. The Government has many things to do and there are different phases of the battlefield (*sic*!) for all which money is required. The truth is that without money even the most ordinary work cannot be done, not to say of the affairs of the State. It is for this purpose that the attention of wealthy people has been invited to it and a tax has been imposed on them, so that, that may pay the *Zakat* (a fixed percentage to be paid as a religious tax). This amount should be deposited in the Government treasury and the Caliph should spend it in accordance with the directions in the Quran.

In this way by continually spending money the wealthy people will become in the habit of spending money and whenever the Caliph will stand in need (of money) a single hint from him will be sufficient and these people will sacrifice their wealth and property in the name of God, entrusting themselves and their families only to God and his Prophet.

When they made progress to this extent, the time came when their feelings should be put to another test and the champions of truth (the true Muhammadans) should be separated from the supporters of discord and polytheism, so that the latter should be rejected; and that the reality might be expounded, for which all this show had been exhibited.

Consequently it was ordained that "the pilgrimage of Mecca is incumbent on those people who are rich enough to perform it." We told them to perform pilgrimage. There are so many enigmas and mysteries in it, that perhaps a series of publications will hardly be sufficient to explain them. But a few hints (here) will not not be devoid of interest.

1. All the pilgrims are ordered to wear the same robe that they may fully resemble an army.

2. There is a particular law to which every pilgrim must conform, whether the same is liked by him or not. Whenever he commits a breach of law (*lit.* mistake) he has to suffer the penalty. For instance, if he gets his head shaved or his nails pared, he has to pay some fine for it. Truly speaking, it is a hint that whenever a Commander commands you, you must obey the command whether you like it or not.

3. It is mentioned in "*Hadis-i-Sahih*" (a book of traditions) that a companion (of the Prophet) (may God be pleased with him) enquired from the Prophet (may God bless him and his successors)—'What is *Haj* (pilgrimage)?' The Prophet replied that (the term) '*Haj*' (pilgrimage) signifies the gathering in the field of Arfat (near Mecca). Everybody knows that a pilgrimage cannot be rightly performed if a pilgrim fails to go to the field of Arfat.

This means that as you have forsaken your families and homes and have gathered here on this barren soil in obedience to the command of God, so you should promptly gather together without hesitation when the Caliph of Islam wants to have you mustered.

There is another strange point underlying it. You might have seen that every pilgrim carries his provisions with him when he leaves his home for pilgrimage. This is also a hint that when you muster together in obedience to the command of the Caliph, you should go prepared from your homes, (so that) you might be in possession of everything and the Caliph might not experience the trouble of providing you with anything. The Caliph will have no other business but to point out to you the field for doing work.

After visiting Arfat the pilgrims return to Mecca and every one of them slaughters an animal in accordance with his means.

'And slay a sacrifice'. "The virtuous example set by the Prophet Abraham (may God bless him) is before our eyes. God told him to sacrifice his son in His name, because there is no life as dear to the parents as that of their son. That embodiment of light, that wearer of heavenly garb, that person who is wholly loved by God (the Prophet Abraham) prepared to sacrifice his own son. At last he was addressed by God with these respectful words and you offered us a great sacrifice.

The life of nations, the existence of communities and the stability of a true religion depends on this very secret. No nation can live until this feeling is created in it and no man until he is prepared to sacrifice his wealth and his life in the name of God.

The sacrifice of animals is deemed obligatory. Its object is neither to shed blood, nor to cut the throats of animals, but, in reality, to create by constant practice that feeling of sacrifice without which you cannot be successful, in order that whenever the God of Islam stands in need of your own sacrifice, you may be ready to be killed in the same way as you have slaughtered the animals referred to.

The Quran has made a hint in the chapter on *Haj* (pilgrimage) at this object underlying the sacrifice and says "Neither the flesh nor the blood of the animals (you sacrifice) reached God! (What) reaches Him is your feeling of sacrifice", which has been created by constant practice of making sacrifice and on which depends the very existence of your nation.

Take the case of those nations which are devoid of the spirit of sacrifice and are reluctant to sacrifice their lives. (As regards) those nations which hold their lives extremely dear, and which are in no way prepared to sacrifice them, you must bear in mind that they have very short time to live, that the signs of their decline are conspicuous and that they will soon be swept off the face of the earth.

But a nation, which is alive, the individuals of which are endowed with communal feelings and which are ever ready to sacrifice their lives, will assuredly come out successful (in the end). Read the '*Sura Baqr*' of the instructive Quran. The condition of the Jews is before you. They led the life of traders, loved money, and held their lives dearer than sacrifice. Moses (may peace be with him) says to his unfortunate people "O people, make an invasion of the holy land and enter into it, God has specially fixed it for you. Do not

retreat from the battle-field ; otherwise, you will fail to gain your ends." But the accursed people gave very bad reply, saying "Oh Moses ! The inhabitants of this land are stronger than us in power as well as in number. How, then, is it possible for us to enter into it ? This can never be done. The only case in which we can enter is that (if) they leave this country of their own accord, then we too shall have no objection to enter."

Moses (may peace be on him) tries his utmost to make these people advance, but their unfortunate answer converts his hopes into disappointment. The unfortunate people reply "Oh Moses ! we shall never enter it as long as they (the inhabitants of the place) are present there. If you are fond of fighting, you may go yourself and your God may go. Let both of you go and we shall sit here and view the spectacle."

Now consider what a great value the individuals of this community attached to their lives, how much they loved them and how far they dreaded sacrifice. The result was that they were overtaken by Divine wrath for all times.

See how this nation was destroyed, because of their holding their lives dear—a nation which called itself the sons and the daughters of God, but which no longer has a single piece of land in its possession.

Again, what a good warning and lesson is this for those persons who desire to remain alive, to preserve their community, their country and their religion and who desire only to glorify and elevate the law of God.

"This feeling can be created only by sacrifice, and is the last process of *Haj* (pilgrimage). It is owing to this that the animal sacrifice was ordained, in order that this feeling may be rendered perfect and every Muhammadan may know that he should be prepared to-morrow to sacrifice himself in the name of one and only one God as eagerly (*lit.* in the same way) as he is ready to-day to sacrifice animals for his own sake (*lit.* himself).

Frequent operations of (animal) sacrifice serve to develop the spirit of self-sacrifice. The benign God with all His grace and kindness preserves this spirit in His heavenly treasure until the time of self-sacrifice arrives.

God is aware of the proper time. He knows the proper occasion of its use. He utilises it at its proper place. The real meaning of (the term) *Shukr* (*lit.* thanksgiving) is that everything should be spent in its proper place.

The battle-field is hot (with struggle). Some brave men have risen and are shouting 'O God of truth and veracity ! Endow us with (ample) patience ; so that we may be able to bear all the difficulties in the course of our fighting with our adversary, and (*lit.* but) may never shrink from our object. 'Give us perseverance and make us victorious over the heretics and misguided persons.'

The spirit of self-sacrifice is present. They became prepared to sacrifice themselves. Therefore, the command is issued.

'Your antagonists are humiliated' When you have reached this stage by making sacrifices, your enemy will assuredly be humiliated and you will emerge victorious and successful. The human laws will be abolished in the world, the root of dissension will be cut down, the laws of God will be raised aloft and elevated, and the world will once more become the cradle of peace.

Connect all these verses. It was commanded to reflect over the Quran and to offer sacrifice. Its result was also told so that those, who are prepared to think, may think, while those who are prepared to work may become ready.

'Have patience, make others have patience. Meet each other and fear God. It will result in your prosperity. Spend your life in attaining your object and teach others to do the same. Watch the enemies (as closely) as the Residents nowadays do in the (Native) States. Strengthen your connection with God. The result of all this will be that you will gain rule in this world and paradise in the next.

"So, O ye people, respond to the call of God".

The "Iqdam" (Calcutta), of the 15th January 1916 publishes the following:—

THE FALSE DAWN.

The meeting of the Muslim Association (held at) Aligarh [from the pen of] Saiyid Mumtaz Ahmad, Alig].

About forty years ago a body of Muhammadans claimed to have realised the decline of the (Muslim) community. They, however, proposed a single remedy, viz. "The propagation of education", for all the communal diseases which had overtaken (*lit.* created in) externally and internally the Muslim body. (Accordingly) a movement was set on foot and the foundation of the Aligarh institution was laid.

The assurance is given to us regarding this movement that it constitutes the only goal for us and that it is the only true principle which constitutes the sole high road to all the necessities of our life, to all our communal demands, to all the fascinating things of religion, and, in short, to all (kinds of) religious, wordly and political progress. It shall transform into good fortune the adversity which has overtaken the (Muslim) community. There can be no doubt in the least that this kind of firmly believing and unshakable view was not strange and far-fetched, inasmuch as every unfortunate being, who has failed to achieve success and to attain his object, and against whom the gates of prosperity and welfare have already been shut, is apt to (*lit.* can) regard even the indistinct glare of hope and the transitory transport of unreal joy as the special kindness of God.

Alas! It was a time when the Muhammadans had turned their faces away from God, had rebelled against their chosen Prophet and had been forsaken by God, because of their having been led astray by their passion. And it was simply for this reason that all those calamities, which were indispensable under these circumstances, were descending upon them. These were those inauspicious days when the faculty of sense and reason had been taken possession of by ignorance and illiteracy, when the life and the heartfelt feelings had been congealed and rendered inert, when activity in communal matters had been overtaken by negligence and when death and destruction had taken possession of political beliefs.

So in those (*lit.* these) dark ages the (work of) the dissemination of education began. The result was that the community was led by the gloom in (the region of) thought to stroll in the world of deception and the talisman of fraud. And now this firmly believing community ran impatiently and mad with love towards, and prostrated itself before, that limited, worthless and despotic method of education which was totally devoid of the effect of Islamic freedom and spirituality.

By a poetic stretch of imagination the Greek Goddess (?) Cupid had been shown to be blind and carrying in her (?) arms bows and arrows. The object was to show that she (?) flings arrows which create love (at persons) without distinction and ascertainment. What was still more distressing was that while the community, which served the purpose of target, was deprived of eye-sight, the class of persons which had moved (the question of) education, possessed eye-sight, so that the God of education, who had eyes, might hunt anybody he liked and none of the community, who was blind, might escape. There was, indeed, no chance (for the latter) to escape, because there was the dearth of the eye-sight, which would enable one to escape.

The gates of politics and political rights were open to the whole world, but the politics of this community consisted only of education. The world demanded freedom and liberty, but the secret treasury of freedom and liberty of this class (of persons) was buried either underneath education or underneath the hopeful attitude of prayers. Religion, civilisation and splendid future were all considered to be joined to and connected with, this education and held to be born of it.

The story of the general use of political faith was a long one. Every "resolution" expressive of loyalty, every degraded and rejected prayer, every

damaging and rejected (*lit.* deprived) request, every mendicant begging, every flattery of (*lit.* kissing the threshold of) officers, every feast of the grandees of the time, in short, every prayer and sycophancy was termed Islamic politics.

This education, at any rate, was good to the community, but as it was mixed with defects and injurious things, the entire community remained deprived of the consequences of true education. Decline continued to make progress, the sky of hope continued to become dirty and gloomy and the entire Islamic world was overtaken by earthly and heavenly calamities. But these troubles and afflictions proved (*lit.* were) a blessing. The natural organisation of the universe opened a chapter of reliance and confidence, in order that Muhammadans might repeat the lessons of the virtuous life led by Abraham and Ismael, as also the lessons of the nearness of God and (thereby) become the successors of the people of the past ages who were the real claimants of the office of the pilot of the sinking boat of the crucified God, who were distinguished by the sacred titles of the helpers of God and the people (*lit.* crowd) of God and who emerged like conquerors from the sandy desert of Hedjas and distributed among the people of the whole world the blessings of true humanity.

Consequently the ever glorious God demanded from His muslim community sacrifice in the straight path of obedience and homage to him, because it (the muslim community) originated from sacrifice and the control of (*lit.* struggle with) passions, while (*lit.* and) self-sacrifice and death, so far as (this) world is concerned, were the causes of its real existence. Whenever the period of the sway of new life commenced after death it was invigorated (*lit.* made to stand) by being infused with the spirit of sacrifice and religious war. Again, when the said community passed that stage, the gates of mercy and prosperity were opened for it. The wordly rise and perfection always lay before its feet. Even now this (kind of) test of sacrifice and devotion has begun to be held in every land. The spectators have seen how those who were prepared to sell their heads for the sake of their love for God and those who are subservient to the will of God raised the cry "O God, I am present" on the battle field of Tripoli and began to irrigate the tree of Islam with the blood flowing from their hearts. They performed the duties of sacrifice (*lit.* selling of heads) in the place of sacrifice in the Balkans, suffered the greatest troubles in Macedonia and offered proof of the greatest patience. Then there was the flood of Muslim blood which was converting the greater parts of the world of the wrathful God into a garden of tulips. By sacrificing their lives and property the truthful personages proved to (*lit.* informed) God that they were still alive for (promoting) the greatness of His name and that they did not care even for their lives in respecting His Commands. (They, therefore prayed God that) He may not refuse to shower blessings on them. There was a stir in the Divine world and the real beloved who had got displeased again established a relation of love.

'Hold fast collectively the string of God and do not create a division' (A verse from the *Qur'an*).

The "Risalat" (Calcutta) of the 10th December 1915, published a translation of an article on Enver Pasha which appeared in the September number of the "Review of Reviews" (London). The translation is indeed not very close, but yet it follows the original and there is nothing in it which does not correspond to the original. The article runs as follows:—

ENVER PASHA.

The eyes of the world are riveted on the intense drama being enacted around Constantinople, and month after month one name stands out clearly as the prime mover of Turkish resistance. The Sultan, the Grand Vizier, and the automatic German Officers are but marionettes on the stage, each and all are subject to the influence of one man—Enver Pasha—whose military reputation suffices to keep the Turkish armies in being and to imbue them with the hope of final victory. In his article in *The American Review of Reviews*, on "Enver Pasha: Turkish Patriot," Lewis R. Freeman gives the reader some

idea of the fascination exercised by this remarkable man over all with whom he comes in contact, not excluding Englishmen:—

“I had heard the name of Enver Bey spoken many times in Syria in the winter of 1912 before finding anyone who could tell me much about him. Enlightenment finally came through the British Vice-Consul at Beirut, whom I met at the tennis club one afternoon.

‘He is one of best friends,’ said that young official, after I had been introduced to him by Dr. Bliss of the American College, as one interested in Enver Bey. ‘He is without a single exception I can recall off-hand, save, possibly, Lord Kitchener, the most forceful individual I have ever known, and for sheer magnetic attraction stands absolutely alone in my experience. In any other country besides Turkey—in England, Germany, or the United States—he could not fail of a great career. Here the higher a man climbs, the surer he is to be marked for a fall, and Enver Bey has been in danger of assassination ever since his progressive spirit began to manifest itself in his early teens. Some day, it may be tomorrow or it may not be for a number of years, the agent of his enemies will kill him, and, when they do, there will pass the sincerest patriot that Turkey has known since the days of Midhat Pasha.’

“Enver’s forceful personality, his magnetism, his capacity for leadership, made him at thirty a political power in Turkey, and a military dictator at an age when most European officers have not attained their captaincies. His is the deep, abiding faith in the mystic, in the soundness of the things for which he stands, and, sincere patriot that he is, his plans, his dreams are all to one end—the regeneration of Turkey.

“More of Enver Bey—of his marvellous swordsmanship, his fluency as a linguist, of the almost ascetic simplicity of his physical life, of his strange combination of practicality and idealism, of the mystic and the man of action; of the way in which he had always exercised his influence and authority, often at the expense of discipline, quite out of proportion to his official or military rank—I heard from the British Consul, and on the morning that he came to see me off on the Damascus train on my circuitous journey to Palestine and Egypt, he enjoined me specially to miss no chance of meeting the brilliant young Turkish patriot in the event that I was able to carry out a plan I had formed of penetrating through to the Turko-Arabic forces in the Tripolitan hinterland.”

Mr. Freeman’s interview confirmed the high opinion he had formed of Enver’s capacity, and the policy which governs his present action is indicated by the following utterance:—

‘The plans of all the powers have always been entirely selfish, as far as Turkey was concerned, said Enver, with a bitterness not incomprehensible under the circumstances. ‘For years Russia has coveted Constantinople, to say nothing of the rest of Turkey along the Black Sea and south of the Caucasus, and Britain has endeavoured to keep us just strong enough to prevent Russia from realising these ambitions. (It was an Englishman who first called us the “Sick man”.) Finally came the Kaiser with his scheme of a chain of German—controlled States from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, and for the success of this plan a strong, not a weak, Turkey, is a *sine qua non*. Russia would wipe us off the map, England would keep us weak, Germany would make us strong. All selfish motives on the face of them, no doubt, but can you wonder which alternative is the least repugnant to us Turks, especially to us young Turks, who have done our best to avoid being enmeshed in the nets of British and Russian diplomacy and intrigue which held helpless our predecessors? I think I will not need to say more to answer your question as to why it was Germany obtained the Baghdad railway concession, why the Hedjaz line was built by Germans and why the Germans are recasting our military establishment’.

“‘Do you care to speak of your so-called Turkish reform programme?’ I asked as a final question, warned by the Shaikhs and officers gathering under the flap of the reception tent, that a conference was about to be held. Enver hesitated for a moment, and then, his eyes lighting with the enthusiasm kindled by the project which I have since learned was the one nearest his heart, rose

to his feet and spoke briefly and to the point, the meantime grasping my hand in a warm grip of farewell.

“Real Turkish unification is my dearest wish, and any international political arrangement which will leave me a free hand to work for that, I will subscribe to. Turkey contains a great many Christians as well as Muham-madans. The latter I would regenerate from within, not from without. The West has little that we need, save battleships and shrapnels, and if it would leave us alone, we would not need even these. Nor can the accident give us anything better to follow than the precepts of the *Quran*. For us Muham-medans, I would purify the old faith, not bring in a new one—there are close to a score of them as you know. But for our Christian peoples I would let them follow their own faith in peace and security, something they have not always been able to do in the past. I would offer them everything that England, or Greece or France could—more than Russia ever would—and by this means I would make them Turkish subjects in fact as well as in name’.”

The “*Risalat*” (Calcutta) of the 24th January 1916, publishes the following :—

THE BULGARIAN FORTIFICATIONS.

The Bulgarians are strongly fortified in their fronts. Heavy guns have been sent for from Varna to the line (of defence) at Strumnitz where one hundred and twenty thousand Bulgarian soldiers are stationed. They believe that although the Allies are in possession of one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers, still they can deliver successful attacks on the latter.

(The *Englishman*).

The “*Risalat*” (Calcutta) of the 26th January 1916, has the following :—

AN OFFICIAL REFUTATION OF A TURKISH STATEMENT.

In connection with the attack on Marsa Matruh, the Turkish Government had published the following official communiqué :—

The war-like soldiers of Shaikh Sennousi divided into several parties, advanced further, very successfully delivered an attack on the English in Egypt and totally cleared the entire *ilaka* of Seva (?) of Englishmen. One party advanced along the coast and attacked the village of Matruh which is situated at a distance of one hundred and fifty miles towards the East from Salum (?). The commander of Matruh and three hundred British soldiers were killed and the rest of the enemy's army fled towards the East. The brave soldiers of Shaikh Sennousi took possession of two English field guns, a great quantity of powder and shell, ten motor cars, three of which were armoured ones, and a very large quantity of the materials of war in Salam (?) and Matruh.

In this very connection the Press Bureau of England has published the following information :—

With reference to the Turkish official communiqué dated the 27th December, the War Office states that during the period between the 14th and the 24th December no battle took place on the Western frontier of Egypt between our armies and the Arabs, that on the 25th December our army attacked a large army of Arabs which was stationed at a distance of eighty miles from Marsa Matruh and dispersed it and that our army suffered a slight loss.

(The *London Times*)

The “*Tarjuman*” (Calcutta), of the 22nd December 1915, publishes the following :

THE EXPEDITION OF THE PERSIAN GULF.

The retreat of General Townshend.

London, 5th December.—Writing about the Anglo-Indian Military Operations in the valley of the Euphrates, the Press Bureau reports that, before retreating towards the south from Ctesiphon, Major General Townshend

made perfect arrangements for removing his wounded soldiers and 1,600 was prisoners.

It appears from a Turkish communication, dated the 2nd December, that our armies are vigorously pursuing the English (soldiers) for inflicting a complete defeat on them in Irak. We have come to know from an enquiry that five thousand persons belonging to the enemy have been killed (during the period) from 23rd to 26th November and that the enemy sent away 2,900 wounded soldiers in one day by means of a steamer. As the enemy could not help retiring to a fortified military post at Azizi, he tried to keep his rear guard engaged in a fight at a place 15 Kilometres south-west of Azizi under the cover of Monitors which were present in the Euphrates. But we made a night raid on the night of the 30th November and forced the enemy to retire towards Qat-ul-Amara. We captured in and near Azizi one hundred camels which were loaded with provisions and with the munitions of war. Besides this three small ships also fell in our hands.

It is also stated in this communication that we have captured four aeroplanes at Azizi. Out of these three have been repaired and they are now flying over the enemy who are in battle array.

It also appears from another Turkish communication, dated the 4th December, that, actuated by a desire to take shelter in war boats, the enemy tried to evade us from the fronts of Irak-i-Arab, but their efforts proved futile on account of our vigorous attacks. In the course of making this sort of attempt at the noon of the 1st December, the enemy suffered a great loss. Several hundred prisoners, two transport ships loaded with provisions, two war boats named "Cassimade" (?) and "Farkilus" (?), two carriages containing gun-powder and shells and a large quantity of war materials fell into our hands. Our prisoners include one Major, one Captain, and one officer of the aeroplane. Our armies, which have been despatched to Qat-ul-Amara, are delivering attacks on the retreating enemy and are inflicting heavy losses on him (enemy).

The "Tarjuman (Calcutta)," of the 23rd December 1915, publishes the following extract from the *London Times* :—

WHAT ADVANTAGES HAVE THE GERMANS DERIVED FROM THE MISTAKE OF ENGLAND.

Washington, 21st November.—The Germans are deriving considerable advantages from the absurdities of our Censor Department. They are misleading the Americans in the same way as they are misleading their own nation.

It appears from the disinterested statements emanating from Berlin that the Germans are now-a-days dreaming the vain dream (*lit.* asleep like hare) of reaching Constantinople any how. The *Tribune* publishes to-day a communication from General Von Bernhardt, who has assigned in it reasons in justification of the fact. After this Cairo has been declared to be the centre of their great offensive movement. It is said that by the conquest of Egypt the prestige of the British Empire will receive such shock that India in that case will at once raise the standard of rebellion. England will try to make peace and a temporary peace will be made, but what is written on the destiny of England will come to pass. In order to prove that these absurdities have some existence in fact, the Germans have woven in the American newspapers a mighty web of mendacity in connection with the dissemination of rebellious feelings (*lit.* rebellion) in India and Persia.

Attempts are (also) being made, and will continue to be made, to exhibit an adverse (*lit.* bad) picture of the military condition of the allies so long as the Censor's Department in England is not reformed and the truthfulness of news emanating from Great Britain is not maintained. As, for instance, in to-day's issue of the *Washington Post*, the news has been published in such a way as to be openly and conspicuously favourable to Germany.

This newspaper is regarded as a leading organ of the English. There is news on the first page of this newspaper, from which it appears that Greece paid not the least heed to the menacing policy of the allies. From

other news it appears that the German war experts fully believe that the allies will suffer a complete defeat in the Balkans and the Dardanelles. From the third news it appears that five hundred and fifty soldiers have been killed by the Persians and that the Persians have become ready to take possession of Bushire which belongs to the English. It is mentioned on the third page of this newspaper that a news from Sofia shows that the Bulgarians have administered a crushing defeat to the French near Wales (?). It is described in a despatch

* The brackets are the paper's own.

from Berlin (which also bears the signature of a German, * how England kept her army concealed in a hospital ship on the Mediterranean sea. On another page has also been published news from Stockholm, which is attributed to Maxian Gourke, and from which it appears that the Russians have been defeated and that Russia should now make peace.

If the American newspapers are carefully studied, they will be found to contain many news having a family likeness to the above. From this it can be inferred that this poison is administered day and night to the people. It should not be considered as a matter of surprise that the sympathy of the Americans is day by day falling a prey to doubt and suspicion and that the Americans have begun to think whether the allies will ever gain that victory which they desire to gain and for which they wielded their sword. These are matters which we should not lose sight of.

The "Tarjuman" (Calcutta), of the 26th December 1915, publishes the following :—

ISLAMIC SENTIMENT

[From (the pen of) Nassakh.]

Why dost thou spread thy hands before strangers ?

Why dost thou bring (thy) past honour into disrepute ?

Consider that thou art called the descendant of that nation,

Which laid the foundation of Granada and Baghdad,

Whom the ruins of Granada and Baghdad bear witness.

O ignorant Muslim ! Why dost thou try to belie it ?

He who infused a spirit into the Western nation ;

Art thou the descendant of the same miraculous (*lit.* Christlike) person ?

Thou art, O tyrant ! spreading thy hand to-day before the same persons,

Whom thy ancestors taught civilisation and wisdom:

Thy ancestors were hardworking and rich in courage,

Why dost thou die after a crumb of bread obtained by begging ?

Thy ancestors once scattered the pearls of learning for being plundered ;

But, alas ! thou art to-day overtaken by a greed after false pearls.

Thy ancestors showed kindness to everybody, high and low (*lit.* noble and plebeian).

(But) thou art spreading thy hand before everybody, high and low.

There were people who gave without any (thought of conferring) obligation.

But thou art obliterating thyself by rubbing thy forehead (on the threshold of others).

Thou demandest, but (*lit.* and) art not given an educational institution.

And yet thou art beguiling thy mind by such subterfuges.

Think how long wilt the shadow of the wall of a stranger last ?

Why art thou destroying the foundation of the past honour ?

If thou wishest thou canst establish lakhs of schools to-day

Why art thou so discouraged as to be dying after crumbs (of bread) ?

Thou couldst have gained (*lit.* learnt) knowledge from Dawani and Razi ;

Why art thou dying to-day for securing the cast-off clothes ?
 Remove the idea of position from your mind.
 If thou sayest that the salvation of a nation depends upon freedom,
 Learn the science of commerce and learn the art (*lit.* colour) of freedom ;
 Why art thou hankering after (*lit.* falling on) the rank of slavery ?
 It lies in the hands of every community to interpret itself.
 Why dost thou spread thy hand before others ?
 Till yesterday there was a crowd of beggars at thy door ?
 Why art thou, O Muslim ! begging (*lit.* spreading thy hands) from door to door ?
 Hast thy tavern no wine, or hast thou no cup and jar ?
 Why art thou, then, going to the land of the strangers ?
 Thou art in need of (*lit.* demandest) safety, but (*lit.* and) thou beggest it from a stranger.
 Thou intendest to go somewhere, (but) thou art (actually) going somewhere else.
 Thou art searching for the pearl of knowledge in a desert.
 Thou art diverging many *Kos* from thy destination.
 Thou art, to-day, waiting for the sun to rise from the west.
 To what extent thou art said to be deprived of eye sight.
 (Make) patience and tranquillity as thy cup and wallet and keep yourself engaged in work.
 Learn the books (*lit.* science) of Faruq and become the treasury of secrets.
 Rise and read the lesson of Haider (*i.e.*, Ali).
 Again produce in thy rank *Rumi* and *Attar*.
 Again populate the courtyards of Azhars and Baghdad.
 Again destroy the practice of idol-worship from the world.
 The "Tarjuman" (Calcutta), of the 23rd January 1916, has the following :—

Preparations for the invasion of Egypt.

Paris, 20th December.—In accordance with the statement of the Geneva correspondent of the *Temps*, a large number of engineers and blacksmiths have started from Germany for Syria where the Turkish army under the command of German officers is making preparations for the invasion of Egypt with heavy German guns.

The preparations for invasion begin from Aschok (?) which is situated on the river Danube and where railway lines, engines and other means of transport are being stored for transmission to Syria. Kori Bey, the brother of Enver Pasha, has stated that invasion will be delivered on the Suez canal at the end of January. It has been announced that two German submarines have been sent by means of a train to Aschok (?) and thence to Varna for the protection of the Bulgarian coast.

(The London *Times*.)

The "Tarjuman" (Calcutta), of the 27th January 1916, publishes the following :—

THE INTRIGUES OF THE ENEMY AGAINST MACEDONIA AND EGYPT.

*The brackets are the paper's own.

(From* the pen of the special correspondent of the *Times* of London.)

Sabonika, 24th December.—The following detail relating to Salonika and Egypt, which ostensibly appear to owe its origin to the Government officers has appeared in to-day's issue of the Turko-German newspaper, the (*Nouveau Siecle*) ?

The delay in commencing offensive operations in Macedonia of the central powers is not at all attributable to anxiety or uneasiness. As a matter of fact its real course is attributable to the fact that the completion of military preparations and the termination of the political negotiations with Greece are awaited. The political negotiation is kept extremely confidential, but it appears from the rumours which certain newspapers have published that the central powers are trying to derive every possible advantage from the existing circumstances, and that the greatest anxiety which they are displaying is that they should continue to receive the fullest help and assistance from their allies, so that they may make the greatest effort in carrying on the present military operations. They are allaying the fear and hesitation of Greece by offering to her the heaviest securities. This political negotiation is the real cause which has kept in abeyance the military operations against the allies in Macedonia. As to Egypt, no such thought should be allowed to enter the brain regarding it that Germany will be incapable of turning her attention to any other expedition against England before she forces the enemy's army to evacuate Macedonia. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for the staff of Von Falkenheim to spare a special army for undertaking the expedition of Egypt. But, at the same time, the success of the expedition does not depend only on the participation of the German armies in it. Enver is not short of men, but he stands in need of officers and shells and gunpowder and both of his needs will now be supplied with extreme rapidity, because the railway connection has been restored between Constantinople and Berlin. If, under these circumstances, England hopes by maintaining a large army in Salonika that she can ward off the Egyptian expedition, she should rest assured that she is labouring under a serious delusion. The ruination of Servia has made the expedition fully possible and now the Germans are no longer in need of the preliminary requirement in the matter of expelling the allies from Salonika. In addition to the renewal of hostilities in Macedonia, preparations are also being made for the invasion of the Suez canal. Whatever may happen in the Balkans, it is certain that the Turks will make another decisive effort to overthrow the British rule in the land of the Pharaohs.

The "Tarjuman" (Calcutta), of the 28th January 1916, has the following :—

THE COMMOTION IN PERSIA.

Petrograd, 3rd January (delayed in transmission).—The Tiflis correspondent of the *Bourse Gazette* writes to say that the state of affairs in Persia is gradually assuming a serious aspect. Our retreat in Irak and Arabia is being everywhere attributed to the decline of our military prestige. The German Agents are vigorously disseminating this view. Their object in doing this is that concord and amity may be still more promoted between Turkey and the Central Powers. The Gendarmerie and the irregular army have unitedly begun to carry on a campaign now in accordance with the German schemes.

Behram Khan with a strong party delivered an attack on British Baluchistan. This should be regarded as the forerunner of that invasion, the management and preparations for which the German Consul attached to Kerman is making. All the influential *Mujtahids* (religious guides) of Persia have warned the Shah that, if he acts contrary to the wishes of the population, he will meet the same fate as his father met.

(Behram Khan Baranzai)* collected an army consisting of different tribes and penetrated, at the end of the month of

*The brackets are the paper's own.

September, into British Baluchistan, but after having encountered two skirmishes with the Khan of Kelat he retired. The Khan of Kelat was assisted (on the occasion) by the Mekran Levy Corps. No attack has been delivered since then. The British army took no part in the (said) fighting. It took place at a distance of 300 miles from the Frontier of India.—(*The London Times*).