

**1914.****GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.  
HOME DEPARTMENT.****POLITICAL—A.****Proceedings, March 1914, nos. 127-137.**

Forfeiture of the "Zamindar" Press at Lahore and of the security deposited by its keeper, under section 6 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, (I of 1910).

History of the "Zamindar" newspaper.

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# NOTES.

POLITICAL A., MARCH 1914.

Nos. 127—137.

FORFEITURE OF THE "ZAMINDAR" PRESS AT LAHORE AND OF THE SECURITY DEPOSITED BY ITS KEEPER, UNDER SECTION 6 OF THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910, (I OF 1910).

## HISTORY OF THE "ZAMINDAR" NEWSPAPER.

[NOTES IN THE CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICE.]

The Home Department telephoned for the full text of the recent letter from Zafar Ali Political B., December 1913, Nos. 40—43. published in the *Zamindar* of 21st November, to which reference was made in weekly report dated the 25th November.

I have not got a full translation. M. Abdul Majid submitted the attached note and subsequently read me the extract, on which the note in the weekly report is based. M. Abdul Majid has left and we have no one who can put up a reliable translation in full.

F. ISEMONGER,—4-12-13.

The article has not yet appeared in the Punjab selections.

Under the circumstances I send these papers as they stand to Home Department.

C. R. CLEVELAND,—4-12-13.

Home Department.

Ask Chief Commissioner kindly to allow his translator to make a translation.

H. WHEELER,—5-12-13.

Chief Commissioner, Delhi.

Herewith a translation\* by our translator.

\*Vide unprinted papers.

W. M. H(AILEY),—6-12-13.

Home Department.

A copy of this *Zamindar* letter† from Zafar Ali is submitted for persual. It was referred to

†Vide unprinted papers. in a recent Criminal Intelligence Department report and is obviously written with the sole intention to insult. It keeps, however, outside the Act, but imagine the outcry in the Vernacular Press if such an article had been written on India.

His Excellency may care to see as an instance of the bitterness and vulgarity characteristic of Zafar Ali.

H. WHEELER,—7-12-13.

This man is not even respectable in antecedents and origin, yet he attends and makes speeches at dinners attended by Englishmen of some status. It is a pity that the English Press does not know the kind of letters that he writes. I think that they should.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—8-12-13.

## SUMMARY.

His Excellency is aware that Zafar Ali, Editor of the *Zamindar*, is at present in England following in the train of Muhammad Ali and Wazir Hussein, attending such dinners as they have been able to secure, and speaking as a representative Muhammadan.

A translation of a scurrilous letter by him which has recently appeared in the *Zamindar* is submitted for His Excellency's perusal as typical of the man's vulgarity and bitterness.

H. WHEELER,—7-12-13.

H[ARDINGE],—10-12-13.

The Director, Criminal Intelligence, may see and retain his copy of the *Zamindar* in the file.

H. C. M.,—11-12-13,

C. W. E. COTTON,—12-12-13.

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[NOTES IN THE CRIMINAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICE.]

Seen and returned with thanks.

C. R. CLEVELAND,—18-12-13.

Home Department.

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*Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Barron., C.I.E., to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.I.E., no. 3607-S.B., dated Lahore, the 16th December 1913.*

I am desired to refer you to my letter no. 2865-S.B., dated the 20th October 1913, in which the Government of India were informed that, Political B., October 1913, nos. 121—127. following the confiscation of the first security, the keeper of the "*Zamindar Press*" (Lahore), had deposited a further security of Rs. 10,000 on October 4th, 1913. The Lieutenant-Governor has been considering the manner in which this paper has since been conducted, and the Law Officers of the Punjab Government have now advised that, amongst many others, three subsequent articles which appeared in the issues of the *Zamindar* newspaper of the 19th, 20th and 21st November 1913—translations\* enclosed—fall well within the scope of Section 4 (1) (c) of the Indian Press Act, and furnish good ground for an order forfeiting the second security and confiscating the Press itself under Section 6 of the Act. As, however, the action contemplated would probably result in the disappearance of the *Zamindar*, and as, moreover, a question of general policy appears to be involved, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor deems it desirable to ascertain the wishes of the Government of India on the subject.

I am to explain that, since the forfeiture of the previous security of Rs. 2,000 in September last, and the furnishing of the present security of Rs. 10,000 the tone of the *Zamindar* newspaper, although perhaps somewhat more veiled and guarded, has not really changed. Its insidious and malevolent attempts to misrepresent the actions and policy of Government, to excite hatred and contempt of the British people and of those Muhammadans who range themselves on the side of authority, are as persistent and deliberate as heretofore. This is evidenced by the enclosed specimen articles. The *Zamindar* has a very wide circulation even among the rural Muhammadans and this is what makes its influence so dangerous. Previous warnings and forfeiture have had no permanent effect, as the Editor, finding that articles of the extreme and scurrilous type have an attraction for the semi-literate class, panders to this taste in order to increase the circulation of his journal. The tone of the paper is reprobated by all the better class Muhammadans; and Sir Michael O'Dwyer is therefore of opinion that it is time that the mischievous career of the *Zamindar* were ended.

I am further to request that, if possible, the views of the Government of India regarding the action now contemplated may be communicated by a telegram.

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We had already seen a portion of Zafar Ali's letter from London and held that it was rather scurrilous than within the Act.

However, it is not our affair to advise the Punjab Government on points of law and it will be observed that they only mention the three articles sent up "among many others."

The Government of India are only concerned with the point of policy to which, it is submitted, that a reply might be sent that if the local Government is advised that the Press Act has been again infringed by the *Zamindar*, the Government of India can see no reason why the law should not be put in force, and any means of checking this most scurrilous paper is in fact

to be welcomed. His Honour will doubtless take care to ensure that proceedings are only taken in respect of those articles which are likely to stand the test of an appeal to the Chief Court.

His Excellency should see.

H. WHEELER,—18-12-13.

That this pernicious paper should be suppressed is now desirable ; but it should be suppressed in a good case. If the Punjab Government and their legal advisers are satisfied that the cases selected will stand in the Courts we should be the last to interfere. I do not think myself that the second article is within the section, the third certainly is, and the first less clearly. But the responsibility lies on the local Government to make sure of its ground and select the cases which are clearest.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—18-12-13.

A draft reply is submitted, of which His Excellency might be asked to approve.

H. WHEELER,—18-12-13.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—18-12-13.

The letter from the Punjab Government dated the 16th instant and preceding notes may kindly be read.

With His Excellency's permission a reply may be sent as drafted.

H. WHEELER,—18-12-13.

I have grave doubts whether the first and second articles quoted give reasonable grounds for action. They are very insidious, and the intention is bad, but the substance of the articles is couched in a way that is difficult to catch hold of. As the Punjab Government have sent us the articles and asked for our opinion as to taking action I think we may legitimately express it.

H[ARDINGE],—18-12-13.

I have added a caution in the sense of His Excellency's note. With that addition the telegram may perhaps issue.

H. WHEELER,—19-12-13.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—19-12-13.

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*Telegram from the Secretary, Home Department, Delhi, to the Chief Secretary, Punjab, Lahore, no. 495-C., dated the 19th December 1913.*

Your demi-official no. 3607-S. B., dated the 16th instant. If local Government is advised that the *Zamindar* has infringed Press Act, Government of India have no objection to further proceedings against it and in fact consider that check over its activities is to be welcomed. Lieutenant-Governor will however appreciate desirability of selecting a strong case which will stand test of reference to courts. For instance of the three articles sent the applicability of the Act to the first and second is perhaps doubtful even although they are insidious in character and written with bad intention. The local Government will doubtless take adequate legal opinion as it is very expedient to avoid abortive proceedings.

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*Demi-official letter from the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Barran, C.I.E., to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., no. 140-S. B., dated Lahore, the 13th January 1914.*

I am desired to refer you to my letter no. 139-S. B., dated the 13th January 1914, in which the Government of India have been informed that the Government of the Punjab has, by its order of the 12th January 1914, confiscated the security of the "*Zamindar Press*" and the Press itself.

I am to explain that on receipt of your telegram no. 495-C.-Political, dated the 19th December 1913, the Law Officers of this Government were again consulted regarding the offending articles. They advised that in their opinion an order of forfeiture would in this case certainly stand the test of an appeal to the Courts. It was after carefully considering their opinions that the Lieutenant-Governor decided to take action.

In this connection I am to add that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has been informed on good authority that Zafar Ali, the nominal editor of the *Zamindar*, has decided to stay in

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England and work up an agitation for the repeal of the Press Act. The order now issued by the Punjab Government will therefore doubtless stimulate whatever action he may be contemplating, and we may hear of meetings organized and press articles inspired by him in England. Now the article of the 21st November makes, *inter alia*, a most sweeping attack upon the London Press of all shades of opinion, and Sir Michael O'Dwyer is inclined to think that, if this fact is brought to notice in London, it may help to cut away the ground from Zafar Ali's agitation. I am therefore to suggest the expediency of sending copies of the translations to the India Office as speedily as possible.

Pro. no. 127. FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, NO. 139-S.B., DATED 13TH JANUARY 1914.

The above letter is for information only.

2. With regard to Mr. Barron's demi-official letter of the 13th instant it is for orders whether we should take any action on the lines suggested in the last paragraph.

H. C. M.,—14-1-14.

Mr. Barron's official letter and enclosures may be forwarded to the India Office tomorrow with a Secretary's letter. Further action may be taken on receipt of the previous papers which have been called for from Simla.

C. W. E. COTTON,—14-1-14.

H. WHEELER,—14-1-14.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—15-1-14.

Draft submitted for approval. The previous papers have been received from Simla and amalgamated.

H. C. M.,—15-1-14

H. WHEELER,—15-1-14.

Pro. no. 128. TO HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, NO. 340-C, DATED 15TH JANUARY 1914.

#### SUMMARY.

The Punjab Government has forfeited the second security given by the *Zamindar*.

The matter will doubtless be taken into Court and the validity of its action there tested. Meanwhile the facts have been reported to the India Office.

The papers are submitted for His Excellency's information.

H. WHEELER,—15-1-14.

H[ARDINGE],—17-1-14.

Collect quickly and submit all the previous discussions we have had about this paper. Objectionable articles in it have on several occasions been the subject of discussion.

H. WHEELER,—18-1-14.

Papers placed in file, and as directed separately by Secretary a brief history of the *Zamindar* with purport of the articles with respect to which action has, from time to time, been taken, is submitted.

R. D'A.,—29-1-14.

A history of the *Zamindar* newspaper from its foundation in 1903 has been compiled and Mr. Isemonger has very kindly checked it. A number of objectionable articles which have appeared in it from time to time since 1911 are included in an appendix.

C. W. E. COTTON,—3-2-13.

I have had a note prepared on the history of the *Zamindar* which may be useful if questions are raised. His Excellency may like to see it as there are still rumours of projected deputations. I understand that an appeal has been lodged in the Chief Court.

H. WHEELER,—5-2-14.

This is a very useful note, but my impression is that there were more warnings than are here

Please verify again, examining the discussions of 1913 in particular regarding control over the press and the state of Muhammadan feeling. We addressed several demi-official letters to the Punjab in these connections.

recorded. Perhaps we might ascertain demi-officially from the Punjab Government how many warnings were given. It might be useful to have this information, if the case should ever be brought up in Council.

H. WHEELER,—5-2-14.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—5-2-14.

Attention is invited to the passage marked on page 6 of the annual report on the press in the Punjab for 1912; also to the papers noted on the margin. A reference to one warning is made in the latter papers, though it is not clear whether the warning was actually given. We may ask Punjab for actual figures. Draft demi-official submitted.

R. D'A.,—11-2-14.

Issue as amplified.

C. W. E. COTTON,—12-2-14.

*Demi-official letter from C. W. E. Cotton, Esq., to the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Barron, C.I.E., no. 1022-C., dated Delhi, the 12th February 1914.*

With reference to the correspondence ending with your demi-official letter no. 140-S. B., dated the 13th January 1914, the Government of India would be glad, with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, to have more definite information as to the number of warnings conveyed to the conductors of the *Zamindar* from 1911 onwards and the circumstances under which each was given. There is a reference to "numberless warnings from officials" in the annual report on Indian Newspapers in the Punjab for 1912, and in Wheeler's demi-official of the 11th March 1913, the local Government was asked to convey a personal warning to the Editor. Would you kindly treat this reference as urgent?

*Demi-official from J. P. Thompson, Esq., to the Hon'ble Mr. H. Wheeler, C.S.I., C.I.E., no. 832 S. B., dated Lahore, the 16th February 1914.*

In reply to your demi-official letter no. 1022-C., dated the 12th February 1914, I am desired to say that we have no exact information as to the number of warnings administered to the conductors of the *Zamindar* from 1911 onwards. As a matter of fact these warnings were not of a formal nature, but generally took the shape of friendly advice and admonition administered in the course of interviews between Zafar Ali, the Editor of the *Zamindar*, and Government officials. Zafar Ali was well known to the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Humphreys, and the additional District Magistrate, Mr. Ferguson, who, it is understood, saw him on several occasions, apart from the interviews on the 26th April 1911 and 4th August 1911, at which he filed declarations regarding his paper, when the question of demanding security was discussed with him.

2. On one occasion, in November 1910, when Zafar Ali was contemplating the transfer of his paper from Karmabad in the Gujranwala district to Lahore, the Lieutenant-Governor himself accorded him an interview, and no doubt Sir Louis Dane then gave Zafar Ali friendly advice. Sir Louis Dane also probably met Zafar Ali at various times at garden parties and so forth, for, writing early in 1912 on the subject of the *Zamindar*, His Honour mentioned that Zafar Ali had admitted to him that, when writing and speaking his pen and tongue were in the habit of running away with him.

3. The following instances of interviews with the Deputy Commissioner actually on record can be quoted.

In 1911 Mr. Ferguson, then Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, told Zafar Ali in the presence of two other Muhammadan Editors, that the *Zamindar* articles entitled "Imperium in Imperio" which appeared in its issue of the 8th August 1911, and gave great offence to the Hindu community, were bitter in tone. This interview was referred to publicly in the issues of the *Zamindar* and the *Hindustan* of the 8th September 1911 and 15th September 1911, respectively, the Editor of the latter insisting that Mr. Ferguson had admonished and warned Zafar Ali.

About the end of January 1912 Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan appears to have undertaken the task of admonishing Zafar Ali, for we find the former informing the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore at that time, that he had had an interview with Zafar Ali, with, as he hoped, a good effect. Again in the issue of the *Zamindar* of the 14th March 1912, Zafar Ali himself mentioned that the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore (Mr. Humphreys) had told him that the *Zamindar* newspaper was objectionable in every way.

The formal warning mentioned in your demi-official letter no. 1693-C. (Political), dated the 11th March 1913, was not conveyed to the Editor of the *Zamindar* as the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab decided to defer action in the case of Punjab papers, pending information regarding the Government of India's decision in the matter of offending papers in other provinces, *vide* my demi-official letter to you no. 586-S.B., dated the 14th April 1913.

*Ibid.*

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Zafar Ali was absent from India from 21st December 1912 to 1st August 1913, but on his return to Lahore the present Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, Mr. Tollinton, saw him and gave him some good advice regarding the tone of his paper, and his method of conducting it.

4. But of course a formal warning in a very practical shape was conveyed to Zafar Ali on the 12th March 1912, when the District Magistrate, Lahore, cancelled his two orders of 4th August 1911 and 3rd October 1911 waiving security when the first declarations of the weekly and daily editions of the *Zamindar* were lodged, and demanded security of Rs. 2,000 from Zafar Ali. This was followed up, as the Government of India are aware, by the forfeiture of this security by this Government's order

Poll. B. October 1913 nos. 121—127. of 15th September 1913, and by the demand of fresh security amounting to Rs. 10,000 by the District Magistrate of Lahore on redeclarations on 4th October 1913. Zafar Ali therefore had repeated warnings of the consequences of continuing to publish objectionable matter in his paper.

Obtain a revised proof of the History. I have incorporated several extracts from Mr. Thompson's letter, and corrected one passage which was based on an incorrect surmise.

C. W. E. COTTON,—17-2-14.

Revised proof submitted.

H. C. M.,—20-2-14.

For persual.

C. W. E. COTTON,—22-2-14.

I daresay that His Excellency would wish to have a copy, and the India Office should certainly be supplied. The question is sure to be raised in Parliament. Have the Punjab Government ever reported to us the value of the

They have not. C. W. E. COTTON. confiscated Press. Some of the newspapers put it at Rs. 25,000. We should know the correct figure.

R. H. C[RADDOCK],—22-2-14.

Issue the demi-official I have drafted to Mr. Barron.

2. A copy of the History of the *Zamindar* newspaper should be forwarded by the next mail to the India Office with a Secretary's letter.

C. W. E. COTTON,—22-2-14.

*Demi-official letter from C. W. E. Cotton, Esq., to the Hon'ble Mr. C. A. Barron, C.I.E., no. 1361-C., dated Delhi, the 26th February 1914.*

It has been alleged in certain newspapers that the value of the "*Zamindar*" Press recently confiscated was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 25,000.

As questions may be asked on the subject either in the Imperial Legislative Council or in Parliament the Government of India would be glad to be informed, with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, at an early date what the approximate value of the properties forfeited actually amounted to.

#### SUMMARY.

The Home Department have prepared a succinct history of the *Zamindar* newspaper with an appendix containing some of the most violent articles which have appeared in it from 1911 onwards.

A copy of this compilation is placed on the file for His Excellency's perusal and another copy is being forwarded to the India Office.

C. W. E. COTTON,—22-2-14.

H[ARDINGE],—25-2-14.

Draft submitted for approval.

H. C. M.,—24-2-14.

C. W. E. COTTON,—24-2-14.

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TO HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, no. 1342-C., DATED THE 26TH FEBRUARY 1914. Pro. no. 129.

*Demi-official letter from the Honourable Mr. C. A. Barron, C.I.E., to C. W. E. Cotton, Esq., no. 1003-S.B., dated Lahore, the 4th March 1914.*

With reference to your demi-official letter no. 1361-C. (Political), dated the 26th February 1914, enquiring what the approximate value of the "Zamindar Printing Press", lately confiscated, amounts to, I am desired to say that a valuation was made by order of Government within a week of the confiscation of the Press by the Superintendent of the Punjab Government Press, who, after careful inspection and making due allowance for depreciation, placed the total present value of the engine, machines, presses, stones, etc., at Rs. 10,112.

Information.

H. C. M.,—7-3-14.

C. W. E. COTTON,—9-3-14.

H. WHEELER,—9-3-14.

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, no. 1181-S. B., DATED THE 13TH MARCH 1914. Pro. no. 130.

The India Office may be informed. Draft submitted for approval.

H. C. M.,—14-3-14.

C. W. E. COTTON,—16-3-14.

FROM THE INDIA OFFICE, DATED THE 24TH FEBRUARY 1914.

Pro. no. 131.

Information. A copy of the questions and answers may be sent to the Punjab Government for information. Draft put up.

His Excellency need not be troubled.

H. C. M.,—16-3-14.

C. W. E. COTTON,—17-3-14.

TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, no. 2011-C., DATED THE 18TH MARCH 1914.

Pro. no. 132.

TO HIS MAJESTY'S UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA, no. 2044-C., DATED THE 19TH MARCH 1914. Pro. no. 133.

FROM THE INDIA OFFICE, DATED THE 4TH MARCH 1914.

Pro. no. 134.

Information. A copy may be sent to the Government of the Punjab in continuation of previous letter. Draft endorsement put up. His Excellency need not see.

H. C. M.,—26-3-14.

C. W. E. COTTON,—26-3-14.

ENDORSEMENT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, no. 2378-C., DATED THE 28TH MARCH 1914. Pro. no. 135.

FROM THE HONORARY SECRETARY, 24-PARGANAS DISTRICT MOSLEM LEAGUE, CALCUTTA, no. 14, DATED THE 28TH MARCH 1914. Pro. no. 136.

The receipt of the letter may be acknowledged. Draft Office Memorandum submitted for approval.

H. C. M.,—30-3-14.

C. W. E. COTTON,—31-3-14.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORARY SECRETARY, 24-PARGANAS DISTRICT MOSLEM LEAGUE, no. 2498-C., DATED THE 31ST MARCH 1914. Pro. no. 137.

## HISTORY OF THE "ZAMINDAR" NEWSPAPER.

The *Zamindar* newspaper was started in 1903 as a weekly by one Siraj-ud-din Ahmad, retired Inspector of Post Offices, who had been for a time employed as Postmaster-General, Patiala State. The paper during the first year of its existence was printed at the Islamia Steam Press, Lahore, but from 1904 up to 1909 it was printed at the *Zamindar* Press, Karmabad, Gujranwala district, and published from that district. In 1910 the paper was printed at the *Rifah-i-Am* Press, Lahore. During the years 1903—1905 the paper had little or no influence, but its tone was inclined to be hostile to Government, the administration of the Punjab Canal Colonies being the principal subject of its criticism, regarding which it published many unreasonable complaints. In 1906 its tone became increasingly hostile, its influence and circulation increased and it was instrumental in creating bad blood between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Wazirabad (Gujranwala district). In the following year the paper came prominently to notice when the opposition to the Punjab Colonisation Bill began. Articles on the subject were distributed in the colonies and at mass meetings. In fact the opposition to the measure was said to have been largely due to the efforts of the paper. It also protested against the enhancement of rates on the Bari Doab Canal and advocated agitation, but when these measures were suspended the paper for a time dropped out of notice. During the years 1908-1909 its circulation was chiefly confined to the agriculturists in the Canal Colonies, and it continued to display hostility to Government and at times wrote offensive articles. In 1909 Siraj-ud-din Ahmad died and the management of the paper fell into the hands of his son, Zafar Ali Khan, B.A., who was formerly employed in the Hyderabad State from which he was said to have been turned out for scheming to replace the late Nizam on the Gaddi by his son. In 1910 for the first time the *Zamindar* was included by the Punjab in their annual report among those papers which were looked upon as "generally" representing the Muhammadan community. In 1911 the *Zamindar* moved from Karmabad to Lahore where, on declaration, the demand for security was waived. Shortly after its removal it again came prominently to notice, having embarked upon a strong and virulent anti-Hindu policy which increased its popularity with the Muslim public to a considerable extent. It was described by newspaper vendors in the streets as the "*Hinduon ka bera gharak Karnewala Zamindar*" (the *Zamindar* which brings ruin upon the Hindus). Later on its inflammatory attacks upon Christianity and Christian nations, in connection with affairs in the Near East and Persia, were so successful that it blossomed from a weekly to a daily with a weekly supplement, the circulation of which went up by leaps and bounds. Mr. Ferguson, then Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, cautioned Zafar Ali Khan in the presence of the Editor of the *Hindustan* in respect of an article which had appeared in the *Zamindar* of the 8th August 1911 and given great offence to the Hindu community. It degenerated into the most violent Vernacular print in the Punjab and in 1912 the District Magistrate of Lahore considered it necessary to require security to the extent of Rs. 2,000 (Rs. 1,000 for each of the daily and weekly editions). The more objectionable articles which necessitated resort to the security

*Vide* Articles I to IX in Appendix.

provisions of the Press Act are briefly abstracted in the Appendix. With respect to the demand of security it is interesting to note the following details (gleaned from the Punjab report on the Press for 1912):—"When in October 1911 Zafar Ali added a daily edition, he evaded the giving of security by the subterfuge of declaring to the District Magistrate of Lahore that his daily publication was to be merely a supplement to the weekly edition, and would contain telegraphic news only. Having thus induced the district authorities to waive the taking of security, he promptly broke faith, and published his most rabid writings in what was to have been merely a supplement."

However, on the 12th March 1912, the District Magistrate, Lahore, cancelled his two orders of 4th August 1911 and 3rd October 1911 waiving security when the first declarations of the weekly and daily editions of the *Zamindar* were lodged and demanded security of Rs. 2,000 from Zafar Ali.

2. The circulation of the weekly edition of the paper rose from 1,225 copies in 1910 to 3,900 copies in 1911 while the daily edition had a circulation of 5,952 copies. At the close of 1912 the circulation of the weekly edition remained the same as in 1911, but the circulation of the daily edition increased to 15,000 copies which figure it seems to have maintained during 1913.

3. Towards the end of 1912 and early in 1913 objectionable and intemperate writings appeared in the *Zamindar* commenting upon events which were then agitating the Muhammadan world in connection with the Balkan War and Persian affairs, to which the attention of the Government of the Punjab was drawn. The Legal Adviser to the local Government was of opinion that the articles in question offended against section 4 (1) of the Press Act and that the security deposited by the paper could be forfeited. But as the Lieutenant-Governor felt that the matter was not a purely provincial one, many papers in Europe adopting a similar line he, before taking action, referred again to the Government of India. The Advocate-General who was then consulted considered that the articles in question were undoubtedly "intended and calculated to arouse the animosity of the Musalmans against the Christians in general, and the European Christians in particular" and agreed that the security was liable to forfeiture. But being a little doubtful of the view that might be taken by the Courts, he inclined to the advantages of another warning before taking the extreme step. The Advocate-General's opinion was communicated to the Government of the Punjab in March 1913 when it was stated that "the Government of India are influenced by the fact that, at the moment, the prospects of peace in the Balkans look somewhat brighter, and were that to ensue it might be hoped that the present tension of feeling among Muhammadans in this country might become somewhat less acute. Were that to result there would be some advantage (even admitting the objections of delay) in refraining from enforcing the law against this paper and allowing it another opportunity for reformation, but the Government of India consider that the editor should be given clearly to understand that writings of this description cannot be tolerated and allowance cannot always be made for whatever bitterness the memories of the war have evoked among Musalmans."

"I am to ask, therefore, that the editor may be interviewed personally by a responsible officer on behalf of the local Government, not lower in status than the Divisional Commissioner, and informed that Government is advised that his writings have rendered him liable to the penalties prescribed by the Press Act. They refrain from enforcing the law merely in the hope that a warning will induce him to amend his ways, and should he fail to do so, no further consideration can be shown to him." This warning was however never conveyed as Sir Louis Dane was unwilling to take any action in respect of Muhammadan journals in the Punjab, until he was advised of the Government of India's contemplated line of action in respect of offending newspapers in other provinces. The Editor, Zafar Ali Khan, left for the Balkans on 21st December 1912 and returned to India on 1st August 1913 and before very long the paper reverted to its most objectionable style though Mr. Tollinton, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, had seen and admonished him with regard to the tone of the *Zamindar*. Violent articles regarding the Cawnpore mosque incident and the confiscation of the pamphlet "Come over into Macedonia and help us" led the local Government on the 15th September 1913 to forfeit the security of Rs. 2,000 deposited by the Press.

On redeclaration by the keeper of the press a further security of Rs. 10,000 was demanded by the District Magistrate of Lahore and deposited on the 4th October 1913. This confiscation and demand of further security did not have a deterrent effect upon the paper which continued its scurrilous tendencies resulting in the termination of its career on the 12th January 1914 when the Government of the Punjab, under section 6 of the Indian Press Act, 1910 (I of 1910), declared forfeited the sum of Rs. 10,000 deposited as security together with the "*Zamindar* Printing Press" and the copies of the offending articles.

*Vide* articles X and XI in Appendix.

*Vide* articles XII to XV in Appendix.

*Vide* articles XVI to XVIII in Appendix.

## Appendix.

*A selection of violent articles from the "Zamindar" (based chiefly upon abstracts in the weekly selections from the Punjab) 1911—1913.*

### I.

In its issue of November 8th, 1911, the *Zamindar* contained an article headed "An ulcer in the body of Islam." In publishing a letter from one Siraj-ud-Din complaining of the inflammatory poems and objectionable writings published from time to time in the *Zamindar* regarding the Turko-Italian War as tending to injure Muhammadan interests and which are condemned by enlightened and prominent Muhammadans, the editor attacks the writer and other such supposed leaders (reluctantly and only on the advice of his friends, as he says) whose loyalty is only whipped up on occasions like this and who in the desire for self-advertisement and prominence blackguard their co-religionists before Government. The poems, continues the editor, while intending to revive feelings of philanthropy religious fervour, Islamic brotherhood among Muhammadans and to increase their devotion to the British throne, also condemn Italy's brutal and heartless aggression, etc. This, says the editor, offends the "Enlightened and prominent Muhammadans" who "deserve to be entrusted with the work of cleaning the Pope's (chamber) pot" and that Muslims who have no sympathy with "Pan-Islamism" and neglect the sacred commandment "all Muhammadans are brothers" are worthy of public flogging to be purged of their enlightenment.

### II.

The *Zamindar* of the 8th (received on the 14th) November 1911, published a communication headed "Is the attitude of Indian Muhammadans in regard to the Turko-Italian War open to objection?" The writer—Maulvi Muhammad-ul-Wahidi, Editor of the *Nizam-ul-Mashaikh* (Delhi)—says that many, if not all, Hindu newspapers have of late been trying to make Government regard Musalmans with suspicion. Their conduct, he adds, in placing objectionable interpretations on the word jihad, and representing the (Muslim) boycott (of Italian goods) in a bad light, can only mean that they wish to prejudice Government against the Prophet's followers. Continuing, he remarks that it would have greatly pleased seven crores of Indian Musalmans if their King-Emperor had not treated the Sultan's request for help with indifference. They are still thoroughly loyal and devoted to the British Government, but, in the above event, even the weakest member of their community would have considered it his duty to lay down his life for the English. Now, however, that Turkey has received sufficient help from Arabs and Sennussis, they only wish Great Britain to hold herself aloof from the war, even if the Turks should involve Italy in utter ruin.

### III.

Continuing his remarks in the papers issue of the 11th November 1911, the editor says that it is a black lie on the part of Siraj-ud-Din to say that the *Zamindar's* writings inflame Muhammadans against the British Government. If his correspondent and the latter's patrons, he adds, make loud professions of loyalty (only) in the hope of securing titles and (other) honours from Government, he would tell them that they cannot be truly loyal to their present rulers. After remarking that they are engaged in throwing dust in the eyes of both Muhammadans and Government, he observes that the Muhammadan community is now awake, and has come to know what sort of leaders it wants. Such leaders as play it false should have their graves dug, for the time of their interment is near at hand. Muhammadans will now be led by him who observes fasts and prayers, conforms to the Islamic traditions of 13 centuries, frequents mosques rather than clubs, understands the real import of the Muslim brotherhood, and leaves his bungalow to mix with his poorer brethren and find out how it fares with them. Next the paper dilates on the unflinching loyalty of the Prophet's followers and challenges Siraj-ud-Din to refer to any writings in it containing sentiments hostile to the British Government. It then assures him that it has no intention of breathing a warlike spirit into the Muhammadans of India. "Only those nominal loyalists may entertain such ambitions who, for the sake of their personal ends, and from motives of flattery, night and morning sweep the bungalows of the authorities with the rays of their enlightenment." The *Zamindar's* writings can never injure the Muhammadan community: they can cause injury only to men of Siraj-ud-Din's type.

### IV.

The *Zamindar*, of the 8th (received on the 17th) November 1911, publishes an article headed "Sir Edward Grey". Indian Muhammadans, it says, are under the impression that His Majesty the King-Emperor is an absolute ruler. The small community of educated Musalmans, however, knows that his desires have sometimes to give way to forces, the extinction of which would prove beneficial to a large part of the world. One of these forces is represented by the policy which Sir Edward Grey has been following as Foreign Minister of England, and which has adversely affected the peace of the world. After remarking that he has not proved himself a wise and far-seeing statesman, the paper says that it is owing to his

short-sighted policy that England has lost influence in Turkey, and has forfeited the confidence of Persia.

Again, if the King-Emperor has not been able to maintain the traditions of his father and grandmother with regard to Muhammadan countries, this is due solely to the obstinacy of Sir Edward Grey, who does not attach the least value to the matchless advantages which his country can secure by winning the heart of the Muslim world. His attitude in connection with the Italian atrocities has convinced the paper that so long as the Foreign Office is not placed under a statesman in whose breast beats a heart like that of Lord Lamington or Mr. Masson, England's Foreign policy cannot attain that success in Muslim countries which is wished for by everyone desirous of a political union between Islam and Christianity. In conclusion the *Zamindar* remarks that the friendless Indian Muhammadans can appeal only to their sovereign (aqa), who, they believe, is the upholder of the most sacred traditions of civilization. "Will he not," it asks, "call Sir Edward Grey to account? He will certainly do so, provided our voice reaches his court."

## V.

The *Zamindar*, of the 25th November 1911, publishes a communication headed "West and East or Christianity and Islam-I". The writer—one Maulvi Sayad Muhammad of Lucknow (?)—says that up till yesterday the problem of West and East was regarded as a political one. Facts have, however, placed it beyond doubt that the question is of a religious and not of a political character. Christendom is engaged in breaking up Islamic kingdoms, in converting magnificent mosques, into Christian churches, in trying to sweep the Quran off the face of the earth, and in making Trinity-worshipping Christians of 30 crores of Muhammadans. In support of these assertions the writer refers to the Kaiser's recent declaration against Islam, and also quotes the remarks made by a French politician and priest named Jules Clottie (?) in his *Eastern Question* under the heading "How we can exterminate Islam". Continuing, he enquires whether Muhammadans (will) now regard "the present hypocritical doings of the West as political warfare." If so, he adds, they should prepare themselves to lead the life or Jews.

Commenting on the above the editor says that the first idea suggested by the letter is that even in the 20th century there exist in Europe worthies who, like "Peter the Hermit" have become so mad that they openly insult Islam, and do not hesitate to offend 30 crores of Muhammadans. To make matters worse, these abusers of Islam and its followers include a great ruler like the Kaiser, an influential statesman of Herr Haldane's (?) stamp, and a powerful writer like Jules Clottie (?). Nevertheless, Muhammadans should not regard the ravings of this trio as the unanimous voice of Europe or Christianity. Moreover, such fools and "grandsons of Peter the Hermit" cannot vanquish "the religion of God" (Islam). England also is a European country, but none of her Kings, statesmen, nor writers has ever given utterance to the foul and satanic remarks recorded in Jules Clottie's *do-warqi*. Again, "we" have to do not with Germany nor France, but with England, which represents Europe to "us" and which alone is a Christian Kingdom in truth.

## VI.

The *Zamindar*, of the 16th December 1911, publishes a paragraph entitled "The *Pioneer's* offensive conduct—I". In this it gives a translation of the note which appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 7th instant, condemning the conduct of Mr. Amir Ali in regard to the Turko-Italian War, and the situation in Persia. Commenting on the same, it says that the remarks by that most haughty and bigoted Anglo-Indian paper must have wounded the hearts of its Muslim readers, while those of Muhammadans who are ignorant of English, will be pierced now (i.e., after the publication of the translation) by "these poisoned arrows." For full 50 years, it adds, Musalmans have been so loyal and devoted to the British throne that they have forgotten even their "national existence", and have dyed their swords with the blood of their co-religionists in Egypt and Afghanistan in order to please their present masters. The sole reward, however, which they have received from the editor of the *Pioneer* is (the information) that he cares nothing for their religion, and that their feelings cannot in the least degree influence the policy of his Government. It is right in saying—and it represents the feelings of seven crores of Indian Muhammadans on the subject—that if Musalmans were to feel convinced that all Englishmen were as haughty as the aforesaid journalist, and cared not a straw for the Islamic religion, their love for England, and devotion to the British throne, would vanish in the twinkling of an eye, and they would begin to regard Great Britain an a tyrannical and barbarous power, such as Italy, Russia, or Germany, whose might is intended solely to sweep Muhammadans out of existence, or reduce them to the condition of degraded slaves. "We" however, hold the contrary belief, while it is also "our" conviction that just as papers like the *Pioneer*, which are always engaged in the fruitless task of causing bad blood between the rulers and the ruled by the publication of malignant and mischievous writings, have nothing in common with the truth-loving section of the English Press, similarly the present foreign policy of England is entirely due to Sir Edward Grey, and is in no way countenanced by the just British nation as a whole. Further, "we" feel sure that if the sufferings of his subjects come to the knowledge of the King-Emperor, His Majesty will surely devise means for removing the same.



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## VII.

The *Zamindar*, of the 17th and 19th January 1912, publishes a communication headed "The present times and the political stage." In continuation of his previous remarks (*vide* paragraph 4 of selections no. 3) the writer—one Sheikh Fayyaz Ali of Shahabad, Hardoi district—gives an account of the events of the Turko-Italian War and goes on to discuss Russo-Persian relations. He observes that, as Persia is a Muhammadan Kingdom, Muhammadans naturally sympathise with it in its present oppressed condition and repeatedly urge Great Britain to save the Shah's dominions from falling into the hands of Russia. They are, however, apparently ignorant of politics; otherwise they would have urged Great Britain to hasten to take her share in the partition of Persia because this would have certainly met with the approval of the cabinet. Indeed, they should bear in mind that there is no section in the political code of Europe making it obligatory for the strong to attend to the voice of the weak. Continuing the writer says that, failing to induce Great Britain to take action in the matter, they turned their attention to Turkey, which published a strong note in connection with Russian aggression in Persia. In reply Russia admitted Turkey's right of interference in Persian affairs, and this practically means that the latter country is in every way entitled to a share in the partition of the Shah's dominions. Next the writer says that Persia can only be saved by either the exertion of Persian nationalists or by her surrender to Turkey. Proceeding, he says that the proposed Russian Railway through Persia will benefit Great Britain, seeing that the awakening among Egyptians is causing her not a little uneasiness concerning the protection of her route to India. In conclusion he says that Russian aggression in Persia has made a deep impression on the Afghans, who are watching the manner which the Anglo-Russian convention is being carried into effect with great anxiety.

## VIII.

The *Zamindar*, of the 18th (received on the 26th) January 1912, publishes some verses entitled "The gist of Islamic feelings" in which mention is made of the Italian defeat at Derna and the rising of the Berbers and Sennousis. In conclusion the poet expresses surprise that the King-Emperor should meet the Czar, Kaiser, the Emperor of Austria and King of Italy; seeing that "there is no occasion for a sober man to join the society of four drunkards."

## IX.

The *Zamindar*, of the 13th February 1912, published a leader headed "The strong beats (the weak) and does not allow him to weep." The paper says that it is extremely shameful and regrettable that the champions of modern civilization are destroying the ancient races of Africa with impunity. Italy invaded Tripoli, but the champions of the peace of the world remained silent! Thousands of Arabs were cruelly murdered, but Europeans remained mute spectators of the scene! The Russians hanged Suqat-ul-Islam and the great Mujtahid during the days of Muharram, but no European had the goodness to call upon Russia for an explanation of her conduct. Continuing, the paper refers to the aggressive conduct of Russia in Persia; and says that it is a pity that Sir Edward Grey should consider it proper under the present circumstances to aid and abet that Power in making all sorts of unjustifiable demands upon Persia. Indeed, Sir Edward Grey's policy has not only perplexed unfortunate Persia, but has deeply wounded the feelings of (? Indian) Muhammadans also. The paper then goes on to deprecate the conduct of the British and Russian Consuls in Persia in advising the Persian Government to grant a pension to the deposed Shah of Persia. Can there be, it asks, anything more aggravating than the fact that the Persian Government should be forced to grant a pension to a person who has ruined and trampled upon a crore of Muhammadans and who has reduced his country to its present condition? Is it proper that the British people should tolerate the policy of Sir Edward Grey who has brought England to the position of playing second fiddle to Russia in Persia? Whatever may be the views of the British people on this subject Indian Muhammadans think that the time has come when the present Foreign Secretary of State should be relieved of his present post. The British Government is the most religious Government in the world, and it is desirable that it should regulate its conduct in such a way as to preserve its prestige and its fair name and fame.

## X.

The *Zamindar*, of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th December 1912, published articles headed "The *Zamindar's* fund for a loan without interest". After stating that the loans given to Islamic Kingdoms by the political bankers of Europe always prove ruinous to the former owing to their having to pay compound interest and to make different concessions in favour of their creditors, the paper observes that the Porte has never been allowed an opportunity of introducing reforms; that it is not even permitted to enhance the customs duty on imported articles, and that, although it treats its non-muslim subjects better than any Christian Power has ever treated its non-Christians, still the wicked and vile Christians are always engaged in devising fiendishly iniquitous plans to defame and injure the Turks and to prejudice still further the Powers against them. Europe, it adds, is so bitter against the East that it can never tolerate that the Turks, an Asiatic race and a Muhammadan people, should cast the unclean blot of their tawny colour on its (Europe's) white garment. There is no devilish act which the "henchmen of Europe" do not commit to remove this stain, every satanic plot (to gain this

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end) being also hatched by "the thieves, murderers and dacoits of Europe in the name of the cross". After remarking that these doings are thoroughly approved by the Trinity of the European Press, statesman and missionaries, the *Zamindar* asserts that the Turks are fully convinced that Europe is determined to sweep them into oblivion and has also been straining every nerve to obtain possession of, or control over, Mecca and Medina. They, however, have made up their minds not to cede even an inch of Islamic territory. But they require millions upon millions for this purpose and Indian Muhammadans should advance to them a loan of two crores without interest. Next the paper reports that it has been proposed to divide the sum into 40 lakhs of shares of Rs. 5 each, and publishes a list of persons who are willing to buy up a large number of these bonds.

## XI.

The *Zamindar*, of the 15th December 1912, had a letter under the heading "An important and opportune movement". The writer, Saiyid Muhammed Anwar Husain, Professor, D. J. College, Monghyr, says that it has been made thoroughly clear that the secret societies of the lying European champions of civilization have definitely decided to end the existence of Moslem kingdoms in general, and "the capital of Islam (? Turkey)" in particular. After remarking that these stupid and savage attacks are promoting union among Muhammadans, he urges both the Shia and Sunni Musalmans in India to give in aid of Turkey the lakhs of rupees they are in the habit of wasting in Muharram celebrations; saying that the Turks are fighting to prevent the sacred places at Mecca and Medina being intefered with by infidels (Christians).

## XII.

In its issue dated the 26th August 1913, the daily *Zamindar* published an article from the pen of its special correspondent entitled "Third Stage of the Funeral of British Liberty in Lucknow", who begins by saying "the days which should find a permanent place in our memory are not now few and far between"—witness says he the 1st of July when "a sacred portion of the Cawnpore mosque was demolished in the midst of guns and bayonets, and in this way the funeral of that religious liberty, whose effigy had been shown as living and moving for more than a century, was performed with full military honours. Similarly the memory of the bloody 3rd of August cannot be effaced from the page of our heart, on which day the sun appeared in the horizon of Cawnpore shedding sorrowful tears over the fountains of blood, over writhing dead bodies, over the bleeding wounds of innocent children, and over aggrieved and helpless humanity, and which was the day on which the corpse of British Justice, after a barbarous waste of 600 cartridges, borne on the blessed shoulders of Mr. Tyler, was at last buried on the banks of the Ganges."

The writer then goes on to narrate the events leading up to the 10th August (the day fixed for a public mass meeting to raise subscriptions for the relief of the "martyrs of Islam"). Though only two days' notice was given of the meeting, the news spread like wild fire and the conquering influence of the rulers of the Empire, the Powers of Governments and the might of Crown paled before the magnetism of the memory of the victims of oppression. This and the fact that the editor of the *Al Hilal* was known to be in Lucknow (a fact which affected the authorities' nerves) embarrassed the powers that be, who feared a mutiny, or worse still that, by his speaking, "some calamity would befall (the country) from the sky." Accordingly after many enquiries by, and visits from, members of the secret police and after (it is said) the summoning of three influential gentlemen by the Deputy Commissioner (only one of whom—Saiyid Wazir Husan—attended)—the meeting was prohibited, though the police were ready for eventualities, and had prepared "a magnificent spectacle of warlike preparations," the place of meeting resembling a besieged fort. Continuing the writer refers to the times when the destinies of the people were in the hands of tyrants and oppressors. It may be said that these times have passed away, but considering recent events the matter is open to doubt, as "If a sacred and respected religious building at Cawnpore can be forcibly demolished on its sacred character, if a helpless assembly can be massacred notwithstanding that it also contained children of 8 years of age, and if a responsible meeting at Lucknow, which was being held with full responsibility in accordance with law, which had nothing to conceal, and which was in every way proper and could not be taken objection to, could be stopped by a royal command of a few words without any legal grounds, then it is not known what is the liberty under (*lit.* of) the *Pax Britannica*, at the altar (*lit.* goddess) of which it is desired to see us always bending overburdened with gratitude and thankfulness, nor what is that constitutional and legal Government from the halter of gratitude for which our necks (*lit.* throats) are not destined a moment's respite." "Is it the same 'liberty' whose bier was carried (*lit.* lifted) at Cawnpore on the 3rd August last? It is the same constitutional Government on the Imperial throne of which the absolute Emperor Sir James Meston is seated?"

He then expresses sympathy with Sir James Meston for having been born at a time unsuited to his despotic zeal, expresses regret that the fates should have been delayed his existence and asserts that had he been in power during the period of Christian rule in the dark ages he would have made a good "President" of the "Society of the Inquisition." Further the correspondent deplores the troubles and difficulties that have overtaken Sir James Meston "at his own hands" and criticises the administration for supporting Mr. Tyler in his mistakes and for prohibiting the meeting arranged for the 16th August, as if any apprehension of a

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disturbance existed it was the duty of the Police to have adopted preventive measures—otherwise what is the use of this “splendid ruling race” which has been ruling here for the last century. However, adds the writer, the consequences afford matter for satisfaction. Truth cannot be suppressed though the meeting was prohibited. The impression made by the action of the Government will be with the people always and Sir James Meston is to be congratulated for having attempted to extinguish fire with oil. This experiment was tried by the ancients with desperate results. In conclusion the article says the general opinion is that by such proceedings Sir James Meston wishes to prevent Muhammadans from giving aid in connection with the cases, and his object was that money should not be collected (therefore) in sufficient amount, seeing that it is apparent that the cases can only be conducted by collecting money, and it is the prosecution of the cases which can expose the secrets of the doings of Sir James Meston (*lit.* oppression and tyranny.)”

### XIII.

In its issue of the 26th August 1913, the *Zamindar* published another article entitled “Our *Id*.” The editor remarks that the Tripolitan war created a feeling of pain in the minds of Indian Muhammadans, that the Balkan war converted the pain into a wound, while the heart-rending events of Cawnpore converted it into an ulcer. Wherever one goes, says the editor, pathetic wailings and lamentations are to be heard. “We” have seen in the slaughter-house of Cawnpore aged persons being riddled with bullets, whose greatest fault was that they always prayed ‘May God preserve our Emperor, who has given us religious liberty.’ We have also seen heart-piercing wounds on the bodies of our young men whose only fault (if it was a fault), was that they placed, one above another, the bricks of their dismantled mosque. We have even seen little children, whom the law absolves from responsibility, rolling in dust and blood. Continuing the editor invokes blessings on “those holy persons who attained martyrdom by being shot with bullets,” refers to them as the “martyrs of Cawnpore,” says that those who describe them as rioters are misguided, and calls down curses on those Muhammadans who entertain doubts regarding the martyrdom of the victims. The editor then remarks that it is infinitely better to release thousands of guilty ? innocent (?) persons than to kill one innocent person and adds that there was a time when this principle was acted upon in the British Empire, but that to-day the times are such that the heads of hundreds of innocent Muhammadans are knocked off in order to uphold one offending Tyler. Further the editor says that if Muhammadans are clamouring for mercy it is because the very man who was appointed their guardian by the King-Emperor has proved to be the enemy of their lives and faith and if they weep and call upon the King-Emperor to protect them it is because they are not permitted even to raise an outcry to represent their grievances.

The editor then criticises Sir James Meston’s action in prohibiting a meeting of Muhammadans in Lucknow, and in threatening the proprietor of the *Muslim Gazette* for retaining Maulvi Wahid-ud-din as its editor. The editor goes on to say that Sir James Meston should bear in mind that, as a retribution for these un-British acts the days of his Lieutenant-Governorship are numbered, that his tyrannical policy has created a sensation in Great Britain and that he and his advocacy of Tyler are about to be brought to book. He adds “Great Britain has to rule India for a very long time yet and in order to secure this great end the faster scores and hundreds of Tylers are sacrificed the better.” After appealing for funds for the purpose of helping the survivors of the martyrs of Cawnpore and sending a deputation to England in order to expose the repression and despotism of Tyler and Sir James Meston the editor proceeds—

“*Id* has approached (*lit.* is standing on our heads). But what kind of an *Id* (is this) ? This (*lit.* that) an *Id* which so far as we are concerned is nothing less than the 10th day of the Muharram. Can the Ramzan *Id* be a source of pleasure to us this time when the blood of the martyrs of Cawnpore is before our eyes ? Under the present circumstances when the guilty conscience of Sir James Meston is, by instituting cases against our 106 innocent brethren, creating a sensation in the country, can this *Id* ‘become the flag-bearer of our rejoicing’ ? Under the circumstances when that Ghazi (warrior) of the battlefield of right and wrong, *viz.*, Abdul Qadir Arzad Subhani, is lying ill in jail with his truth-worshipping brethren and is shedding tears of grief over the ruins of that mosque, the dismantling of which is tantamount to the ending of our (religious) freedom, can this *Id* be an *Id* to us ? (God preserve thee from it!) Certainly not. This year we should celebrate no *Id*. On the other hand (*lit.* but), we should contribute to the Cawnpore Mosque Protection Fund the whole of what we intend to spend over and above our needs on the occasion. We should postpone all our rejoicings till the time when we are ‘liberated.’ At the present moment 7½ crores of Muhammadans are prisoners. What significance has the *Id* for prisoners ?

In conclusion, the article appeals to Muslims, in the name of the prophet to show “by collecting 2 lakhs of rupees by the day of the *Id*” that their religion is a ‘living’ one and ‘cannot be destroyed by the oppression of any Meston or Tyler.’

### XIV

The *Zamindar* of the 28th August 1913 publishes an article headed “A fight between a Mosquito and Nimrod.” The writer says truth, though weak, being strengthened by hidden forces, its proud banner “by swimming in streams of blood and tearing through fire-swept zones against the armies of falsehood” can be witnessed waving everywhere, bearing

the lines "when truth comes, falsehood disappears. Verily, falsehood is bound to disappear." In referring to the proscription of the pamphlet "Come over to Macedonia and help us" and the confiscation of the issues of the *Comrade* and *Hamdard* newspapers which reproduced it, the paper says the Government of India (so-called Christians) by their worship of falsehood have not only struck a blow at the truth-loving traditions of Great Britain but have been guilty of insulting the Holy Bible from which the words "Come over to Macedonia and help us" were taken (and not from the lips of a Muhammedan agitator). "But," he continues, "to think to-day that a Christian will respect the scripture named is to make an extremely wrong estimate of the teachings of Christianity. The sacred teachings of their heavenly father have long been thrown in the background by these sons (of God). It was perhaps in respect of them that the poet Ghalib uttered the following words:—

"These unworthy sons do not remember their father." By "flashing" falsehood in order to hide the truth Great Britain, from the point of view of morality is comparable to a cat of which S'adi said:—

"The cat eases itself in a clean place (but) when it finds (the sight) disgusting it covers it over with dust."

Continuing the writer criticises the order of proscription as an attempt to prevent honest journalism from raising its voice against general massacre and states that apparently it was not the law that compelled the Government of India to take action. Referring later to the appeal to the Calcutta High Court by the Editor of the *Comrade* the paper likens it to an ant fighting Solomon and a mosquito fighting Nimrod.

The writer concludes with alleged evidence as to the authors of the pamphlet and with reasons for its production, and says copies were specially sent to India, never dreaming that the Viceroy's thoughtful advisers would advocate having recourse to the provisions of the Press Act against the pamphlet.

#### XV.

In its issue of the 29th July 1913, the *Zamindar* publishes a communication from an Aligarh correspondent headed "Behold! another mosque has been demolished." The writer says that within the limits of Jumna Bridge station on the East Indian Railway the Muslim employees of the railway built a platform on which to say their prayers. After using this platform for many years they roofed it over with thatch. Some years ago certain subordinate officials moved that the mosque should be demolished, but the higher authorities allowed it to stand. Another attempt in 1911 also failed. But now, says the writer, "when Government began to pull down mosques" the Hindus thought they would make another attempt to have this one demolished. The station master, an Arya Samajist, recommended and the Chief Engineer ordered the demolition of the mosque, and appointed a Muhammadan mason to pull it down. All these proceedings, the writer says, were conducted secretly so that Muhammadans would not protest. On the report of a Hindu Police official that a riot was imminent armed guards were placed round the mosque. The writer concludes with the words "the mosque breaker Lieutenant-Governor is about to visit Agra on the 8th August. Wait and see which mosque's turn will come next."

#### XVI.

Under the heading "Sacrifice in Ajudhia," the *Zamindar* of the 19th November 1913, published the following:—

"The memory of the disturbance which took place last year in Ajudhia in connection with (cow) sacrifice is still fresh. (Liberty to perform) sacrifice is a religious right of Muhammadans. Hindus opposed this right of the former (and) the local authorities did their level best to uphold the same, for which Muhammadans tendered their thanks. This year, however, we perceive a change in the policy of the (local) authorities. Even now the District Magistrate of Fyzabad is the same Mr. Way who was (holding that post) last year. At first a stroke (*lit.* movement) of his pen supported the (ab ve) religious right of Muhammadans in such a manner that the prestige of the Government and the maintenance of law and justice did not suffer in any way. The pen is the same even now, but the direction of its (*lit.* of which) movement (*lit.* revolution) has undergone a change. It now forbids the bringing into Ajudhia of sacrificial cattle from the 1st to the 12th November and so insists upon (*lit.* exaggerates) depriving Muhammadans of a legitimate right of theirs that bands of policemen are to be seen patrolling the roads by which sacrificial cattle are likely to be brought (into the city). Thirty-six Muhammadans apply for (permission to perform) sacrifice, but no application is granted. Nay, they (the applicants) are threatened with prosecution and arrest in case they (so much as) make a mention of sacrifice. (But) the still stranger incident is that on the 12th November 1913 Muhammadans telegraph to (the Local) Government for interference in the prohibitory (*lit.* interfering) order (referred to), and for an order upholding their legitimate right, but (that) Government declines to interfere.

"O! wonder of wonders! What a change is this? The same Government rules in Oudh even now that did so last year. The same Magistrate adorns the chair of the administration of Fyzabad who was (in it) last year (*lit.* before). What does it then mean (*lit.* what is it then) that one year Muhammadans are supported and displeasure is shown to Hindus, but that the next year the latter are patted on the back and Muhammadans are deprived of a legitimate right by means of the force of authority? The Indian Penal (Code) and the Criminal Procedure Code are the same even now as last year; but is it not a matter for surprise

that while one year these laws are made the means of threatening Hindus, the next year the same laws are used as an instrument for subjecting (*lit.* casting on) Muhammadans to the wrath (of Government)? The theatre is the same, the bioscope is the same (and) no change has occurred even in the spectators and actors; yet the films are so changed by turns (*lit.* the second time after the first turn) that if, on the first occasion, one group of spectators begins to jump with delight and pleasure at the sight of the moving pictures over the screen, the next time tears begin to roll from its eyes and a mountain of grief falls down on it.

"It is openly declared that (Great) Britain is averse to governing the various communities of Indians by making them fight with one another. But what fun is this that some officials furnish, by their conduct, proof (that goes) against (the genuineness of) this declaration? On leaving India His Imperial Majesty George V expresses a hope that the two communities Hindu and Muhammadan will become hand and glove. But what a surprising spectacle is this that the two communities are made (*lit.* are seen) to move, on the stage of India, in opposition to each other by means of an invisible (*lit.* concealed) wire, which is perhaps (worked from) behind the screen, and union cannot be brought about between them. It is quite clear that feelings of love can grow between them spontaneously only if they are left free to settle their religious and communal affairs and no third community intervenes between them. The duty of Government consists only in safe-guarding the legitimate rights of either community and in 'legally' interfering in the rights of neither. If, after this, one community voluntarily foregoes any of its legitimate rights in order to please the other Government should silently witness the scene, nay, it should express pleasure over the fact of one community voluntarily stepping forward to cultivate (*lit.* create) feelings of love and unity for (*lit.* with) the other community and over the prospect of the spontaneous realization of His Imperial Majesty's hope that the two communities will (*lit.* wish to) shake the dust of disunion and hostility off their skirts and embrace each other. It is on no account the business of a Government to trample upon the legitimate rights of one community and thereby to teach it the lesson of establishing (*lit.* creating) unity and concord with another. Our readers (*lit.* the readers of our paper) are well aware that, because of the good treatment accorded by our Hindu brothers to Muhammadans in connection with the Cawnpore affairs, most of the Muslim leaders were prepared to display regard for their (Hindus') religious feelings. Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Wazir Hassan and Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan sent a cablegram from London to their co-religionists to say that the lastnamed should refrain from sacrificing cows this year and (thereby) furnish proof of (their) love and regard for (their) Hindu brothers. We have, accordingly, received intimations from various places in the Punjab and the United Provinces that the Muhammadans there did not this year sacrifice cows. It was possible that the Muhammadans of Fyzabad also might, in this natural way, have felt inclined to gradually have love and regard for Hindus and might have voluntarily waived their legitimate right of (cow) sacrifice. If this had happened in this way, there can be no doubt that the (mutual) love (thus) begotten between Hindus and Muhammadans would have been founded on a strong and solid (*lit.* stony) rock and would never have been shaken. It is, however, to be regretted that the Magistrate of Fyzabad should not have liked that Muhammadans should give up their legitimate right (in question) from feelings of love (for Hindus). He at once resorted to legal interference and compelled Muhammadans, by force of authority, to renounce their said legitimate right. Why (was) this (done)? Was it done with the object that if Muhammadans (were to) raise an outcry over their right referred to the feelings of the Hindus (would) be inflamed against them and no wave of love and unity (would) be generated in the hearts of the two communities? If not, what is it then that prompted Mr. Way to form (this year) a new opinion clashing with that which he gave expression to last year? Is not (the performance of) sacrifice a legitimate religious right of Muhammadans which has been acknowledged by the Government all over British India? Is it not the right for the maintenance of which Muhammadans have been shedding (their) blood for years past at various places and the legitimacy of which has never been denied by Government? Does Mr. Way wish that Muhammadans should be deprived of this legitimate right of theirs at the point of the sword? Is it the intention of Mr. Way that Muhammadans should feel prompted to engage in a sanguinary conflict with their Hindu brothers over this right, in spite of the fact that (*lit.* although) they become ready to gladly forego the right on certain occasions? We consider it a great sin to express distrust in regard to (*lit.* against Government, but will Mr. Way tell us why distrust (about Government) will not be caused in crores of minds by his conduct under reference?

"What a strange thing it is that, on the one hand, a bloody disturbance takes place at Cawnpore over a legitimate religious right relating to a mosque and no heed whatever is paid to the *Fatwas* of *Ulemas* (? relating to this right); while, on the other, Muhammadans are deprived at Fyzabad of another religious right relating to (the performance of) sacrifice—a right which has, for centuries past, been acknowledged to be legitimate in India—although the aforesaid (*lit.* this) disturbance ended not very long ago. After all what is this riddle? Is there anyone who can solve it and say what secret is there (*lit.* concealed) at the bottom of these tactics?

"Muhammadans desire that, just as Hindus enjoy their religious rights with absolute freedom, they also should not be deprived of any of their legitimate rights. If any legitimate right of Muhammadans is such that (the exercise of) it (*lit.* which) sometimes wounds the feelings of Hindus they (Muhammadans) should have entire freedom to waive the same, if they so desire, on certain occasions of their own free will and not through the (application of)



force by Government or the interference of law; and that right should not be trampled upon by the powers that be. This is the only natural means which can promote feelings of love and unity between Hindus and Muhammadans and help in the realization of the King-Emperor's heartfelt desire (to see the two communities united). Otherwise, it is inevitable that the passions of the two communities should continue to be excited against each other and that the light of love and unity should never shine before their eyes. The desire of His Imperial Majesty, which is also the heartfelt longing of (both) Hindus and Muhammadans, can only be realized if (*lit.* when) the authorities allow feelings of love and unity to grow between the two communities in a natural way and do not, by their conduct, place any obstacle in the way of this natural growth (*lit.* pace). In conclusion, we declare loudly that those officials who, by their imprudent conduct, retard the natural course (*lit.* pace) of the growing feelings of love between Hindus and Muhammadans, desire to insult the heartfelt wishes of "our" King-Emperor and that enlightened Hindus and Muhammadans can never regard them with feelings of love and respect."

## XVII

The *Zamindar* of the 20th November 1913, published the following leader :—

"A political mistake by the Secretary of State for India and the Premier of England.

"God protect me! He (*i.e.*, my sweetheart) puts (his) hands on his ears,

"(And) does not lend ear to my story."

"That Great Britain on whose vast (*lit.* long and wide and extensive and broad) dominions the world-illuminating sun never sets (and) sheds at all hours, whether it be morning or evening, day or night, (its) rays, somewhere oblique and at another place straight, on the (various) parts of the globe: that Great Britain who is famous throughout the world for her grandeur and magnificence, power and greatness, prestige and might; that great Britain (*lit.* that English Empire) who is called the Queen of the Sea owing to the abundance of her mighty Dreadnoughts and iron-clad warships and whom even the mightiest and most exalted Kings have not the courage to look in the face in these days; that (Great) Britain whose system of Government contains the ingredients (*lit.* has been prepared with the ingredients) of equality, liberty, freedom and toleration,—politicians and statesmen of that Great Britain appear to-day so negligent of, and indifferent to, their duties that they do not like even to look on the faces of the representatives of the seven crore loyal (Muslim) subjects of the British Crown, let alone seeing, and talking to, (them).

"Sayid Wazir Hassan, who is the Secretary and the most prominent member of the recognised Islamic political society, 'The All-India Muslim League,' and Mr. Muhammad Ali, in respect of whom a large number of resolutions of confidence have been passed by (his) community, repeatedly and humbly entreat Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for India, and Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister of England, to grant them an interview and to hear from their (*lit.* our) lips the story of the heartache of the 7 crore (Muhammadan) subjects of his Majesty George V. His Secretaryship Lord Crewe makes this curt (*lit.* blank and dry) reply to their request, *viz.*, 'After a most careful consideration (it has been decided that) your request cannot be acceded to, because no public advantage would arise from this interview, nay, it is certain that those of your co-religionists who do not think with you will place a different (*lit.* another) interpretation on the proceeding, whereas they also claim, equally with you, to represent the feelings of Indian Muhammadans.' Unfortunate are the subjects the reins of whose prosperity and well-being may be in the hands of such indifferent administrators, and unlucky is the country the control over whose destinies (*lit.* black and white) may have been vested in such self-willed ministers. In (*lit.* along with) this very reply Lord Crewe has also written these words with great freedom and flourish of trumpets, *viz.*, 'The aspirations of Indian Muhammadans deserved to receive the fullest attention and sympathy of the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor and no efforts are spared to obtain information about them through *numerous and authoritative sources of intelligence* (the words in italics are printed in large letters)? It is to be wished that these remarks (*lit.* sentences) by Lord Crewe had been based upon truth and reality. We can assert on the strength of the knowledge we possess that whenever any question relating to Indian affairs is asked in the British Parliament the reply made to it in 95 cases out of 100 is that the Secretary of State has specially received no (? received no special) information in the matter. Should the (*lit.* any) matter be very important and should the questioner lay great stress on it and attempt at evasion is then generally made by saying, 'Well, the Government of India will be written to on the subject' or (the questioner) is put off with the words 'The matter is still under consideration.' Is it on such numerous and authoritative sources of intelligence (the words are printed in large letters), which he has mentioned with great clearness (?cleverness) in his reply, that Lord Crewe prides himself? With the aid of these authoritative sources of intelligence (the words are printed in large letters), if they really exist, his Lordship could have easily removed the veil of the face of the question (*lit.* reality) whether or not Mr. Muhammad Ali and Saiyid Wazir Hasan are the true representatives of Indian Muhammadans. It is surprising that in spite of possessing numerous and authoritative sources of intelligence (the words are printed in large letters), Lord Crewe has so far failed to discover that Saiyid Wazir Hasan is the Secretary of the 'All-India Muslim League,' who has been selected by the (Muslim) community and entrusted (by it) with the work of this responsible office and after whose departure for London resolutions of confidence (in him) were passed in all parts of India; and that the community acknowledge

Mr. Muhammad Ali also to be its true and lawful representative like Saiyid Wazir Hasan. The Muslim League is not a private (*lit.* home-made) association of Saiyid Wazir Hasan, but it was formed by the (Muslim) community, while it is also the community which has appointed Saiyid Wazir Hasan its Secretary. Can Lord Crewe, on the strength of his numerous and authoritative sources of intelligence (the words are printed in large letters), mention the name even of a single Muhammadan who does not consider Saiyid Wazir Hasan to be the recognised and accredited Secretary of the All-India Muslim League or who does not repose confidence in his doings? To reject the request of the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for an interview means that Lord Crewe does not care even a straw for the sentiments and feelings of seven crores of Indian Muhammadans. His Lordship's refusal has been the cause of disappointment and offence to seven crores of Muhammadans. It is surprising that (his) numerous and authoritative sources of intelligence (the words are printed in large letters) have so far proved absolutely useless and Lord Crewe could not discover the patent fact that the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League can be the true representative of Indian Muhammadans. It is very amusing that no sooner did Saiyid Wazir Hasan reach London than the truth was reflected in the mirror of Lord Crewe's mind that there were also some Muhammadans who did not share his (Wazir Hasan's) views. To regard Saiyid Wazir Hasan and Mr. Muhammad Ali as unfit for an interview (with him) (*lit.* unfit to be addressed) owing to only Saiyid Amir Ali disagreeing (with them) constitutes such a serious political mistake on the part of the Secretary of State for India that its effect will not be easily removed from the minds of the 7 crore Muhammadans of India. An idea of Saiyid Wazir Hasan's strong personality and of his being a true representative of (his) community can be formed from the (*lit.* this very) fact that even a man of the high position and standing of Saiyid Amir Ali could not dare to question his opinion, which was based on principle, and had in the end to seek shelter in (*lit.* behind the screen of) resignation. If Saiyid Wazir Hasan had been an ordinary, self-constituted and fictitious representative of (his) community, none of his actions could have had any effect even on a person of average, nay of a low, position, not to speak of Saiyid Amir Ali. If Lord Crewe had carefully examined this single incident the truth would have been fully revealed to him that, owing to (his) support by the community, Saiyid Wazir Hasan's side is so strong (*lit.* heavy) that even a highly-placed official like the Right Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali has to give way in consequence and that such a person can in reality be a true representative of the (Muslim) community.

"Good heavens! The reins of the administration of that Great Britain, the kettledrum of whose prestige and statesmanship is being lustily beaten in all the four quarters of the globe, are in the hands of those people who consider it an insult and derogatory to their dignity to see, and listen to, the representatives of the subjects of the British Crown. Such conduct in the members of Government is certain to create discontent among the ruled, and this is a thing which cannot be easily remedied or got rid of (*lit.* lifted up or put down).

"Not only the Secretary of State for India and (*lit.* or) the Premier of England, but even the Collector, the Commissioner, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Governor-General have fallen into this very error. Only those people can have access to them (*lit.* to their Courts) who are hypocritical, crafty and given to back-biting and who lack the courage to speak out the truth. Only those golden cocks can enter their bungalows who consider it a great sin to utter anything beyond the untimely crowing of 'Han Ji' and 'Ji Hazur' (who can only say ditto to whatever falls from the lips of the authorities). Those ornamental leaders may easily have access to them who are past masters in the art of injuring (*lit.* up-rooting) (their) community. A person of an ordinary position given to flattering, betraying his community and saying ditto (to them) can easily see them at any time he likes; but a servant of (his) community and a well wisher of (both) Government and the people, however trusted he may be by (his) community, can on no account secure admittance inside the four walls of their furnished and decorated bungalows. We know that Lord Crewe and Mr. Asquith have declined to see Saiyid Wazir Hasan and Mr. Muhammad Ali and have not given them a hearing. But it is our belief at the same time that the things which Saiyid Wazir Hasan and Mr. Muhammad Ali wished to say to Lord Crewe and Mr. Asquith, will ring loudly in the dome of the Empire of England and will, assuming the form of echoes, reach the ears of both (these) Ministers. Strictly speaking Lord Crewe and Mr. Asquith have not refused to grant an interview to Muhammad Ali and Wazir Hasan, but have spurned the whole of our community with hatred and contempt. If our community is possessed of a genuine sense of self-respect it is its duty that its enlightened members (? it is the duty of its enlightened members) should at once send telegrams to the Secretary of State for India from every part of the country to the effect that his Lordship's refusal to grant an interview to the members of the Islamic deputation has been the means of wounding the feelings of His Majesty the King-Emperor's seven crore loyal and faithful subjects and that they cannot view this event with patience and forbearance. The effect of this united and unanimous expression of its (feelings) by the community will assuredly be felt by British Ministers to-morrow (later on), if not to-day."

#### XVIII.

The *Zamindar* of the 21st November 1913, published over the signature of Zafar Ali Khan, the following letter dated 13, Crossfield Road, Swiss Cottage, London, the 31st October 1913 :—

" Rays.

" Four things are the curiosities of London :

" Liquor, pork, daily newspapers and women.

"The thing which is regarded by Muhammadans as the mother of vices is (looked upon as) the sister of virtues in England. Accordingly, when, in memory of the tomb of the British officer of the Malabar Coast, Lord Crewe, feeling constrained to praise (it), referred to (*lit.* remembered) the inebriating cup of whisky in these words, out of regard solely for the feelings of Indians (*viz.*) that it would have been better if the special British characteristics had manifested themselves in some form better than this, Sir George Birdwood could not control himself and has, in the *Times*, dated the 31st October 1913, while taking Lord Crewe to task for the offence of having said anything at all in dispraise of wine, afforded the freshest (*lit.* the most blooming) proof of his colossal ignorance by inventing the amazing calumny that the source of the spirituality of orientals is their dreams and visions, that for a vision to be true it is necessary that jar after jar of the red wine be drunk (*lit.* poured), that Hindus and Muhammadans can, therefore, never feel offended at the drunkenness of the English (and) that it is in the lap of wine that the spirituality of these orientals has been nurtured. The second place in the social life (or civilisation) of England belongs to Mr. Pig. If you rise early in the morning and go out for a walk (you will find that), there is no butcher at whose shop his (Mr. Pig's) blessed corpse is not to be seen hanging. And when on (your) return (from the walk) you sit at the table for breakfast (you will find that), as luck would have it, it is his roasted pieces that adorn the (very) first dish. There is always kept ready in the kitchen the pig's melted lard, in which meat, potatoes and every (other) thing, which is capable of being fried, are fried, butter being solely and exclusively used in those houses alone which are darkened by the steps of Indians.

[Women constitute the third fascinating and heart-comforting curiosity of this white land and an idea of their abundance may be formed from the fact (*lit.* from this) that, in addition to those three and a half lakh of women of elastic morals, who, from their mode of life, are the real or step-sisters or friends of *Do-anni* and *Cho-anni* of our country (two prostitutes and dancing girls of Lucknow), and at whom even this free country (England) has the Christian right of frowning, there are here fifteen lakhs of women, who can obtain no husband till the heavenly (Islamic) principal of (marrying) 'two and three and four (wives)' is not incorporated into an Act of Parliament in the same way in which, in spite of opposition from the clergy, the people of England had to legalise marriage with the deceased wife's sister and have now acknowledged (the reasonableness of) those (*lit.* those very) conditions and necessities in regard to divorce which are laid down in Islam. It is an indirect (*lit.* supplementary) result of this very third curiosity that the divorce courts had to undo (as many as) 3,000 marriages in three months on the ground that the wife felt the necessity of establishing a 'connection' with a 'friend (paramour)' of hers also in addition to her husband. Finally, it is through this heart-ravishing curiosity that England has become a hot-bed (*lit.* an extensive and secret house) of venereal diseases, which has grown so alarming in extent that Government has now had to appoint a commission for measuring and sweeping the dark, poisonous and stinking cells of this secret house.]

The fourth curiosity of London consists of the papers here and it can be contended without fear of contradiction that there can be no cheaper commodity anywhere throughout the world. What should (one) say (*i.e.*, one cannot speak too highly) of the journalistic activities and the political strength of the newspaper-reading public (*lit.* population) of a country, in which a nicely-got-up newspaper like the *Times*, a single issue of which contains more matter than can be inserted in one issue of all the daily and weekly Urdu papers of India put together, can be had for two annas (although) it is another matter that its knowledge of the East may be limited to the foolish pratings of George Birdwood and its Imperial columns may be confined to insulting the Turks and disgracing Indian Muhammadans; in which country a daily newspaper like the *Daily Telegraph*, whose long and broad leaves can daily supply material for covering six tables and which could (*lit.* can) afford to publish as early as the day following the Cawnpore incident such a lengthy telegraphic communication which must have cost Rs. 2,000 at least, can be had for one anna (although) it is a different matter, that, in order to please the authorities of the United Provinces, the Cawnpore doings of Tyler and Meston may have been represented in this communication to be the essence of the loftiest teachings of Christianity, and Indians may have been accused of blind bigotry and rudeness and (represented as being) throwers of obstacles in the way of the moving car of hygienic principles (*lit.* principle); (and) in which country a newspaper is published twice, and thrice or (*lit.* and) four times a day.

"Thanks, to that liberty, which is the blossoming flower of the flower-garden of the West, Indians have more than sufficiently tasted, or are desirous of tasting, of the sweetness of liquor, pork and women (*lit.* woman) or of, at least, two of these (curiosities) or, to say the least, of the third curiosity.

"A rich person is not so afraid of the robber.

"As (my) foolish heart is of London.

"May God protect the faith of the poor Muslim (there);

"Seeing that he mixes only with Mabel\* and hears of Bacon† alone.

"But the fourth curiosity, *i.e.*, the daily newspapers of London and the attention (*lit.* the corner of the eyes) of their editors, has not fallen to our lot. The local dailies having a circulation of lakhs, no matter whether they are Liberal or Conservative, Protestant or Roman Catholic, are sworn to follow, in every matter relating to Indians, especially to Muhammadans

\* "A common Christian name for women."

† "Pork, and also the name of a noted English philosopher."

in these days, the one principle which has been taught to them, *viz.*, India is the meanest part of the dependencies of England, and that the best way of governing Indians consists only in maintaining British (*lit.* their) 'prestige' among (*lit.* over) them and in suppressing their voice no matter from howsoever pure and deep a corner of the heart it may have emanated. The *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Post*, the *Daily News*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily Mail*, are the administrative limbs of the fourth estate of London. Every leader in them has the power of changing the policy of Government and of overturning a ministry. Their editors are highly able, highly competent and highly experienced men and can, by the force of their logic, shake the bones of Aristotle even in his grave. But when India comes in, their logic (and) ability evaporate forthwith, while the biggest newspaper of London, the *Times*, descended to setting down the spirituality of Muhammadans and all the orientals as being the result of their wild dreams and this result as being the outcome (*lit.* essence) of their drunkenness 'We are for God and unto Him we shall return.'

"In short, the daily newspapers of London have not or do not wish to have any personal opinion of their own in respect of Indian affairs, but they write only what official circles bid them do.

"I am placed behind the looking glass like a parrot ;

'I say only what was uttered by the Eternal Teacher.'

"But, to the misfortune of us Indians, this parrot can also speak something beyond 'no doubt about it,' *i.e.*, it can mock even the Eternal Teacher, and the inauspicious union of the two is sufficient to silence us.

"Mr. Muhammad Ali and Saiyid Wazir Hassan started from India and came to England in order to lay the grievances of (Indian) Muhammadans before the authorities of the (British) Empire in a respectful manner and to point out to the people of England, by delineating to them the present condition of India, that in a country (India), which is ruled in the name of England, there are occurring many things which are as distant from the liberal and just traditions of England as London is from Cawnpore. After the departure of both these gentlemen the state of affairs demanded that we also should go to (*lit.* reach) London with the same objects in view as had moved Saiyid Wazir Hassan and Mr. Muhammad Ali to start for the West; while Indian Muhammadans (through) their kindness (*lit.* exalting the lowly), considered us deserving of their confidence from the point of ability to take part in the completion of this undertaking, for which we feel grateful to our dear brethren from the bottom of our heart. But Saiyid Wazir Hassan and (Mr.) Muhammad Ali found out on reaching here that before lying down in a bed of roses (they) would have to remove a large number of thorns, which had been spread with extreme care (in their path), *i.e.*, those very forces which had, by going beyond the bounds of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, forcibly gagged (*lit.* administered red lead to) Muhammadans in other parts of India, had (also) performed the service of sealing their lips (*lit.* rubbing antimony to their throat and tongue) even here, and had arranged (*lit.* it had been arranged) that the representatives of Muhammadans should not find access to the English public (*lit.* the people of England) through the Press and that they should not be able to see the members of the higher circle (aristocracy). And consequently the first work which the said representatives had to do on their arrival in London was to clear this bed of thorns.

"It was impossible that our skirt also should not be caught by these thorns. On looking (round) on coming here (we) found the colour of the official and journalistic horizon changed. With the exception of a few fair-minded and good-natured people, who are the means of maintaining our confidence in (Great) Britain, the kind activities of our kind friends left nothing undone to suppress our voice and to keep our legitimate aspirations unvoiced, so much so that Saiyid Wazir Hassan was compelled to publicly give expression, at a large gathering, to the painful truth that 'it appears that there has been hatched against us here the conspiracy that our voice should not be allowed to rise and that we should not be permitted to draw the real picture of India, before the people of (Great) Britain.'

"That large gathering at which the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League had to say these unpleasant things was a meeting of the 'Positivist Society' of London, which was held in 'Essex Hall' on the evening of Sunday last and at which several interesting speeches were delivered on the subject as to what would be the future of the Islamic world, in view of the terrible incidents which had recently occurred in the Near East. The 'Positivist Society' is a relic of the philosophical beliefs of the noted French philosopher Comte and such highly-placed gentlemen as Lord Morley and Mr. Fredrick Harrison are among its members. At this meeting, which was held under the presidency of Mr. Swinny, the President read out a Muslim-favouring message from Mr. Wilfred Blunt, the noted author of 'The Future of Islam,' and in addition to the President's learned speech, which was full of sympathy (for Muhammadans), Mr. Muhammad Ali delivered a learned lecture. Saiyid Wazir Hassan (also) made an eloquent speech. In the course of a lengthy speech having the double characteristic of wounding and soothing, the famous journalist Mr. Nevinson made many attacks on Islam and gave many sympathetic counsels to Muhammadans; while, in the end, in critically examining Mr. Nevinson's views, we related to the audience, which filled Essex Hall the painful story which, if it had been repeated at the Shahi Mosque, Lahore, the Kotwal of the city would have, at the instance of the holy Secretary of the local Anjuman-i-Islamia, been personally present at the Mosque to express his appreciation of the niceties of our speech. (Although) we people gave (full) vent to our feelings at this meeting, still

very few of the editors of this place had the generosity to find space even for a few lines about its proceedings.

"This was what we expected. We knew that we were not going (there) to partake of sweetmeats. (i.e., on a business easy of transaction). There may not be as many difficulties (in our way) in London as obstruct (our) path in Lahore, Delhi and Lucknow, still the kith and kin of Sir James Meston are present here. But we have no one to support us except God, His Majesty George V and the British public, and although the Koran can take us to God it is only the shadow of the British public, i.e., the British press, that can take us to God's shadow, George V, and the latter's shadow, the British public; and we do not know how much we shall have to exert ourselves in order to reach this shadow. In short, we were acquainted with all these difficulties and had come prepared to combat them. But we did not know that London could also become Delhi and that those difficulties, which we daily complain of in India, would confront us here also (*lit.* would be standing here also with a gaping mouth), and there would be (here) our own hands to throttle us.

"Lo, itching has supervened in leprosy, i.e., in spite of his having been for years President of a League which was entirely political in character, *Maulana* (Our Lord) *wa-bilfazel Aulana* (and by the grace of God our superior), the Right Hon'ble Saiyid Amir Ali, author of 'The Spirit of Islam,' President of the London Muslim League and patron of the British Red Crescent (Society), refused to attend or be a host at a dinner, at which Saiyid Wazir Hassan and Mr. Muhammad Ali might be introduced to the leading men in England, on the ground that, according to His Highness the Agha Khan, political speeches would be made at this dinner, while, in his own opinion (*lit.* in the opinion of the said Right Hon'ble gentlemen), the Cawnpore affair was to be lamented over (there), and that the Lord Chancellor, to whom he had made a reference, would not grant him permission to take part in such a dinner. After this he took umbrage at a letter which was addressed (to him) by Saiyid Wazir Hassan in his capacity of Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, and resigned the Presidentship of the London Muslim League, while to-day, on the 31st October 1913, he has communicated (*lit.* written) to the London *Times*, the specially kind friend of Muhammadans, those reasons for his resignation, the perusal of which will make a certain section of Anglo-Indians dance with joy (and say) 'Lo, Muhammadans have begun to fight (*lit.* shoe-beat) among themselves,' and all Muhammadans will hang down their heads in shame (at the thought) that although they (*lit.* we) used to fight at home (in India) they (*lit.* we) did not abstain from quarrelling abroad also.

"To-day's issue of the *Times* has lifted one corner of the veil from off the ugly face of these incidents and whatever of the *purdah* remains is about to be lifted in the (near) future.

"'It would be a pity if there were a to-morrow after to-day.'

"But if there exist such manifold heart-rending things, the bright fingers of Islam have also prepared, for repairing the broken heart of Muhammadans, such a heavenly *momiai* (substance with which mummies are preserved) as falsifies the second line of the poet's verse (*lit.* saying) :—

"'What does it avail if thou givest a hundred thousand rubies and diamonds,

"'(For) thou hast broken the heart and not a diamond?'

"A broken heart can also be repaired and the impossible also can become possible.

"We went to Woking to say our prayers on the Friday preceding the last. Saiyid Wazir Hassan was also among the friends who were invited by Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din that day. The pleasure which Friday prayers gave (us) that day has fallen to the lot of a very few people. On that day our dear friend Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din was, to the disgrace of all those critics who miss no opportunity of throwing dust on (belittling) his unselfish (*lit.* impartial and free from hypocrisy) efforts, made for the sake of God alone to gain such a splendid success of which Muhammadans may justly feel the greatest possible pride, i.e., having been impressed by his (the Khawaja's) guidance, a highly-placed and select member of the English aristocracy, who, unlike Alexander, Russel, Webb or Quilliam or other people of this type, thirsted not after the money but after the Islam of Muhammadans, was to announce that day his conversion to Islam and to convey to our hearts the message of solace.

"'If I sacrifice (my) life over this happy news it is justifiable;

"'Seeing that this happy news is the solace of (my) life.'

"Lord Headley, who conveys highly glad tidings to Muhammadans by relating to them in the November number of the *Muslim India*, with his (own) pen (*lit.* telling with the tongue of his pen), the fascinating story of his conversion to Islam, is a highly enlightened gentleman and his writing testifies as if with a tongue (*lit.* as if it were a tongue in itself) that he possesses a very sound judgment. For years he was absorbed in the search as to which is the way which leads to the light of Truth from the darkness of the Trinity. At last, he saw a shining lamp (*lit.* torch) from afar. When (he) drew near (it) Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din's personality came out of the shade of this lamp (*lit.* torch). We congratulate our friend and Muhammadans on the good fortune which has befallen him.

"'This good fortune does not come by the strength of arm,

"'(And cannot be obtained) till it is bestowed by a benevolent Providence.'



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Forfeiture of the "Zamindar" Press and of the security deposited by its keeper. [No. 127]

**FORFEITURE OF THE "ZAMINDAR" PRESS AT LAHORE AND OF THE SECURITY DEPOSITED BY ITS KEEPER, UNDER SECTION 6 OF THE INDIAN PRESS ACT, 1910 (I OF 1910). HISTORY OF THE "ZAMINDAR" NEWSPAPER.**

No. 139-S.B., dated Lahore, the 13th January 1914.

Pro. no. 127.

From—The HON'BLE MR. C. A. BARRON, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab,

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

I am directed to forward, for the information of the Government of India, the enclosed copy of an order, dated the 12th January 1914, directing that a sum of rupees ten thousand deposited by the keeper of the "Zamindar Press" at which the *Zamindar* newspaper is published, be forfeited together with the "Zamindar Press" itself and all copies of the issues of the *Zamindar*, dated the 19th November 1913, the 20th November 1913, and the 21st November 1913.

I am also to enclose translations of the offending articles (six copies of each) in respect of which action has been taken.

*Declaration of forfeiture of security under section 6 of the Indian Press Act, 1910.*

Whereas it appears to the local Government of the Punjab that the printing press known as the "Zamindar Printing Press", Lahore, in respect of which a further security of rupees ten thousand has been deposited under section 5 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, by Ghulam Kadir Khan with the District Magistrate of Lahore on the 4th October 1913, has been used for printing the issue of the newspaper, called the *Zamindar* (daily edition), bearing dates the 19th November 1913, the 20th November 1913, and the 21st November 1913; and

Whereas the issue of the said newspaper bearing date the 19th November 1913 contains an article entitled "Ajudhia men kurbani" (Sacrifice in Ajudhia), which article is in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab likely to bring into hatred and contempt the Government established by law in British India and to excite disaffection towards the said Government; and

Whereas the issue of the said newspaper bearing date the 20th November 1913 contains an article headed "Wuzara-i-Hindwa Inglistan ke siasi ghalati" (A political mistake by the Secretary of State for India and the Premier of England) which article is in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab likely to bring into hatred and contempt the Government established by law in British India and to excite disaffection towards the said Government; and

Whereas the issue of the said newspaper bearing date the 21st November 1913 contains a communication entitled "Lamaat" (Rays), which communication is in the opinion of the local Government of the Punjab likely to bring into hatred and contempt the English subjects of His Majesty in British India.

Now, therefore, this notice is hereby given to the said Ghulam Kadir Khan that in exercise of the powers conferred by section 6 (a), (b) and (c) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab declares the sum of ten thousand rupees deposited as security in respect of the "Zamindar Printing Press" and also the press of the above-mentioned "Zamindar Printing Press," and also all copies of the issues of the *Zamindar* (daily edition) bearing dates the 19th November 1913, the 20th November 1913, and the 21st November 1913 wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

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By order of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and its Dependencies.

Issued at Lahore

the 12th day of January 1914. }

C. A. BARRON,

Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab.

Under the heading "Sacrifice in Ajudhia" the *Zamindar* (Lahore), of the 19th November 1913, publishes the following :—

"The memory of the disturbance which took place last year in Ajudhia in connection with (cow) sacrifice is still fresh. (Liberty to perform) sacrifice is a religious right of Muhammadans. Hindus opposed this right of the former (and) the local authorities did their level best to uphold the same, for which Muhammadans tendered their thanks. This year, however, we perceive a change in the policy of the (local) authorities. Even now the District Magistrate of Fyzabad is the same Mr. Way who was (holding that post) last year. At first a stroke (*lit.* movement) of his pen supported the (above) religious right of Muhammadans in such a manner that the prestige of the Government and the maintenance of law and justice did not suffer in any way. The pen is the same even now, but the direction of its (*lit.* of which) movement (*lit.* revolution) has undergone a change. It now forbids the bringing into Ajudhia of sacrificial cattle from the 1st to the 12th November and so insists upon (*lit.* exaggerates) depriving Muhammadans of a legitimate right of theirs that bands of policemen are to be seen patrolling the roads by which sacrificial cattle are likely to be brought (into the city). Thirty-six Muhammadans apply for (permission to perform) sacrifice, but no application is granted. Nay, they (the applicants) are threatened with prosecution and arrest in case they (so much as) make a mention of sacrifice. (But) the still stranger incident is that on the 12th November 1913 Muhammadans telegraph to (the local) Government for interference in the prohibitory (*lit.* interfering) order (referred to), and for an order upholding their legitimate right, but (that) Government declines to interfere.

"O! wonder of wonders! What a change is this? The same Government rules in Oudh even now that did so last year. The same Magistrate adorns the chair of the administration of Fyzabad who was (in it) last year (*lit.* before). What does it then mean (*lit.* what is it then) that one year Muhammadans are supported and displeasure is shown to Hindus, but that the next year the latter are patted on the back and Muhammadans are deprived of a legitimate right by means of the force of authority? The Indian Penal (Code) and the Criminal Procedure Code are the same even now as last year, but is it not a matter for surprise that while one year these laws are made the means of threatening Hindus, the next year the same laws are used as an instrument for subjecting (*lit.* casting on) Muhammadans to the wrath (of Government)? The theatre is the same, the bioscope is the same (and) no change has occurred even in the spectators and actors; yet the films are so changed by turns (*lit.* the second time after the first turn) that if, on the first occasion, one group of spectators begins to jump with delight and pleasure at the sight of the moving pictures over the screen, the next time tears begin to roll from its eyes and a mountain of grief falls down on it.

"It is openly declared that (Great) Britain is averse to governing the various communities of Indians by making them fight with one another. But what fun is this that some officials furnish, by their conduct, proof (that goes) against (the genuineness of) this declaration? On leaving India His Imperial Majesty George V expresses a hope that the two communities, Hindu and Muhammadan, will become hand and glove. But what a surprising spectacle is this that the two communities

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are made (*lit.* are seen) to move, on the stage of India, in opposition to each other by means of an invisible (*lit.* concealed) wire, which is perhaps (worked from) behind the screen, and union cannot be brought about between them. It is quite clear that feelings of love can grow between them spontaneously only if they are left free to settle their religious and communal affairs and no third community intervenes between them. The duty of Government consists only in safeguarding the legitimate rights of their community and in 'legally' interfering in the rights of neither. If, after this, one community voluntarily foregoes any of its legitimate rights in order to please the other Government should silently witness the scene, nay, it should express pleasure over the fact of one community voluntarily stepping forward to cultivate (*lit.* create) feelings of love and unity for (*lit.* with) the other community and over the prospect of the spontaneous realization of His Imperial Majesty's hope that the two communities will (*lit.* wish to) shake the dust of disunion and hostility off their skirts and embrace each other. It is on no account the business of a Government to trample upon the legitimate rights of one community and thereby to teach it the lesson of establishing (*lit.* creating) unity and concord with another. Our readers (*lit.* the readers of our paper) are well aware that, because of the good treatment accorded by our Hindu brothers to Muhammadans in connection with the Cawnpore affairs, most of the Muslim leaders were prepared to display regard for their (Hindus') religious feelings. Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Wazir Hassan and Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan sent a cablegram from London to their co-religionists to say that the last-named should refrain from sacrificing cows this year and (thereby) furnish proof of (their) love and regard for (their) Hindu brothers. We have, accordingly, received intimations from various places in the Punjab and the United Provinces that the Muhammadans there did not this year sacrifice cows. It was possible that the Muhammadans of Fyzabad also might, in this natural way, have felt inclined to gradually have love and regard for Hindus and might have voluntarily waived their legitimate right of (cow) sacrifice. If this had happened in this way, there can be no doubt that the (mutual) love (thus) begotten between Hindus and Muhammadans would have been founded on a strong and solid (*lit.* stony) rock and would never have been shaken. It is, however, to be regretted that the Magistrate of Fyzabad should not have liked that Muhammadans should give up their legitimate right (in question) from feelings of love (for Hindus). He at once resorted to legal interference and compelled Muhammadans, by force of authority, to renounce their said legitimate right. Why (was) this (done)? Was it done with the object that if Muhammadans (were to) raise an outcry over their right referred to the feelings of the Hindus (would) be inflamed against them and no wave of love and unity (would) be generated in the hearts of the two communities? If not, what is it then that prompted Mr. Way to form (this year) a new opinion clashing with that which he gave expression to last year? Is not (the performance of) sacrifice a legitimate religious right of Muhammadans which has been acknowledged by the Government all over British India? Is it not the right for the maintenance of which Muhammadans have been shedding (their) blood for years past at various places and the legitimacy of which has never been denied by Government? Does Mr. Way wish that Muhammadans should be deprived of this legitimate right of theirs at the point of the sword? Is it the intention of Mr. Way that Muhammadans should feel prompted to engage in a sanguinary conflict with their Hindu brothers over this right, in spite of the fact that (*lit.* although) they become ready to gladly forego the right on certain occasions? We consider it a great sin to express distrust in regard to (*lit.* against) Government, but will Mr. Way tell us why distrust (about Government) will not be caused in crores of minds by his conduct under reference?

"What a strange thing it is that, on the one hand, a bloody disturbance takes place at Cawnpore over a legitimate religious right relating to a mosque and

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no heed whatever is paid to the *Fatwas* of *Ulemas* (? relating to this right); while, on the other, Muhammadans are deprived at Fyzabad of another religious right relating to (the performance of) sacrifice—a right which has, for centuries past, been acknowledged to be legitimate in India—although the aforesaid (*lit.* this) disturbance ended not very long ago. After all what is this riddle? Is there anyone who can solve it and say what secret is there (*lit.* concealed) at the bottom of these tactics?

"Muhammadans desire that, just as Hindus enjoy their religious rights with absolute freedom, they also should not be deprived of any of their legitimate rights. If any legitimate right of Muhammadans is such that (the exercise of) it (*lit.* which) sometimes wounds the feelings of Hindus they (Muhammadans) should have entire freedom to waive the same, if they so desire, on certain occasions of their own free will and not through the (application of) force by Government or the interference of law; and that right should not be trampled upon by the powers that be. This is the only natural means which can promote feelings of love and unity between Hindus and Muhammadans and help in the realization of the King-Emperor's heartfelt desire (to see the two communities united). Otherwise, it is inevitable that the passions of the two communities should continue to be excited against each other and that the light of love and unity should never shine before their eyes. The desire of His Imperial Majesty, which is also the heartfelt longing of (both) Hindus and Muhammadans, can only be realized if (*lit.* when) the authorities allow feelings of love and unity to grow between the two communities in a natural way and do not, by their conduct, place any obstacle in the way of this natural growth (*lit.* pace). In conclusion, we declare loudly that those officials who, by their imprudent conduct, retard the natural course (*lit.* pace) of the growing feelings of love between Hindus and Muhammadans, desire to insult the heartfelt wishes of "our" King-Emperor and that enlightened Hindus and Muhammadans can never regard them with feelings of love and respect."

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*Extract from the selections from the Native Newspapers published in the Punjab, no. 47, received up to 22nd November 1913.*

The paper in its issue of the 20th November 1913 publishes a leader headed "The Political Error of the Ministers for India and England." The paper begins with the following verse:—

"God Protect us! They put their hands on their ears,  
And do not listen (*lit.* give their ears) to our story."

It then observes that the ministers, statesmen and authorities of that Great Britain over whose Empire the sun never sets, which on account of its numerous mighty Dreadnoughts and iron-clads is called the "Mistress of the Seas", which is known all over the world for its might and power and whose laws and administration are based on love of justice, equality, liberty and impartiality, have of late become so negligent and indifferent in the discharge of their duties that they do not like granting interviews to or even to see the faces of the representatives of seven crores of subjects of the British Crown. It then refers to the answer given by Mr. Asquith and Lord Crewe to Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Muhammad Ali, declining to grant them interviews, and says that verily the people whose destinies are placed in the hands of such careless statesmen is unfortunate, and the country in which the power to do good or evil is entrusted to such self-willed ministers is ill-fated. In his reply, the *Zamindar* continues, Lord Crewe has also emphatically declared that the aspirations of the Indian Muhammadans deserve the full sympathy and attention of His Majesty's Government, and that no pains are spared to obtain information about them from many reliable sources. The fact, however, cannot

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be denied that whenever a question relating to India is asked in Parliament, the Secretary of State, in ninety-five cases out of a hundred, is reported to have received no particular information on the subject while in important matters the question is evaded by a promise to make full enquiries from India or by saying that the matter is under consideration. Does Lord Crewe boast of such means and sources of information? If these "reliable sources of information" have really any existence, he ought by their help to have been enabled to find out easily whether or not Messrs. Wazir Hassan and Muhammad Ali are the true representatives of Indian Muhammadans. It is surprising that in spite of being equipped with these reliable sources of information, His Lordship has so far failed to discover that Mr. Wazir Hassan is the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League and has been selected for the office by the Muslim community which has likewise acknowledged Mr. Muhammad Ali also as its accredited representative; and that on the departure of the former to England resolutions expressing confidence in him were passed in all parts of the country. Again, the League is not Mr. Wazir Hassan's private organisation, but has been constituted by the Muslim community which also appointed him as its Secretary. Can the Secretary of State elicit any information on the subject through his reliable sources of information and tell "us" the name of a single Muhammadan who does not acknowledge Wazir Hassan to be the Secretary of the League or who reposes no faith in his work? The fact that His Lordship did not grant the request of the Secretary of the League for an interview means that Lord Crewe does not care in the least for the feelings and aspirations of seven crores of Indian Muhammadans who are disappointed and displeased at his refusal. It is interesting to note that the arrival of Mr. Wazir Hassan in London has had the effect of creating in the mind of Lord Crewe the impression that there were some Muhammadans who did not agree with Wazir Hassan's views. There can, however, be no denying the fact that the step taken by His Lordship in condemning Messrs. Wazir Hassan and Muhammad Ali as unfit for an interview is a serious political mistake and that its effects will not be easily effaced from the minds of the seven crores of Muslims in India. The importance of the personality of Wazir Hassan and of his position as the true representative of his community can be judged from the fact that a man of the position of Amir Ali had to bow before his views. What a surprise it is, therefore, that the reins of the administration of that Great Britain which is well known throughout the world for its statesmanship and (good) administration, should happen to be in the hands of those who consider it an insult and disgrace for them to see the representatives of British subjects. In fact, such conduct on the part of those who are responsible for the administration of the Empire will assuredly create unrest among the people. It may, however, be borne in mind that the Secretary of State and the Prime Minister are not alone guilty of falling into error in finding out the true leaders of the people for Collectors, Commissioners and even Governors-General invite to Darbars only such persons as are hypocritical, crafty and mischievous, and lack the courage to speak out the truth. In fact, only those persons are admitted into their bungalows who are in the habit of saying ditto to whatever falls from their lips, and who are adepts in the art of exterminating their (own) community. But a nationalist and a well-wisher of his community, however trusted he may be by his community, can never secure admittance into their bungalows. The paper then observes that although Mr. Asquith and Lord Crewe have declined to grant an interview to Messrs. Wazir Hassan and Muhammad Ali, yet it is "our" belief that whatever the latter wished to say to the two statesmen will loudly resound in all political circles of England and will reach every ear. In refusing to grant the interview, the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister have insulted the whole of "our" community. If the community is possessed of a genuine sense of self-respect, it is the duty of every intelligent member of it in all parts of the country to send telegrams at once to the Secretary of State saying that His Lordship's refusal to grant an interview to the members of the Islamic deputation has



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been the means of wounding the feelings of His Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects and that "we" cannot view this event with patience and forbearance. This united and unanimous expression of the feelings of Muhammadans is bound to create a due impression on the minds of the British Ministers sooner or later.

The *Zamindar* (Lahore), of the 21st November 1913, publishes, from Zafar Ali Khan, the following letter dated 13, Crossfield Road, Swiss Cottage, London, the 31st October 1913 :—

" Rays.

" Four things are the <sup>Gifts</sup><sub>Curiosities</sub> of London :

" Liquor, pork, daily newspaper and woman.

" The thing which is regarded by Muhammadans as the mother of vices is (looked upon as) the sister of virtues in England. Accordingly, when, in memory of the tomb of the British officer of the Malabar Coast, Lord Crewe, feeling constrained to praise (it), referred to (*lit.* remembered) the inebriating cup of whisky in these words, out of regard solely for the feelings of Indians, (*viz.*) that it would have been better if the special British characteristics had manifested themselves in some form better than this, Sir George Birdwood could not control himself and has, in the *Times*, dated the 31st October 1913, while taking Lord Crewe to task for the offence of having said anything at all in dispraise of wine, afforded the freshest (*lit.* the most blooming) proof of his colossal ignorance by inventing the amazing calumny that the source of the spirituality of orientals is their dreams and visions, that for a vision to be true it is necessary that jar after jar of the red wine be drunk (*lit.* poured), that Hindus and Muhammadans can, therefore, never feel offended at the drunkenness of the English (and) that it is in the lap of wine that the spirituality of these orientals has been nurtured. The second place in the social life (or civilisation) of England belongs to Mr. Pig. If you rise early in the mornings and go out for a walk, (you will find that) there is no butcher at whose shop his (Mr. Pig's) blessed corpse is not to be seen hanging. And when on (your) return (from the walk) you sit at the table for breakfast, (you will find that), as luck would have it, it is his roasted pieces that adorn the (very) first dish. There is always kept ready in the kitchen the pig's melted lard, in which meat, potatoes and every (other) thing, which is capable of being fried, are fried, butter being solely and exclusively used in those houses alone which are darkened by the steps of Indians. Women constitute the third fascinating and heart-comforting <sup>Gift</sup><sub>Curiosity</sub> of this white land and an idea of their abundance may be formed from the fact (*lit.* from this) that, in addition to those three and a half lakh of women of elastic morals, who, from their mode of life, are the real or step-sisters or friends of *Do-anni* and *Cho-anni* of our country (two prostitutes and dancing girls of Lucknow) and at whom even this free country (England) has the Christian right of frowning, there are here fifteen lakhs of women, who can obtain no husband till the heavenly (Islamic) principle of (marrying) 'two and three and four (wives)' is not incorporated into an Act of Parliament in the same way in which, in spite of opposition from the clergy, the people of England had to legalise marriage with the deceased wife's sister and have now acknowledged (the reasonableness of) those (*lit.* those very) conditions and necessities in regard to divorce which are laid down in Islam. It is an indirect (*lit.* supplementary) result of this very third curiosity that the divorce courts had to undo (as many as) 3,000 marriages in three months on the ground that the wife felt the necessity of establishing a 'connection' with a 'friend (paramour)' of hers also in addition to her husband. Finally, it is through this heart-ravishing <sup>Gift</sup><sub>Curiosity</sub> that England has become a hot-bed (*lit.* an extensive and secret house) of venereal diseases, which has grown so alarming in extent that Government has now had to appoint a commission for

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measuring and sweeping the dark, poisonous and stinking cells of this secret house. The fourth <sup>Gift</sup><sub>Curiosity</sub> of London consists of the papers here and it can be contended without fear of contradiction that there can be no cheaper commodity anywhere throughout the world. What should (one) say, (*i.e.*, one cannot speak too highly) of the journalistic activities and the political strength of the newspaper-reading public (*lit.* population) of a country, in which a nicely-got-up newspaper like the *Times*, a single issue of which contains more matter than can be inserted in one issue of all the daily and weekly Urdu papers in India put together, can be had for two annas, (although) it is another matter that its knowledge of the East may be limited to the foolish pratings of George Birdwood and its Imperial columns may be confined to insulting the Turks and disgracing Indian Muhammadans; in which country a daily newspaper like the *Daily Telegraph*, whose long and broad leaves can daily supply material for covering six tables and which could (*lit.* can) afford to publish as early as the day following the Cawnpore incident such a lengthy telegraphic communication which must have cost Rs. 2,000 at least, can be had for one anna, (although) it is a different matter, that, in order to please the authorities of the United Provinces, the Cawnpore doings of Tyler and Meston may have been represented in this communication to be the essence of the loftiest teachings of Christianity and Indians may have been accused of blind bigotry and rudeness and (represented as being) throwers of obstacles in the way of the moving car of hygienic principles (*lit.* principle); (and) in which country a newspaper is published twice, and thrice or (*lit.* and) four times a day.

"Thanks to that liberty, which is the blossoming flower of the flower-garden of the West, Indians have more than sufficiently tasted, or are desirous of tasting, of the sweetness of liquor, pork and women (*lit.* woman) or of, at least, two of these (curiosities) or, to say the least, of the third <sup>gift</sup><sub>curiosity</sub>.

"A rich person is not so afraid of the robber

"As (my) foolish heart is of London.

"May God protect the faith of the poor Muslim (there);

"Seeing that he mixes only with Mabel\* and hears of Bacon† alone.

"But the fourth curiosity, *i.e.*, the daily newspapers of London and the attention (*lit.* the corner of the eyes) of their editors, has not fallen to our lot. The local dailies having a circulation of lakhs, no matter whether they are Liberal or Conservative, Protestant or Roman Catholic, are sworn to follow, in every matter relating to Indians, especially to Muhammadans in these days, the one principle which has been taught to them, *viz.*, India is the meanest part of the dependencies of England, and that the best way of governing Indians consists only in maintaining British (*lit.* their) 'prestige' among (*lit.* over) them and in suppressing their voice no matter from howsoever pure and deep a corner of the heart it may have emanated. The *Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Morning Post*, the *Daily News*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily Mail* are the administrative limbs of the fourth estate of London. Every leader in them has the power of changing the policy of Government and of overturning a ministry. Their editors are highly able, highly competent and highly experienced men and can, by the force of their logic, shake the bones of Aristotle even in his grave. But when India comes in, their logic (and) ability evaporate forthwith, while the biggest newspaper of London, the *Times*, descended to setting down the spirituality of Muhammadans and all the orientals as being the result of their wild dreams and this result as being the outcome (*lit.* essence) of their drunkenness 'We are for God and unto Him we shall return'.

\* "A common Christian name for women."

† "Pork, and also the name of a noted English Philosopher."

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"In short, the daily newspapers of London have not or do not wish to have any personal opinion of their own in respect of Indian affairs, but they write only what official circles bid them do.

"I am placed behind the looking glass like a parrot;

'I say only what was uttered by the Eternal Teacher.'

"But, to the misfortune of us Indians, this parrot can also speak something beyond 'no doubt about it,' i.e., it can mock even the Eternal Teachers, and the inauspicious union of the two is sufficient to silence us.

"Mr. Muhammad Ali and Saiyid Wazir Hassan started from India and came to England in order to lay the grievances of (Indian) Muhammadans before the authorities of the (British) Empire in a respectful manner and to point out to the people of England, by delineating to them the present condition of India, that in a country (India), which is ruled in the name of England, there are occurring many things which are as distant from the liberal and just traditions of England as London is from Cawnpore. After the departure of both these gentlemen the state of affairs demanded that we also should go to (*lit.* reach) London with the same objects in view as had moved Saiyid Wazir Hassan and Mr. Muhammad Ali to start for the West; while Indian Muhammadans, (through) their kindness (*lit.* exalting the lowly), considered us deserving of their confidence from the point of ability to take part in the completion of this undertaking, for which we feel grateful to our dear brethren from the bottom of our heart. But Saiyid Wazir Hassan and (Mr.) Muhammad Ali found out on reaching here that before lying down in a bed of roses (they) would have to remove a large number of thorns, which had been spread with extreme care (in their path), i.e., those very forces which had, by going beyond the bounds of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, forcibly gagged (*lit.* administered red lead to) Muhammadans in other parts of India, had (also) performed the service of sealing their lips (*lit.* rubbing antimony to the throat and tongue) even here, and had arranged (*lit.* it had been arranged) that the representatives of Muhammadans should not find access to the English public (*lit.* the people of England;) through the Press and that they should not be able to see the members of the higher circle (aristocracy). And consequently the first work which the said representatives had to do on their arrival in London was to clear this bed of thorns.

"It was impossible that our skirt also should not be caught by these thorns. On looking (round) on coming here (we) found the colour of the official and journalistic horizon changed. With the exception of a few fair-minded and good-natured people, who are the means of maintaining our confidence in (Great) Britain, the kind activities of our kind friends left nothing undone to suppress our voice and to keep our legitimate aspirations unvoiced, so much so that Saiyid Wazir Hassan was compelled to publicly give expression, at a large gathering, to the painful truth that 'it appears that there has been hatched against us here the conspiracy that our voice should not be allowed to rise and that we should not be permitted to draw the real picture of India before the people of (Great) Britain.'

"That large gathering at which the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League had to say these unpleasant things, was a meeting of the 'Positivist Society' of London, which was held in 'Essex Hall' on the evening of Sunday last and at which several interesting speeches were delivered on the subject as to what would be the future of the Islamic world, in view of the terrible incidents which had recently occurred in the Near East. The 'Positivist Society' is a relic of the philosophical beliefs of the noted French philosopher Comte and such highly-placed gentlemen as Lord Morley and Mr. Frederick Harrison



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are among its members. At this meeting, which was held under the presidency of Mr. Swinny, the President read out a Muslim-favouring message from Mr. Wilfred Blunt, the noted author of 'The Future of Islam', and, in addition to the President's learned speech, which was full of sympathy (for Muhammadans), Mr. Muhammad Ali delivered a learned lecture. Saiyid Wazir Hassan (also) made an eloquent speech. In the course of a lengthy speech having the double characteristic of wounding and soothing, the famous journalist, Mr. Nevins, made many attacks on Islam and gave many sympathetic counsels to Muhammadans; while, in the end, in critically examining Mr. Nevins's views, we related to the audience, which filled Essex Hall, the painful story which, if it had been repeated at the Shahi mosque, Lahore, the Kotwal of the city would have, at the instance of the holy Secretary of the local Anjuman-i-Islamia, been personally present at the Mosque to express his appreciation of the niceties of our (speech). (Although) we people gave (full) vent to our feelings at this meeting, still very few of the editors of this place had the generosity to find space even for a few lines about its proceedings.

"This was what we expected. We knew that we were not going (there) to partake of sweetmeats (*i.e.*, on a business easy of transaction). There may not be as many difficulties (in our way) in London as obstruct (our) path in Lahore, Delhi, and Lucknow, still the kith and kin of Sir James Meston are present here. But we have no one to support us except God, His Majesty George V, and the British public, and although the Koran can take us to God, it is only the shadow of the British public, *i.e.*, the British press, that can take us to God's shadow, George V, and the latter's shadow, the British public; and we do not know how much we shall have to exert ourselves in order to reach this shadow. In short, we were acquainted with all these difficulties and had come prepared to combat them. But we did not know that London could also become Delhi, and that those difficulties, which we daily complain of in India, would confront us here also (*lit.* would be standing here also with a gaping mouth), and there would be (here) our own hands to throttle us.

"Lo, itching has supervened in leprosy, *i.e.*, in spite of his having been for years President of a League which was entirely political in character, *Maulana* (Our Lord)-*wa-bilfajal Aulana* (and by the grace of God our superior), the Right Hon'ble Saiyid Amir Ali, author of 'The Spirit of Islam', President of the London Muslim League, and patron of the British Red Crescent (Society), refused to attend or be a host at a dinner, at which Saiyid Wazir Hassan and Mr. Muhammad Ali might be introduced to the leading men in England, on the ground that, according to His Highness the Agha Khan, political speeches would be made at this dinner, while in his own opinion (*lit.* in the opinion of the said Right Hon'ble gentlemen), the Cawnpore affair was to be lamented over (there), and that the Lord Chancellor, to whom he had made a reference, would not grant him permission to take part in such a dinner. After this he took umbrage at a letter which was addressed (to him) by Saiyid Wazir Hassan in his capacity of Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, and resigned the Presidentship of the London Muslim League, while to-day, on the 31st October 1913, he has communicated (*lit.* written) to the London *Times*, the specially kind friend of Muhammadans, those reasons for his resignation, the perusal of which will make a certain section of Anglo-Indians dance with joy (and say) 'Lo, Muhammadans have begun to fight (*lit.* shoe-beat) among themselves, and all Muhammadans will hang down their heads in shame (at the thought) that although they (*lit.* we) used to fight at home (in India) they (*lit.* we) did not abstain from quarrelling abroad also.

"To-day's issue of the *Times* has lifted one corner of the veil from off the ugly face of these incidents, and whatever of the *purdah* remains is about to be lifted in the (near) future.

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" ' It would be a pity if there were a to-morrow after to-day. '

" But if there exist such manifold heart-rending things, the bright fingers of Islam have also prepared, for repairing the broken heart of Muhammadans, such a heavenly *momiai* (substance with which mummies are preserved) as falsifies the second line of the poet's verse (*lit.* saying) :—

" ' What does it avail if thou givest a hundred thousand rubies and diamonds,

' (For) thou hast broken the heart and not a diamond ?'

" A broken heart can also be repaired and the impossible also can become possible.

" We went to Woking to say our prayers on the Friday preceding the last. Saiyid Wazir Hassan was also among the friends who were invited by Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din that day. The pleasure which Friday prayers gave (us) that day has fallen to the lot of a very few people. On that day our dear friend, Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din, was to the disgrace of all those critics who miss no opportunity of throwing dust on (belittling) his unselfish (*lit.* impartial and free from hypocrisy) efforts, made for the sake of God alone, to gain such a splendid success of which Muhammadans may justly feel the greatest possible pride, *i.e.*, having been impressed by his (the Khawaja's) guidance, a highly-placed and select member of the English aristocracy, who, unlike Alexander, Russel, Webb or Quilliam or other people of this type, thirsted not after the money but after the Islam of Muhammadans, was to announce that day his conversion to Islam and to convey to our hearts the message of solace.

" ' If I sacrifice (my) life over this happy news it is justifiable ;

" ' Seeing that this happy news is the solace of (my) life. '

" Lord Headley, who conveys highly glad tidings to Muhammadans by relating to them in the November number of the *Muslim India*, with his (own) pen (*lit.* telling with the tongue of his pen), the fascinating story of his conversion to Islam, is a highly enlightened gentleman, and his writing testifies as if with a tongue (*lit.* as if it were a tongue in itself) that he possesses a very sound judgment. For years he was absorbed in the search as to which is the way which leads to the light of Truth from the darkness of the Trinity. At last, he saw a shining lamp (*lit.* torch) from afar. When (he) drew near (it) Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din's personality came out of the shade of this lamp (*lit.* torch). We congratulate our friend and Muhammadans on the good fortune which has befallen him.

" ' This good fortune does not come by the strength of arm,

" ' (And cannot be obtained) till it is bestowed by a benevolent Providence. ' "

No. 340-C., dated Delhi, the 15th January 1914. "

Pro. no. 128.

From—The HON'BLE MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government  
of India, Home Department,

To—SIR T. W. HOLDERNESS, K.C.S.I., His Majesty's Under, Secretary of State for  
India.

I am directed to forward, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, a copy of a letter from the Government of the Punjab, no. 139-S.B., dated the 13th January 1914, and of its enclosures, regarding the forfeiture of the "Zamindar" Press at Lahore and of the security deposited by its keeper under the Press Act.

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No. 1342-C. dated Delhi, the 26th February 1914.

Pro. no. 129.

From—The HON'BLE MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—SIR T. W. HOLDERNESS, K.C.S.I., His Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India.

In continuation of my letter no. 340-C., dated the 15th January 1914, I am directed to forward, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, a copy of a brief history of the *Zamindar* newspaper compiled from official sources with an appendix containing some of the more violent articles which have appeared in it from 1911 onwards.

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No. 1181-S.B., dated Lahore, the 13th March 1914.

Pro. no. 130.

From—The HON'BLE MR. C. A. BARRON, C.I.E., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab,

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

With reference to Punjab Government letter no. 653-S.B., dated the 2nd February last, regarding the confiscation of Political A., March 1914, nos. 34—39. the "Zamindar Press" and the forfeiture of its security of Rs. 10,000, I am directed to inform you that the keeper of the "Zamindar Press" on the 4th instant lodged in the Chief Court an appeal under section 17 of the Press Act against the orders of confiscation and forfeiture.

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8. *Mr. Morrell*: To ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been called to the recent suppression of an Indian newspaper of large circulation and wide repute, known as the *Daily Zamindar* of Lahore; whether he has read the three articles, dated 19th, 20th and 21st November, in respect of which the declaration of forfeiture was made; and whether, in view of the fact that those articles contained no expression of seditious views and no incitement whatever to violence or disorder, he will direct a further inquiry into this matter. Pro. no. 131.

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Answer to Mr. Morrell's question no. 8, dated 24th February 1914.

The Secretary of State has seen the articles. The Punjab Government, in making the declaration in question, stated that in its opinion the articles were likely to excite disaffection and racial hatred. The editor has the right of appeal to the High Court against the forfeiture, and the Secretary of State will await the result of any action he may take before considering the matter further.

*Mr. Hunt*: Will the Hon'ble gentleman say whether there is anything treasonable in any of these articles for which an editor in this country could be punished?

*Mr. C. Roberts*: I do not think I can answer that question.

*Mr. Morrell*: Has my hon'ble friend read the articles himself, and will he say whether there was anything but fair comment upon some Government officials?

*Mr. C. Roberts*: It would be most undesirable for me to express any opinion on the subject.

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No. 2011-C., dated Delhi, the 18th March 1914.

Pro. no. 132.

From—C. W. E. COTTON, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter no. 1181-S.B., dated the 13th March 1914, I am directed to forward, for the information of the

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No. 132.]      Forfeiture of the      Zamindar " Press and of the security deposited by its keeper.

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Lieutenant-Governor a copy of questions asked and answers given in Parliament on the subject of the confiscation of the "Zamindar Press" and the forfeiture of the security furnished by the keeper thereof.

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Pro. no. 133.

No. 2044-C., dated Delhi, the 19th March 1914.

From—The HON'BLE MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—SIR T. W. HOLDERNESS, K.C.S.I., His Majesty's Under Secretary of State for India.

In continuation of my letter no. 1342-C., dated the 26th February 1914, I am directed to state, for the information of the Secretary of State for India, that on the 4th March 1914 the keeper of the "Zamindar Press" lodged in the Chief Court of the Punjab an appeal under section 17 of the Indian Press Act against the orders of the local Government, dated the 12th January 1914, confiscating the press and forfeiting the security of Rs. 10,000 deposited by him.

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Pro. no. 134.

29. *Mr. Mount*: To ask the Under Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that a Peshawar Muhammedan newspaper called the *Afghan* has been suppressed on account of the publication of an article entitled the Diplomatic Error of the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister, and will he say what passages in this article were objected to, by whom they were objected to, or who recommended that the Press Act should be put into force against this newspaper.

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Answer to Mr. Mount's question No. 29, dated 4th March 1914.

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I believe that the *Afghan* newspaper was voluntarily discontinued early in 1911. The Hon'ble Member may be thinking of the *Zamindar* newspaper of Lahore which recently was suppressed by the Punjab Government. One of the offending articles bore the title similar to that cited in his question. As regards the last part of his question, I would beg to refer him to the answer that I gave on the 24th February to the Hon'ble Member for Burnley.

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Pro. no. 135.

No. 2378-C., dated Delhi, the 28th March 1914.

Endorsed by the Government of India in the Home Department.

A copy of the marginally noted paper is forwarded to the Government of the Punjab, for information, in continuation of Home Department letter no. 2011-C., dated the 18th March 1914.

Question and answer in Parliament, dated the 4th March 1914.

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Pro. no. 136.

No. 14, dated Calcutta, the 28th March 1914.

From—MOULVI MUJIBUR RAHMAN, Secretary, 24-Parganas District Moslem League,  
To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Delhi.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a resolution regarding the *Zamindar* of Lahore, passed at a Committee Meeting of the 24-Parganas District Moslem League. My Committee hopes that the matter will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the Government of India.

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The following is a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting of Executive Committee of the 24-Parganas District Moslem League held on the 22nd February 1914 :—

That this meeting respectfully requests the Government of India to order the restoration of the Press of the *Zamindar* of Lahore and the refund of its security money, which have been forfeited by the Government of the Punjab under the Press Act of 1910.

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No. 2498-C., dated Delhi, the 31st March 1914.

Pro. no. 137.

From—C. W. E. COTTON, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—The Honorary Secretary, 24-Parganas District Moslem League, 4, Elliot Lane, Calcutta.

The receipt is acknowledged of a letter from the Honorary Secretary, 24-Parganas District Moslem League, no. 14, dated the 28th March 1914, communicating a resolution passed by the League on the subject of the forfeiture of the "Zamindar Press" of Lahore.