needs, and partly to a dread of incurring the scandalised hatred of the orthodox for what might seem sympathy with an alien literature. Conceit and prejudice had taken possession of the community after their political downfall and had interfered with their progress and enlightenment. If Muslims have now realised that Islam is not opposed but is propitious to human advancement and that science and knowledge are necessary conditions of fully developed human life, they have to thank the Aga Khan, among others, for their enlightenment.

In Northern India, that great educationist, Sir Syed Ahmad, investigated the causes which prevented the Muslim community from availing themselves adequately of Government educational institutions, and in the seventies, decided upon providing means by which they could be reconciled to Western arts and sciences. An influential Committee was formed for the purpose. The endeavours of the Committee met with great opposition at first, for it was alleged that the effect of English education produced unbelief and resulted in the corruption of morals. But the Committee entered upon their labours with great tact, and owing to their firmness and patience, the Aligarh College came into existence in 1875.

The principles upon which this institution was based were to some extent derived from the public schools in England. It was a residential college and had therefore the advantage of removing the students from many injurious influences. It was hoped that the education given in it might remove prejudices—so often had asperities arisen after the Mutiny—and substitute for them a rational conviction of the benefits of the British Government. Indirectly, it might unite the people and their rulers in sympathy, and so the differences which separated them might be gradually lessened and ultimately eradicated.

His Highness has long been one of the chief

benefactors of the movement which thus brought the reformers' dreams to reality in the abandoned cantonment at Aligarh. When he first became associated with it he gave an annual grant of Rs. 6,000 and later raised that sum to Rs. 10,000 a year. He also contributed largely to the funds of the College on various occasions, and the foundation of the Prince of Wales School of Science, in commemoration of His Royal Highness's visit to Aligarh College was mainly due to the Aga Khan's liberality and energy. It was he who invited the King-Emperor, George V, when he visited India as Prince of Wales, to go to Aligarh. The visit was not included in the official programme. The Aga Khan wrote direct to His Royal Highness, who graciously accepted the invitation. The route of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Quetta was specially changed to carry them through Aligarh. It afforded them an opportunity to see for themselves and appreciate thoroughly the work of the Muslim Anglo-Oriental College. For not to know that College is to be ignorant of the most remarkable educational movement in India and to fail to understand the forces moving His Majesty's Muslim subjects.

The Aga Khan's interest in the College dates from the time when he was called upon to preside at an educational conference held at Delhi on the occasion of Lord Curzon's proclamation Durbar in 1902. His speech was notable for its courageous advocacy of the abolition of the purdah. "It was the advocacy, not of an Eastern leader, who had come under the influence of Western education and transformed to Western ideals," but, as was pointed out by one writer, "of a spiritual head who supported his championship of the reform by pointing out that it was not antagonistic to the teachings of the 'Prophet'."

The Aga Khan pointed out one of the clearest ways by which the decay of political power of the Muslims might be arrested, namely by the foundation of a great

central Muslim university. He traced the causes of the intellectual and moral degeneration of Islam and showed that what was needed, not only for India but for Egypt, Persia and Turkey, was an educational centre, an intellectual capital, to which Muslims all over the world should turn for light and leading.

"We want," he said, "to create for our people an intellectual capital—a city that shall be a home of elevated ideas and high ideals, a centre from which light and guidance shall be diffused amongst the Muslims of India and out of India too and shall hold up to the world a noble standard of justice and virtue and purity of our beloved faith." The Aga Khan saw that a crisis had come over the fortunes of Islam and that unless the Muslims paid attention to the education of the rising generation, the very existence of Islam would be at stake. He condemned the habit of spending money on pilgrimages or the celebration of martyrdoms, long since past, which only helped to keep alive those sectarian differences that have been one of the misfortunes of Islam. He pointed to the examples of the Prophet and Abu Bakr, and Omar and Ali to convince pious Muslims that the first duty of a true Muslim is to give his time to the service of his nation and not merely to prayer.

The Aga Khan is not only a patron of the Aligarh institutions but also of the Anjuman-i-Islam school of Bombay and gives an annual grant of Rs.5,000 to it. On the occasion of the Muslim Educational Conference held in Bombay in 1904 under the Presidentship of that veteran leader Mr. Badrudin Tyebji, a judge of the Bombay High Court, the Aga Khan, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered the inaugural speech welcoming, on behalf of the Muslims of Bombay, the delegates who came from every part of the vast Empire to attend the meeting. It was a thought-provoking, powerful speech which was to bear fruit.

The assembly to his mind represented all that was best in the Muslims of India. It expressed that awakening

sense of their fallen position after a glorious past; it expressed dissatisfaction with their present intellectual, moral and social position; and it expressed the longing desire to regain the intellectual freedom which Muslims enjoyed during the first two centuries of their era. Pessimism was not the force, said the Aga Khan, that had drawn them there that day. Pessimism in the Muslim world was nothing new. It had been, unfortunately, the dominant impulse in such intellectual life as Muslims had had during the last century. Pessimism dominated all modern Persian, Arabic and Turkish poetry. What but pessimism could explain those feverish but constant references to Andalus, to Seville, to Toledo, to Cordova. The forces that had made these annual conferences successful, nay a necessity for the Muslims of the day, were other than pessimistic.

Speaking of the blessings of the British rule, the Aga Khan said:—

> I think I am right in saying that one of the forces that has drawn us willy-nilly into assembling here is a growing hopefulness and spirit of optimism amongst our co-religionists in India—a sense of hopefulness directly and entirely due to British rule. Providence has given us a government that guarantees justice; intellectual and religious liberty; personal freedom; a government that gives a clear field and no favour, that constantly, by its acts, reminds us that fitness is the only test, and that for the fit there are no artificial obstacles. We must, if we wish to lead, concentrate all our energies on acquiring those arts that prove fitness under civilised conditions. At last we see signs of dawn. At last we see the dim light of dawning reason. It will be hours yet—in the life of a people decades are but hours—before the sunshine of knowledge penetrates into our homes, but still we see the signs of dawn.

Of the importance of the Conference, His Highness said:—

> "Friendly critics have said that we have held many conferences, made many speeches, and many addresses have been delivered, many resolutions passed but that results are still wanting, and that still we Muslims remain behind whenever we are compared with other Indian nationalities on the educational test. This criticism expresses but half the truth. Such critics forget that

for us these Conferences are signs of progress. Could a Conference such as this have been held in Bombay 20 years ago? I think not.

"A great historian has said that if St. Paul or Gautama Buddha visited St. Peter's or the Chief monastery of Lhassa or Kandy, they would not at first realise what was the object of the magnificent ceremonial they would there behold. But if the Prophet saw Santa Sophia or the Musjids of Delhi to-day he would find the ceremonial the same as it was in his day at Mecca and Medina. This is true of the ceremonial. But what about the personnel? How different the case is there. The sects, the sectarian differences, the divisions and subdivisions that have crept even into the simple and clear faith of Islam—how they would pain and surprise the founder?

"However, here for the cause of learning, for the cause of progress, is an assembly where, thank God, differences are forgotten. Here we see once more the unity of early Islam. Is this not progress? Is this not a great step towards salvation? It is a fortunate circumstance that at last we have awakened to the necessity of knowledge.

"There are some dangers ahead and I venture to draw your attention to some of them which we can now guard against. It would be the greatest of all our misfortunes if we now mistook instruction for education and the mere power of passing examinations for learning. It is for this reason that the thoughtful welcome the reform of the Universities which the Government of India now contemplates. It is for this reason that the far-sighted amongst the Muslims of India desire a University where the standard of learning shall be the highest and where with scientific training there shall be that moral education—that indirect but constant reminder of the eternal difference between right and wrong which is the soul of education. It is a source of regret for many of us that in the Indian Universities there is that divorce between learning and

religion which, especially in the case of Muslims, will, I fear, lead to disaster. Gentlemen, most Muslims, I think, would most gladly welcome a Hindu University, at Benares; we would gladly welcome another at Poona, a third in Bengal or Madras. But because there is evidently no desire on their part to have a sectarian University with a Brahminical atmosphere, it is absurd to deny us a University at Aligarh with affiliated colleges all over India. Another reason why we require a Central University where our individuality may not be lost for the sake of turning out a mechanical imitation of a European is this: we have a history in which noble and chivalrous characters abound; we have a religious past so full of heroic figures that direct contact and communion with them could not but improve and give our youth early in life that sense of the necessity for self-sacrifice, for truthfulness, and for independence of character without which instruction and knowledge are, from the national point of view, worthless.

"It may be said such noble characters also abound in the histories of Greece and of Rome; what need for the study of the history of Arabs? Yes, Englishmen and Frenchmen, the direct successors of Romans, they can and do feel that the glorious characters of Roman history belong to them in a very real sense. Not so for the Muslim youth of this country. For most of us, even the noblest of them remain to the end but distant figures without any direct attraction. Yet Muslim history is so full of heroic characters or men, who lived and moved very much as the Muslims of today in their home life do, that contact with them could not but ennoble. Muavia and Walid are as statesmen not eclipsed either by Cæsar or Augustus; and where can you find in the annals of any dynasty, whether European or Asiatic, a more saintly sovereign than Omar Ibn Abdul Aziz or a more exemplary Emperor than Hisham Ibn Abdul Malik? Direct contact with such great characters could not but strengthen the character of our youth

and thus the character of our people. We may have crowds and battalions of graduates—it does not follow that they will be self-sacrificing men who will remove those degenerating customs that keep us not merely amongst the backward, but amongst the fallen. Those painful and those pernicious social customs that have so crept, in the course of centuries, into our religious rites that now even Muslims who are by no means uninstructed, do not know the difference between such customs and the commandments of the founder. Islamism is wrongly supposed to be responsible for such customs. It is for this, gentlemen, that I beg of you to give a thought while yet there is time towards the methods by which you propose to educate your youth. It is for this that I beg of you, gentlemen, to remember that we are a M.A.O. educational and not an instructional conference. It is for this that I beg of you that the cause of a Central University—a University which, please Heaven, may rank some day with Oxford and Leipzig and Paris as a home of great ideas and noble ideal—a University where our youth may receive the highest instruction in the Sciences of the West, a University where the teaching of history and literature of the East may not be scamped over for a mere parrot-like knowledge of Western thought, a University where our youth may also enjoy, in addition to such advantages, a Muslim atmosphere,—I earnestly beg of you that the cause of such a University should not be forgotten in the shouts of the marketplace that daily rise amongst us."

The announcement of the intention of King George to visit India in 1911 gave the Aga Khan the appropriate occasion for an appeal for funds for expanding the Aligarh College into a University " whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, of large-hearted toleration and of pure morality." This was the dream of the late Sir Syed Ahmed and it was given to the Aga Khan to make that dream a reality.

At the Muslim Educational Conference at Nagpur in 1910 the discussion of educational questions was dominated by the demand for a Muslim University. Several years had passed since the Aga Khan had first placed this project before his co-religionists. In the interval little had been accomplished. Realisation was brought appreciably nearer at the Nagpur Conference by His Highness's offer of a lakh of rupees for the purpose, if nineteen lakhs were forthcoming from other sources.

It was then argued by some people that a Muslim University was undesirable, because it would be sectarian and particularistic in its tendencies. No one, however, could charge the Aga Khan with particularism. As *The Times of India* pointed out, he was the leader of the Muslim community but he was above all a great Indian patriot. Nor was any suggestion of particularism detected in the speech of Mr. Yusuf Ali, (Chairman of the Conference.) who, in defining the scope of the University, said, " It will have no tests, and freedom and originality of thought will be encouraged; its doors will not be closed to non-Muslims any more than are the doors of Aligarh College. It will be a Muslim University in the sense that it will promote the ideals which the Indian Muslims have evolved out of the educational experience of two generations."

In estimating the value of the Aga Khan's services in founding the Muslim University, the success of which was due to what Lord Hardinge called his brilliant leadership, it is necessary to bear in mind the governing purpose of his work. He realised that if India was to be a strong self-governing Dominion in the Empire, it could only be achieved by the advancement of its population as a whole. It was futile to expect it to be a healthy self-governing unit if a powerful community with a historic past were, owing to its backwardness, to be excluded from a share in the administration. The advancement of Muslims in education was not an end in itself but a means to achieve the end. " The

improvement of the moral, material and economic conditions of our people, by the diffusion of education and science, so as to develop the intelligence and humanity of our people in the highest sense was a means to secure the fusion of the two races and the advancement of the country as a whole."

Some communalists objected to a separate University but the fact that the Aga Khan was not animated by sectional feelings was shown by his insistence on the introduction of Sanskrit and other Oriental literature in the curricula in order that Muslims might better understand Hindu civilisation, thought and religion, and learn to tolerate and appreciate the beauties of the Hindu faith. A separate University was necessary because there was no other means of developing the spiritual unity of Islam.

The Aga Khan's interest in Aligarh University is ever growing, ever expanding with the result that the institution is becoming more and more popular, fulfilling, a great need of the community. During his visit to Aligarh in January 1938, he, as pro-Chancellor, presided at the Convocation, when the Marquess of Lothian delivered the address in which he spoke about the task before the Universities, pointing out that Federation is the greatest boon that lies within India's grasp.

Sir Zia-ud-Din Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor, congratulated the Aga Khan on his election as the President of the Assembly of the League of Nations and referred to the invaluable help rendered by him in founding the Aligarh University, the development and extension of which were chiefly due to the zealous efforts of His Highness.

Towards realization of his ideal of making Aligarh the greatest Islamic centre of learning in the world, the Aga Khan has made a magnificent contribution. His Highness announced at the convocation in 1938, donations amounting to more than four lakhs of rupees, contributed in amounts of a lakh by His Exalted Highness the Nizam, His Highness the

AN EXCELLENT IMPRESSION OF THE PRINCESS ALY KHAN
Who before her marriage to the Aga Khan's heir was one of London's most popular society leaders.

Nawab of Rampur and by himself to be devoted towards the cost of the proposed Technological Institute and Agricultural and Military Colleges at Aligarh.

Appealing for funds for this purpose the Aga Khan said the immediate needs of the University included the founding of a Technological Institute and a Military College. He gave an assurance that the funds collected would not be spent for any other purpose and that a committee of experts would be appointed to carry out the details of the scheme. The sum of Rs.4,00,000 already subscribed was inadequate. They required at least Rs.20,00,000 to Rs.25,00,000 to start with. He suggested that Muslim rulers and other leading members of the community should come forward to support the movement.

The foundation of the Muslim University, for which the Aga Khan collected nearly 30 lakhs of rupees, was a great piece of constructive patriotism. It will remain as a historical reminder of the fact that he gave continuity to the traditions of his ancestors as pioneers of education in Egypt and elsewhere—traditions associated with the foundation of Al Ahzar, which to this day is crowded with students from all parts of the globe.

The spirit in which His Highness undertook the work was exemplified, not only by his munificence then and in succeeding years, but by his house-to-house collections in Bombay. Its object was well defined by his observation that, while the university would remain true to Islam, it would create an atmosphere enabling the Muslim leaders to co-operate for the good of India with all others, of whatever community, who sought her progress on lines conserving the British connection. In his work of collecting funds, he received enthusiastic support from Muslims of Bombay including Sir Suleman Cassam Mitha, Sir Ruffiuddin Ahmed, the late Mr. Shariff Canji Devji, the late Sir Muhammed Laljee, and his own followers, who gave large sums of money for the foundation of the University.

The work done by the Aga Khan in founding the Muslim University at Aligarh has been stressed, not only because of its intrinsic importance and its effects on the Muslims of India, but because it affords a fine illustration of the reality of his constant insistence on the need for progress in education.

The Aligarh University will remain as a living monument of the Aga Khan's educational activities in the interests of Islam. Without him, there would have been no university and no adequate means of Islamic culture in India, and the Aga Khan has earned the gratitude of the whole of Islam by his activities in fulfilling a great want of the Muslim nation.

Presenting an address from the Members of the Court of the Aligarh University to His Highness the Aga Khan on February 15, 1936, the Vice-Chancellor of that institution emphasised in the most striking manner and emphatic language the status and authority of leadership accorded to the Aga Khan with unanimity and enthusiasm by the Muslims of India. This was a striking testimony, indeed, to the personality, genius for reconciliation of conflicting and even hostile interests and eminent sagacity of the Aga Khan. The address welcomed as a matter of duty His Highness not only as "the most respected, the most accomplished and the most trusted leader of the Muslim community but also as a great statesman and educationist owing to whose patriotic efforts our *alma mater* has established a position among the universities of the world." Continuing it ran :—

"So long as this University continues to function, Your Highness' name will be remembered with reverence and affection by the Mussalmans of India. We earnestly hope that under the fostering care and guidance of Your Highness this institution will soon develop into a Cordova of the East.

"The ideals of this institution were defined in the address presented to Lord Lytton at the time he laid the foundation stone in the following words :—

> "To educate our countrymen to appreciate the blessings of British rule; to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress; to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on our race; to reconcile oriental learning with Western literature and science; to inspire in the dreamy minds of the people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West; to make the Muslims of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown; to inspire in them that loyalty which springs not from servile submission to a foreign rule but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government,"

and these are the ideals to which we have always adhered.

"We have, from the very beginning, made residential life a primary feature of our institution, and developed it so far as circumstances have permitted on lines similar to Cambridge and Oxford; we have always insisted on the development of sound judgment, good manners, common sense and self-sacrifice as essential elements of a well-balanced education. The students are taught under the supervision of their teachers, to look after their own affairs and to develop the *espirit de corps* for which Aligarh has been noted. While making religious instruction an essential part in the training of our Muslim students, we have never been inspired by any narrow communalism. We have always received ample help and assistance from our non-Muslim friends and our doors have always been open to persons of all religions, classes and creeds.

"The University, which we owe very much to Your Highness' efforts, has been functioning now for over sixteen years and it would be in the fitness of things if we submit for Your Highness' consideration some of the problems which confront us to-day. The financial position of the University has been a matter of anxiety to us all these years. Our institution, like many others, has gone through a period of acute financial stringency. In spite of economies effected by the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee of 1933 including cut in salaries and in spite of keeping the appointment of professors in abeyance in several departments, the budget of 1935-36 left us with a deficit of Rs.32,381. This we have for the present met by a drastic reduction of overhead expenditure; the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and the Treasurer are all honorary officers, without any honorarium, and the Registrar is only getting an officiating allowance. The graded cut in the salary of the staff effecting a saving of about Rs.40,000 per annum was imposed for a fixed period, which comes to an end on March 31, 1936, and, in accordance with the resolutions of the Court and the Executive Council, accepting the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee,

the cut will be restored in the next budget. We hope that the Government of India will come to our rescue by restoring the cut of 10 per cent. amounting to Rs.30,000 in their grant.

"During the last twenty years, the social and economic condition of the country has greatly changed; unemployment has grown owing to the increase in the number of graduates, and it is desired, on all hands, that our University should do its duty to the community, by giving to its students that training in technical subjects which may enable them to contribute their share to the industrial renaissance of the country. We urgently need a fully equipped Polytechnic providing instruction in various branches of engineering and industrial chemistry up to the degree stage. Next comes the necessity of providing proper training in Agriculture and Commerce. According to the estimates we have prepared, a sum of twenty-two lakhs of rupees will be required for the Colleges of Technology, Commerce and Agriculture. Besides this we require about ten lakhs of rupees for the construction of the Senate Hall, Library, University Offices, and a recurring expenditure of Rs.75,000 per annum for the consolidation and improvement of the present Departments.

"The Prince of Wales College of Science, the foundation stone of which was laid by our late lamented King-Emperor, has grown into a first rate and well-equipped institution. Its natural development points to the establishment of an equally well-equipped College of Technology and Applied Sciences, and it is our fervent hope and ambition that under Your Highness' guidance our community shall have the privilege of petitioning to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor that he may be pleased to lay the foundation of our proposed new Polytechnic when His Imperial Majesty visits this country.

"The self-sacrific and enthusiasm with which the community responded to Your Highness' appeal for converting the M. A. O. College into a Muslim University will be always remembered by those who had the privilege of working under Your Highness' command. And it is the duty of all of us to see that the hopes held out to our community are fulfilled and that Aligarh by developing Departments of Islamic Studies, side by side with technical, professional and cultural departments, justifies its existence by becoming a centre of Muslim philosophy, culture and religion. In addressing the Pro-Chancellor of our own University, it is not necessary to be formal. Your Highness led the movement for the Muslim University, and you alone can complete the task you have begun."

His Highness after expressing his thanks for the address and the honour as well as the reception that had been accorded him, said in reply :—

"It is not without emotion that I came here to-day after so many years. It is now thirty-three years ago that the idea of a University was definitely placed at Delhi before the Muslim public of India in 1903. I experience, for the first time to-day, the honour of coming here, not as a visitor or as one of the honorary associates, but as the Pro-Chancellor of this University. It had not been my wish to occupy this office, however, not because I was in anyway lukewarm or desirous of resting after labours of the past, but simply because I believe that these honours should go to some young ruling Princes who will take greater interest and feel more responsibilities in our central institution. No one would have welcomed it more if His Highness of Rampur, Janjira, Jaora, Junagadh, Bahawalpur, etc., had held this office and I earnestly hope that it will be soon that one of these young princes will take it up.

"Since we were in the midst of very trying times, it was perhaps felt that those who had already experience of the past must be called upon to share further responsibilities for the time being. It was in this spirit that I accepted the office for a short time.

"The troubles of the University are entirely due to our failure in our original schemes with which we started. It has been said and rightly said that the failure of Germany in the Great War was due to the refusal of the German Government to the demand of the Chairman. When the German Chairman asked for three more Army Corps and when they were refused by the German Government, the fate of Germany was sealed. I myself as an amateur student of history have put down the whole failure of Germany to this act of parsimony on the part of a nation faced with war. Our troubles here can similarly be put down to our failure to collect one crore. Had we started with one crore instead of thirty lakhs you would have shared an old man like myself and we should have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing young men taking work with higher motive. But unfortunately we have not been able to make up the original handicap ever since the inception of this University. We started under the fallacy that let us start with what we have, and we will get the rest later on. To make matters worse we lost that early enthusiasm. But in this matter I must be taken to task more than any one in the world for accepting and going forward with the idea of a University with the small amount of thirty lakhs, but no one could foresee such a calamity as the Great War. The financial misery that was brought about by the results of the war fell not only on the Muslims but

on the whole world. Indirectly we are paying for that by the failure of the business of the merchant princes. Towns like Bombay, Karachi, etc., were very much touched by the financial crisis. These difficulties could not have been foreseen in 1910 and 1911.

"But to-day the problem before us is that either we must get this additional thirty or forty lakhs to make the crore complete or we must reduce our ambition that the University should be a centre of light and leading in India. But I am certain that no Muslim will accept the latter alternative. This latter alternative is one that we have not even right to consider. Under the high patronage of His Exalted Highness, our Chancellor, and with the guidance of our late Chancellor, His Highness of Bhopal, and with the help and assistance of ruling Princes, nobles, gentry, merchant, princes and other classes of India, we should complete the work we began with the visit of His late Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor George V in 1911, with the coming visit of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor Edward VIII, his son and successor. There are immense possibilities before us. There is the work of Technology, and improvement in special branches. There must also come in existence the Department of Agriculture, as many of our boys come from the land owning classes. In this agricultural country, the future welfare of the people is necessarily bound up with the land. For these reasons these branches must be strengthened and brought up to full strength, just as it is necessary in the outside world to work up the full resources in the field of economic regeneration. There the study of these resources must become an integral part of the education in future, but here in this country agricultural study must become a necessary part of education. I will not lay much stress on Islamic studies and culture, because I feel that they must be the very air we breathe from the atmosphere of the University, and it will influence alike those who come in for arts as well as those who come for technology, the study of which must in future be the main object of our education.

"It was interesting to hear our Vice-Chancellor referring to the memorable words in which the objects and ideals of this University were put forward some sixty years ago. The net result of the seeds which were sown at that time is to be seen in the full tree that now stands out in this world for future generations. These are the problems that can best be thought of in one great centre where the seeds of the future grow, and where people co-operate and understand each other.

"One of the difficulties with which you will be faced will be the growing idea that Islam in India will need provincial

organisation rather than centralisation. With the development of education, the idea centered at one place fifty years ago is now spread to the Punjab, Bombay, Madras and Bengal. But, gentlemen, the two ideas are complementary and not contradictory. This University must be cherished by the whole of India as their common trust, their jewel and their child. From Madras to Peshawar we must remember that this University occupies the same position in matters of culture and educational ideals as Delhi does in matters of politics. We have in our University at Aligarh the centre from which radiate throughout India Islamic ideals and principles which had been dormant for long in the middle ages of India. It is now a period of renaissance and awakening. What the thirteenth century of the Christian era was to Europe the thirteenth century of Higra has been for Islam. Gentlemen, we are now backward by five hundred years, and with one giant stride we should come forward to overcome this deficiency. It is this giant stride that this University needs. Let us now all rise to the occasion and make up the deficiency of five hundred years. This is not an impossible task; Japan and Russia have already done it. As to the methods, let us fully realise that it is never haste, never waste. Hurried movements which lead to immediate failure must at all events, be avoided. We must not take one step further till we have fully realised that we are in a position to achieve success within a short time. We should start the work with thoroughness and with the ideals of 1910 and 1911. I hope and believe that within the next few hours we shall be able to find ways and means by which great efforts may be made for the collection of necessary funds."

The Aga Khan on whom the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred by the University of Cambridge at the commencement of the century, retains his ardour and enthusiasm for Muslim renaissance through Aligarh, and it is a happy augury for the future that His Exalted Highness the Nizam, the rulers of Bhopal, Rampur, Bhawalpur, and other Muslim states are taking deep interest in the Aligarh University.

Chapter Fifteen

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

The Aga Khan's Plans

THE Aga Khan's activities in the sphere of education in India have embraced not only the Muslims but all classes and communities. As an Indian, he naturally desires the growth of a healthy and enlightened nation in India and to that end he realises to the full the necessity for uplifting by every possible means and in all possible directions the Indians masses. In his surveys of educational problems made in the press and on the platform from time to time, he has never ceased to deplore the failure of the Indian educational system as a means of developing character and has made various suggestions for the reorganisation and improvement of education, with particular reference to the masses and their needs. In his book "India in Transition" the Aga Khan unfolded his plans for the education of India in some detail. Emphasising that moral and intellectual growth had fallen far behind the material gifts brought to India by British rule, he pointed out that no social duty is more urgent than that of effective educational diffusion. This is a theme that he has often stressed. In the Imperial Legislature for 1903, for example, he enlarged upon the need for primary education in particular. The familiar charge that the English-educated classes in India have been slow to recognise the educational needs of the masses cannot be brought against him. He returned to the charge in his book published in 1918, with a clear conscience, and elaborated with able advocacy the case for kindergarten and primary instruction, compulsory for both sexes. He wrote :—

"There is no running away from this need for educational diffusion, since it is a question of life and death for India. No

compromise as to providing this essential groundwork of national development can be tolerated. I am well aware that the problem is largely of finance ; but care must be taken not to allow an undue proportion of the funds made available to be swallowed up in bricks and mortar. Indian opinion is strong in the view that, having regard to the urgency of the need for educational diffusion, we must not, in these early stages, allow the construction of school houses to delay the more vital work of teaching."

"It may be argued," said the Aga Khan, "that with all this the problem of commercial and industrial expansion will remain not only unsolved, but almost untouched. My reply is that if, by the diffusion of elementary education, the standard of ideas of the average ryot is raised, and he is brought to understand the rudiments of business, he will be placed on a higher platform than he has ever before occupied. The truism that the luxuries of one generation are the necessities of the next simply means that the standard of life and its requirements are continually rising. The rise is most rapid where education is good and thorough. We may expect, therefore, that there will flow from the education of the Indian the same class of benefits as flow from that of the European. There may be considerable difference in the intensity of the two streams ; but the main result of educating the Indian will be the increasing demand he will make upon Indian commerce, and the stimulation of industry such an increased demand will bring."

He went on to discuss secondary and higher education and, in view of the part he played in bringing the Aligarh University into being, it is of particular interest to note his views on the old system of affiliating universities, to which reference has been made in the last chapter. He wrote :—

"In the realm of higher education, the system initiated sixty years ago and only now being modified by new foundations, of setting up a very few central examining universities, affiliating colleges over immense areas, has proved unwieldy and mechanical. It is unknown in other parts of the world, and is too soulless to be a living, energising method of building up the intellectual and moral life of the nation. Since these great universities have grown with the modern history of India, I do not favour their abolition. They should remain and be given a reasonable extent of federal jurisdiction and power. But, side by side with them, we need not one or two merely but thirty or forty residential teaching universities, as well as the Continental type of lecturing and free universities. We must have no rigid, iron system of universal application."

Equally important in the history of educational controversy in India was the Aga Khan's pronouncement about what is generally called the battle of the vernaculars. Few academic controversies have been more dreary and more unprofitable, but few have been waged with greater acrimony and persistence. The Aga Khan thought that the dispute had passed to India from what Mr. Lloyd George called the ramshackle empires of Europe and he brought to play on it a welcome blast of commonsense. Let all the main Indian languages, he argued, and their literary potentialities receive the fullest encouragement, with universities devoted to them when possible. But he recognised that, except in the case of the Osmania University in Hyderabad, founded by His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government, it was not practicable to set up universities with any other language than English as the medium of instruction.

The Aga Khan relates how he and Mr. Gokhale once " spent an afternoon in calling up from the depths of Valhalla great men of every mind, distinguished for the beneficence of their individual contribution to human amelioration and progress, and tried to imagine how and to what extent they could have served India in our generation."

When the long review was over, Gokhale said "Well it's Ling that India wants most," and the Aga Khan goes on to appraise the improvements in health brought about by Ling in Scandinavia :

" Had India been granted a national Ling," wrote the Aga Khan, " the immense importance of physical activity in fresh air would have been known to all classes. This has still to be understood and appreciated. It is no exaggeration to say that, except for a few of our younger princes who derive full benefit from riding and polo, the school-going upper and middle class population is much underworked physically. One of the greatest regrets of my life is that during those all-important years, fourteen to twenty-one, there was no Swedish teacher in Bombay to make me go through half an hour of scientific gymnastics each day. Had

such a facility been within my reach, how indefinitely greater would have been my capacity for public service ! The occasional cricket, football or hockey played by a small minority of students can never replace as a national means of physical welfare the daily and regular practice of a system such as Ling's, designed to make every muscle and nerve of the human body fit for its proper function.

" Every great national advance, however beneficial brings with it some drawback or disadvantage. Thus the promotion of education on Western standards imposes a school life which is not natural and native to the soil. One disadvantageous result is that such excellent national pastimes as wrestling and the use of clubs (to which India has given her name) have tended to die out, or become a mere means of livelihood or of prize exhibitions on the part of a few professional strong men. But such drawbacks can be provided against. Educational diffusion in India should be accompanied by general physical drill, under the instruction of teachers trained on scientific principles derived from the original discoveries of Ling. Girls as well as boys must be subjected to suitable drill, for otherwise we shall be building on foundations of sand. With the love of free air instilled in school girls as well as boys, a life of seclusion behind the purdah, that potent cause of the scourge of tuberculosis amongst our women, will cease to be widespread in the classes by whom it is now followed. A girl brought up in a healthy school, with fresh air and full exercises and instruction in the use of a sensible toilet, will no more accept the life of immurement in the dark, musty rooms of the zenana than she will go to suttee of her own will.

" By an irony of social conditions, while the upper, middle and urban classes generally suffer from inadequate physical activity, fully comparable havoc has been wrought among the rural masses by the excessive physical toil and under-nourishment. The Indian peasant, whether man or woman, is little more than a skeleton. The body has a framework of small bones covered by skin burned in early childhood by undue exposure to heat and cold in laborious field work. At forty, if the woman lives so long, she is old and broken; and before reaching that age the men, though they go on working in the fields till death, are worn and shrivelled. Physical exertion which would be excellent if not begun prematurely and if sustained by sufficient nourishment, has robbed them of their vitality as the most bitter misanthrope could desire."

Since those words were written there have been widespread efforts to improve the physical conditions

of young Indians, but there is as yet nothing like the united and strenuous effort which the Aga Khan declared to be necessary. Nor have any of the so-called leaders in India cared to devote much attention to this subject. The diffusion of physical education has largely been left to such organisations as the Y.M.C.A. which, despite its limited resources, has done wonders. In Bombay City, for instance, the Y. M. C. A. is the only organisation which looks after such social welfare work—the organisation and management of playgrounds form one example. The Aga Khan has set an example by recently introducing a compulsory course of physical training in his schools, and it is gratifying to note that the Ministers of the recently formed autonomous Indian Provinces are alive to its necessity. H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda has already made it compulsory in all schools in his State.

The passage of time may have changed some of the Aga Khan's ideals; it has not dimmed his enthusiasm for education or his intense belief in the power of education to bring East and West more closely together. There is proof of this in a brief address, under the heading of "If I were Dictator," which he broadcast from London in November 1931. It was an address characterised by marked originality of thought, and in it he disclosed ideals which some may call Utopian, but which none can criticise as anything but the product of a mind that had long and anxiously considered these matters.

"Today," said the Aga Khan in his broadcast address, "the two main streams of civilisation are fed from two widely divided cultures—the Asiatic and the European. Every Asian of education is brought face to face with European culture in a variety of ways but, broadly speaking, the European who has not lived in the East (as also 999 out of 1,000 of his fellow countrymen who have sojourned in Asia) does not know Eastern culture in any real sense. I would, therefore, make

bi-culturalism an essential feature of education. I should aim at the ideal of every European child being taught an Eastern language, and every Asiatic child a European language. It is scarcely necessary to say that under my Dictatorship compulsory education would be world-wide and be kept up till, say, 18 or 20 years of age.

"I should certainly give to education a wider meaning than that which it now has in the public mind. The system would include teaching on health, on the laws of sex and parenthood, and on art and the life of the soul in the widest sense. The broad aim would be to give the workers a recognition of the value of their leisure in providing opportunities for spritual, æsthetic and intellectual pursuits, for delight in nature and art in their manifold forms and, above all, for direct communion with the Unseen. The effort would be to enrich life through many channels. Travel, like staff rides in the Army, would be regarded as a normal part of education. Spiritual values would be given the pre-eminence which is their inherent right. By spiritual experience I must make it clear that nothing in the nature of asceticism, or monkery, or renunciation of the responsibilities, as well as the enjoyment, of life is meant. Good and beautiful thoughts, kindness and gentleness towards others, as well as a constant feeling of communion with the obvious soul in the universe around us—these, rather than absurd inhibitions and taboos, would be the meaning of religious education. The value and importance of happiness and contentment, or reflection over the fruits of knowledge, and the direct reactions to outer nature would be taught to the young. The habit of contemplation would be as general during moments of leisure as is today the wastage of precious time. There would be full freedom and equality of religious opinion, and also of practice, so long as it did not encroach upon the rights of others. Poetry and imaginative literature of all countries, especially of the neglected Muslim world, would be brought within the

reach of each and all. The promotion of public health would be sought both by education thereon and by the encouragement of physical culture, hiking, sports and games. The time and money now foolishly wasted by sections of the public in over-clothing and over-feeding would be replaced by rational diet and dress, and the use of golf courses, tennis courts, cricket, football and hockey grounds and other sports for which widespread provision would be made. In these ways the people would be encouraged to divert the mind and exercise the body. There would be no regimentation in the use of amusements as each individual would be left free to choose his own form of recreation."

Let it not be thought that all this is merely the ambition of a dreamer granted a few minutes in which to tell the world the nature of his dreams. Those who would scoff, and who might view the ideals of the Aga Khan as impractical, should pause and consider that the annual gifts of this Prince for educational purposes have for many years past exceeded the educational budget of some of the foremost States in India. Whether he is right or wrong, it is certain that he has shown, in this field as in every other into which he has ventured, the courage of his convictions, and has not hesitated to spend money liberally in the pursuit of his ideals.

The Aga Khan is particularly in favour of education of girls and he thinks that the time has come when it should be made compulsory.

Chapter Sixteen

CHAMPION OF INDIANS' RIGHTS

THE Aga Khan has always insisted on the fulfilment of Queen Victoria's pledge to Indians. It was exactly a hundred and six years ago that the Statute of 1833 established the eligibility of Indians for higher offices under the Crown. Queen Victoria's historic Proclamation of 1858 carried the solemn pledge to Indians that as far as may be Her Majesty's subjects, of whatever race or creed, would be freely and impartially admitted to all offices in Her Majesty's service that lay within their capacity. Indians, however, for long years afterwards had frequent cause for complaint that the rights expressly conveyed in the Statute and the Proclamation could not be enjoyed by them since the authorities did not give effect to them. In the discussions preliminary to the framing of the Act of 1858 enjoining recruitment to the Indian Civil Service by competitive examination, it was pointed out by Lord Stanley and several other members of both the two great Parties of England that the holding of the examination in England would necessarily tend to restrict the privilege of the people of India to enter that service. In 1859 a Committee of the India Office was appointed to go more fully into the question. The members of the Committee were all retired Anglo-Indian officers with considerable experience of India, and they recommended that if justice was to be done to the rights of Indians the competitive examination for entrance to the Indian Civil Service should be held in England as well as in India, that all the candidates should be classified in one list, and that ultimate selection should be made strictly in order of rank. This eminently fair and reasonable suggestion, however, was ignored. Following upon considerable agitation in India in

regard to this matter, the Duke of Argyll adopted a suggestion made by Stafford-Northcote for amendment of the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 to enable the authorities in India to appoint, under specified conditions, Indians to certain scheduled appointments without having to undergo the Civil Service examination. The subsequent selections caused considerable heart-burning in India. A Public Services Commission was appointed in 1886 to draw up a scheme whereby Indians could be appointed in large numbers to the higher branches of the administration. But it did not recommend the simultaneous holding of examinations in England and India demanded by educated Indians, and even did away with the statutory Civil Service posts, substituting an inferior service and giving the Indians sixty fewer appointments than what they would have got under the rules of 1879. The agitation in India grew and Indians demanded equal opportunities for admission into the Services in fulfilment in the letter and the spirit of the Proclamation of Queen Victoria. The late Lord Curzon, however, retorted that fulfilment of the pledge and statute depended upon the degree to which Indians could prove their fitness for such responsibilities. The answer added fuel to the fire already smouldering and Indians demanded that simultaneous examinations be held in England as well as India.

In 1913 another Royal Commission was appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Ronaldshay to examine and report upon certain matters in connection with the Indian Civil Service, and other Civil Services, Imperial and Provincial. Among other members of the Commission were the late Prime Minister of England, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the late Sir Theodore Morrison, the late Sir Valentine Chirol, Mr. Justice (now Sir) Abdur Rahim, the late Mr. Gokhale and others.

Before that Commission the Aga Khan gave evidence strongly advocating the rights of Indians to equal opportunities in recruitment to the services in India,

and asking that effect should be given without any further delay to a resolution of the House of Commons dated June 1895. That resolution ran: "That all competitive examinations heretofore held in England alone for the appointments of the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously in India and England, such examination in both countries being identical in nature, all who compete being finally classfied in one list according to merit."

The Aga Khan strongly advocated the holding of examinations in India not only for the Indian Civil Service but for the other all India services as well, such as, the Medical, the Forest and the Police, and characterised as unfair that the examinations for the Indian Civil Service should be held only in England. When the principle of competitive examination for civil appointments in India was introduced sixty years ago, he pointed out, there were no educational institutions in India, and therefore it was but natural to make no provision for holding the examination simultaneously in India. But increasing communion between the East and the West had profoundly altered the aspect of Indian education and in half a century there had been achieved a remarkable development education in India. By creating a special department of education, the Government of India, he declared, had shown their earnest desire to give a vigorous and systematic impetus to education, and the establishment of various useful faculties would open up careers to Indian students outside the Government service and the legal profession, and he, for one, had no hesitation in saying that the Indian Civil Service stood in no danger of being swamped by Indians, nor was it likely to suffer deterioration in any way by the influx of Indians considering that some of the brightest Indians of the time, Telang, Ranade, Gokhale and others, whose intellectual powers were comparable with the best of any other race, were all products of Indian education.

The Aga Khan also urged that study of Persian literature should be encouraged and to that end suggested that Persian should be ranked equal in marks with French and German and added that Sanskrit and Arabic should be placed on the same level in respect of marks as Greek and Latin. He frankly admitted that he would be sorry to see the British character of the administration of India disappear entirely, but to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Indians for a larger share in the administration, he strongly urged that wherever and whenever they were found fit and eligible more and more appointments formerly reserved to Englishmen should be thrown open to Indians. He suggested that Indians should be promoted to Commissionerships, to responsible posts in Secretariats or even to the high position of Lieutenant-Governor if they showed fitness capacity and the requisite qualities for shouldering such responsibilities. He considered it desirable that all classes and communities of India should be duly represented in the Provincial Services and where minorities were found inadequately represented, the defect should be remedied, especially in Provinces like Bengal and Sind where the Muslim population was in the majority. The Muslims wanted an open door and no favour, and so far as the Indian Civil Service was concerned, he said they did not want any reservations. He urged the strongest action against handicapping of Indians in regard to competitive examination for admission to the Services and opposed the establishment of scholarships on principle. He also expressed bitter resentment that peasants and ryots should be taxed for the benefit of townsfolk and their children and condemned the prevalence of conditions in which those who had influence with officials secured all the advantages.

The Aga Khan's outspoken evidence, asking no favours for Muslims at the sacrifice of other communities, and openly and vigorously supporting fulfilment of the

pledges contained in Queen Victoria's Proclamation and urging that Indian aspirations for admission to the higher services were legitimate, created a most favourable impression and when his evidence had concluded and he was leaving the Bombay Secretariat in which the examination was held, Mr. Gokhale walked up to the Aga Khan and heartily congratulated him declaring emphatically that his evidence was fully worthy of an Indian nationalist. Mr. Gokhale was never tired of reiterating afterwards the high opinion which he formed on this occasion of the Aga Khan's sense of justice and fairplay when his countrymen's interests were pitted against those of Englishmen.

In all such issues, indeed, His Highness the Aga Khan has never failed or hesitated to espouse and support with stout and doughty championship the cause of his countrymen. Among other matters which the Aga Khan has studied with the zeal and earnestness that characterise him in whatever he takes up are the economic condition and prospects of India. He is a recognised authority on the country's trade, commerce, industry and resources and one of his pet ideals has always been to find means of raising the prosperity of the people of India and their standards of living and comfort by the development of the country's internal resources, its commerce and its industry. In particular he is an ardent champion of the Indian cotton and shipping industries and a stout advocate of protection generally as a means of fostering and building up national progress and prosperity by affording direct encouragement to indigenous activity and enterprise. He was among the most trenchant critics of the notorious cotton excise duty, which he held to be a flagrant example of the manner in which British policy had been misdirected to the detriment of important Indian interests, and in this instance, with the effect of cramping a staple industry by obviously unfair discrimination. The duty, in the fight for the abolition of

which the writer took an active part as one of the representatives of Bombay, the home of India's cotton trade and industry, in the Indian Legislative Assembly, was eventually repealed during Lord Reading's term as Viceroy. The Aga Khan has consistently urged the grant of state aid to Indian industries and the building up of a national fleet of mercantile shipping, which he rightly holds to be absolutely essential for the proper development of the vast possibilities that are held out in the way of coastal and foreign trade.

In all these matters it must be understood that the Aga Khan is no rabid partisan or insolationist. Not only does he welcome the fullest co-operation between India and Great Britain in every possible field but he believes that without such co-operation inspired and maintained in an atmosphere of mutual trust, good will and respect, India will find it difficult, if not impossible to achieve even a fraction of her ambitions, economic or political. He also believes with equal firmness, however, that the time has come when every Indian must safeguard Indian national interests by every means in his power.

No nation, he holds, can be politically independent unless the country's industries are independent and its commerce free of external interference in matters of tariff and exchange. While every country in Europe is depreciating its currency, the Aga Khan feels that the rupee exchange is being maintained at an artificial ratio of 1*s*. 6*d*. which he considers ruinous to the country. He holds that the pound sterling should be worth twenty rupees. At the present ratio, he declares, the Indian agriculturist loses twelve and a half per cent. which means a loss every year of several crores of rupees to India. To such a poverty-stricken country that is a terrific drain. The question has been raised in the Indian Legislature time after time, but although a majority of the elected members have always demanded the fixing of the ratio at 1*s*. 4*d*. the Government of

India and the British Government have remained adamant. The leaders of Indian opinion have now decided to launch again a countrywide agitation to compel the Government to change the ratio, believing as they do that the higher exchange is ruinous to the interests of the country, which, to quote one oft-repeated assertion, is being "bled white."

As already stated, the Aga Khan is most earnestly interested in the development of India's natural resources and to that end he has suggested various means. He points out in the most earnest manner possible that India has all the means for almost unprecedented economic growth in the extraordinary profusion and bewildering variety of her natural resources, and probably the largest, cheapest, most industrious and intelligent supply of labour in the world in her enormous population. In the broadest sense of the term India is still economically a plantation. Her fields, her jungles, her forests, and her mines yield materials of many kinds and qualities both in the crude and the developed forms, amply sufficient for domestic as well as for outside markets; but hitherto the tendency has been to exploit almost exclusively her raw and unfinished products. The Great War gave a notable impulse to Indian industry. The Government and the people of India were powerfully stimulated by the needs of that calamitous struggle to develop and to make use of their resources. India is still in the early stages of industrial expansion. A feather, it is said, shows the way the wind blows, and the trend to-day may be indicated by a small but extremely significant example. India is a great wheat-exporting country. But the biscuits most commonly sold in India are invariably of foreign manufacture. Such anomalies, says the Aga Khan, confront one at every turn in India and a situation already deplorable is aggravated by the fact that a large proportion of "European goods" to be found in shops in Indian bazaars are manufactured from Indian

raw materials, or else that most of these articles are well within the range of Indian enterprise.

The Aga Khan has the highest admiration and respect for the late Jamshedjee Tata and the patriotic enterprise of his sons, the late Sir Dorab and Sir Ratan Tata, who established the great steel industry in Bengal. Even with that vast enterprise, which owed its inception to the genius and foresight of a veteran industrial magnate, of whom India may well be proud, the full development of this essential industry in Southern Asia is far from accomplishment. The Aga Khan has not been slow to point out that no country, however, great or favourably situated, can be completely self-supporting in its industries, and the ideal in a real League of Nations would be for each State to concentrate on what is most congenial to its climate and soil and then to exchange the surplus for what else it needs but cannot itself produce. By such sensible and intelligent co-operation will mankind inherit, in the most liberal and literal manner, " the fruits of the earth."

The Aga Khan holds that the people of India should have the power to develop with the same freedom from restriction as those of Canada and Australia such industries as need to be encouraged more than others because of their greater bearing on national life and prosperity. He is convinced that no amount of political evolution can meet the necessities of the country in this important and even vital matter unless it includes fiscal independence. The Aga Khan emphasises the necessity for India to adapt her tariff system to her own interests without prejudicing the interests of the Empire as a whole, and he points out that modern history furnishes ample evidence as to how vital to material progress is the power to effect such adjustment.

The Aga Khan has reiterated on innumerable occasions that there is practically no limit to the development of Indian industrial progress under conditions that will guarantee an appropriate tariff, steady and earnest

encouragement from the State and complete abandonment of the old policy of *laissez faire, laissez aller.*

He foresees great possibilities for the development of industries in India when all the waterfalls of the mountain chains of the two southern coasts and of the central plateau are brought into active use. When that development takes place the supply of electric power such as is known in the happiest districts of Switzerland will be brought within reach of the poorest peasant. He has high praise and blessing for the hydro-electric works promoted by the house of the late Mr. Jamshedjee Tata. Those works have provided for the factories of Bombay a cheap and efficient motive power, one of the major blessings of which, from the public point of view, is its absolute cleanliness as compared with steam which had to be maintained with huge furnaces that polluted the air with smoke and soot and spread foulness throughout the beautiful city of Bombay. The jute and tea industries which are mainly in British hands ought to serve, says the Aga Khan, as outstanding examples and inspiration to Indian capital and enterprise, and as he has declared, the great chain of the Himalayas with its innumerable waterfalls, offers, the most alluring possibilities of developing a long line of industrial garden-cities from Kashmir to Bhutan, while the great Peninsula provides an ideal field for the development of vast fisheries that could be commercially exploited to the immense financial profit of India and the benefit of the whole world.

One important factor that handicaps progress and initiative in these alluring fields is the lack or rather the inadequacy of banking facilities in India. Indian industrial development, the Aga Khan maintains, would receive the most powerful impetus if the State developed a proper banking and credit organisation which could assist in an atmosphere free from official influence private and public enterprise with capital and credit. The scope is literally infinite and the need almost as

great for such help. In the United States the provincial banks are the back-bone of industry and commerce, and yet they are looked upon as semi-national institutions.

The Aga Khan is always urging extension and improvements of internal communications, which he holds to be among the essential requisite of commercial progress, and therefore of economic development. Without a proper system of communications national growth, of course, must remain a dream. One of his constant regrets is that India has lost the place she once occupied as a ship-building country. The excellent example set by the famous Muslim family of which Sir Muhammad Yusuf Sondagar, who gave the munificent sum of eight lakhs of rupees to found a college in a suburb of Bombay, is the present head, should be followed, the Aga Khan urges, by Indians in right earnest. Britain for generations has excelled in this greatest of national arts, raising vast capital for the purpose and building huge navies that sweep the seven seas and comb the continents for her power and wealth. Her greatness is due entirely to superiority in this field and she enjoys in consequence an international prestige and experience in a degree impossible to newcomers. It is doubtful in the Aga Khan's view whether without state aid in the shape of bounties a great commercial fleet can be developed, having regard to the experience of Germany, France, Austria and Italy.

The Indian Government, the Aga Khan suggests, should take up this matter with due enthusiasm, and devise adequate measures of state aid required to give Indian commerce and industry those maritime appliances without which the trade enterprise of a peninsular nation is incomplete. In Bombay the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., was formed by the late Mr. Narotum Morarji Gokuldas about twenty years ago. It has had to contend with serious, almost cut throat rivalry from foreign companies. Yet it has attained a position in national shipping circles which holds bright promise of

progressive development and prosperity if such state aid as is urged by the Aga Khan is forthcoming in due time.

In India the main industry is agriculture, as it has been from immemorial ages. It is an axiom, of course, that the prosperity of the state depends on the welfare of the agriculturists. Nearly 75 per cent. of the population is dependent upon cultivation "I could safely challenge," exclaimed the Aga Khan, "any widely travelled and observant fellow-countryman, familiar with social economics on each of the great Continents, to deny after due reflection that the present condition of Indian agriculture and crores of human beings dependent thereon is the greatest and most depressing economic tragedy known to him."

On various occasions the Aga Khan has suggested means for amelioration of the condition of Indian agriculturists by introducing the new scientific methods of agriculture as developed in Europe and America. The hope has now arisen that under the regime of Lord Linlithgow, the "Farmer Viceroy" who presided over the Agricultural Commission in India in Lord Reading's time, and the stimulus that is being furnished by the national minded autonomous Provincial Governments, some material progress will be achieved towards improving the condition of the agricultural classes. The Aga Khan is sure that with proper concentration of national effort on agriculture and the subsidiary forms of exploitation of the earth's surface, India can double her economic wealth in the space of a few years. By the intensive pursuit of agriculture with the aid of the most modern devices the country should benefit even more richly in wealth and economic prosperity and correspondingly raise the standard of living throughout the land.

Asked as to the future of industry and commerce in India, the Aga Khan said the first essential for the growth of industrial prosperity in India was complete fiscal freedom. Given fiscal freedom India was bound to

prosper industrially. A country that had produced a Jamshedjee Tata, need not be nervous about its industrial future.

Speaking about the Institute of Science established by Jamshedjee Tata at Bangalore, the Aga Khan said that it was Jamshedjee Tata's long vision that had been responsible for the creation of this excellent institution. It was not with a view that it should only turn out technicians to run factories that it had been established, however. The main idea that inspired Tata to found it, said the Aga Khan, must undoubtedly have been the encouragement of scientific inquiry, the provision of an atmosphere in which the thirst for knowledge of Nature's hidden secrets might be stimulated and pursued. Ultimately the objective must be that the Institute should turn out men who can ease the business of living for their fellows as scientists have done from the beginning of the world. Some day perhaps a man will come forth from that institute with a discovery that may revolutionise the country's destiny and change the face of the earth. That was Jamshedjee Tata's dream in founding the institution. India still awaits the happy realisation of his dream.

Chapter Seventeen

INDIANS OVERSEAS

BY no means the least of the services which the Aga Khan has rendered to India has been his championship, over a long series of years, of the rights of Indians overseas. The subject is an intricate one, for many Dominions and Colonies are concerned in it, and the conditions under which Indians may live in those several countries vary considerably. There is an enormous mass of official publications on different aspects of the whole trouble, and it is not easy to keep track of the many committees that have been appointed to inquire into it. But the fundamental problem arising from Indian emigration within the Empire has never ceased to be a very serious matter in the eyes of India, a matter upon which Indian opinion of every shade has been concentrated in unexampled agreement, and one in which every Indian leader of eminence has been personally concerned at some time or other. It is not to be wondered at therefore that the Aga Khan has repeatedly had to take part in the guidance and expression of Indian opinion on this important subject. His position in India has demanded that of him; and the fact that many of his followers have been subject to oppressive legislation in one form or another in East or South Africa has very naturally claimed his attention and enforced the authority of his pronouncements.

It is not proposed here to trace in detail the course of the seemingly endless disputes about the position of Indians overseas, but some of the interventions of the Aga Khan in them are recalled as examples of the way in which he has ever been ready to share in the fights of his countrymen.

In South Africa before the Boer War the treatment

of Indians had for long given rise to complaint, and it was there that Mr. Gandhi first came into prominence when he helped his fellow-countrymen in resisting oppressive measures. After the war, which had partly been caused by the unjust treatment of Indians, nothing was at first done under Crown Colony administration to remove the disabilities under which the Indians suffered: they were in fact increased. Nor were matters much improved when South Africa obtained self-government by the Union Act of 1909. It was not until 1911 that the passive resistance movement organised by Mr. Gandhi ceased and two years later the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, spoke of Indian grievances in South Africa in a way which was strongly, though unjustifiably, resented in the Union. Throughout all that period the agitation carried on by Indians in South Africa was loudly echoed in India.

It is nearly thirty-five years since the Aga Khan first appeared on a public platform in support of the claims of Indians overseas. Since then he has taken part in many public meetings in India and England, and in many private conferences, held with the object of upholding the rights of Indians as citizens of the Empire. The ebb and flow of the long-drawn fight may for the moment be disregarded: it is the fundamental issue that is of importance. One brief quotation from a speech by the Aga Khan defines that issue:—

"Everybody has heard about the plundering by a Greek mob of the house of a Jew, Don Pacifico, who was a British subject and a native of the Ionian Islands, and how a controversy about the amount and payment of a doubtful claim resulted in the despatch of British vessels to the Piræus and the seizure of some Greek vessels which nearly brought on a European War. The controversy over the rights of the Jew formed the subject of a memorable debate in the House of Commons, when Lord Palmerston contended that even the poorest man who bore the name of a British subject should be protected by the whole strength of England against the oppression of a Foreign Government. Lord Palmerston asked for the verdict of the House to decide whether, as the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when

he could say, 'Civis Romanus Sum', so also a British subject in whatever land he might be, should feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England would protect him against injustice and wrong. The single plea of 'Civis Romanus' was sufficient to obtain protection from Caesar's Government. As in the case of the Roman citizen, the British subject of whatever creed or colour must be protected by the British Government from violence to his person and property wherever he went. The loyal, patient and silently toiling Indians expect that the fact of their being the subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor should be a sufficient protection of their rights of citizenship in any British colony. The Indian leaders in South Africa are willing to recognise the delicacy of the relations between the Imperial and the South African Government, but no question of difficulty should be allowed to stand in the way of elementary justice being done."

The moral drawn by the Aga Khan was that Indians must be united. The Arab dominions had fallen to pieces because they had taken the family feud of the desert beyond the Pyrenees and up to the great wall of China: Indians must set their faces against communal, caste and sectarian squabbles, for only by that means could they find the goal of swaraj. For Britain, too, he drew the moral that the recognition of the rights of millions of Asiatic subjects of His Majesty in the Empire would avert the struggle between East and West foreshadowed by many politicians, and that India as a contented and dominant partner in the Empire would be a real shield against the enemies of Great Britain and a great implement of peace in the world.

After the Great War there seemed to be a good reason for hoping that India, which had given lavishly of her men and her resources in support of the Allies, would obtain that recognition of the rights of citizenship for which she has striven. The policy of the Empire was recorded in a resolution of the Imperial Conference in 1921:—

"This Conference reaffirms that each Community of the British Commonwealth should enjoy complete control over the composition of its own population by restricting immigration from any of the other communities, but recognises that there is

incongruity between the position of India, as an equal member of the Empire, and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some parts of the Empire, and this Conference, therefore, is of opinion that in the interests of the solidarity of the Commonwealth it is desirable that the rights of such Indians to citizenship should be recognised."

"The representatives of the South Africa regret their inability to accept this resolution in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union. The representatives of India while appreciating the acceptance of the resolution, nevertheless feel bound to record their profound concern at the position of Indians in South Africa and hope that by negotiations between India and South Africa a way can be found as soon as may be to reach a more satisfactory position."

The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri visited the Dominions of Australia, Canada, and New Zealand in the course of 1922 as the emissary of the Government of India to assist them in giving effect to this resolution. The main object of his mission was to appeal to the Governments and public of Canada and Australia fully to enfranchise qualified domiciled Indians; but, while he was successful in securing a more sympathetic attitude towards Indians, he failed to secure any modification in the existing electoral laws.

It was during 1922 that feeling among Indians was most keenly excited by their treatment in Kenya. The crisis was aggravated by the publication of a memorandum by the late Lord Delamere calling the attention of the British public to "the menace to their national and economic existence if equal status with British-born subjects be granted to the Indian residents in the Colony." For the Indians the fight was carried on by the Aga Khan, Mr. Sastri and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru with the result that the Secretary of State for the Colonies enunciated the doctrine that "all British subjects are to be equal in His Majesty's dominions and that neither race, colour or creed shall be a bar to the attainment of the very highest position."

Lord Delamere retorted that "as an ideal to some future Utopia this may be admirable, but it has not been proved to be a practical policy today."

In the difficult days that followed, the leadership of the Aga Khan proved of the greatest service to India. In January 1923, he explained, in a letter to *The Times of India*, how grave the situation appeared to be and how necessary it was to improve the relations between the European settlers and Indians in Kenya.

"Though it is possible to exaggerate the immediate consequence of the present situation in Kenya," wrote His Highness, "I feel that unless steps are taken to put the relations of the settlers and the Indians on a sound footing, great and indeed incalculable injury may be done to the interests of the Empire as a whole. The immediate danger in East Africa is that a few hot heads may commit acts that will affect the mind and imagination of Indians, not only there and now, but here and in the future.

"Great Britain's connection with India has brought this country many benefits, but one of the greatest is undoubtedly the fact that the Indian has gradually absorbed the Anglo-Saxon sentiment of respect for law and that private vengeance and political and religious acts of violence have grown rarer than even in many western countries. Nothing shows better the civilisation of a state than the comparison between the frequency of violence from purely sordid motives or from motives that in themselves are not expression of low passion. In countries where crime is entirely due to the former, such as Great Britain, it means that the degenerates alone break the law, while in the countries where men take the law into their own hands from better motives, the people have not yet learnt the essential and elementary fact that such actions, even if right and legitimate, should be brought about by the general consensus of opinion rather than by individuals or parties.

"If at such a period in India's history when crimes due to political, racial and religious motives are being

more and more condemned by opinion of all schools of thoughts—if at such a period in a colony where respectable and law-abiding and some most loyal Indians have made a home for generations "lynch law" is once started, the great work for civilisation in this country will be immediately thrown back for decades.

"In the years before the Great War it was not uncommon to hear German publicists refer in private conversation to the British and French Empires as the two Piebald Empires of the west, but they learnt in Flanders and in France that great empires can appeal to men of all races when their ultimate foundation is sound. I fear that a racial outbreak between Europeans and Indians and with race as the dividing line may weaken those very roots that led to the success of the Empire in the Great War.

"The Government of India as such will no doubt do what is within its power provided the matter is brought to its notice; but there are two lines of action by the public of this country that might lead to an improvement of the situation and help the case of the Indian Government.

"The first is that my countrymen of all schools of thought should select two or three universally respected individuals, men like Mr. Sastri, who knows and understands the colonial question better than anyone I can think of, and send them as bearers of a message of expostulation and reconciliation to the settlers in East Africa from one public of British Empire to another and make a direct attempt at improvement of feeling.

"The other is to the European non-officials of this country and their organisations. If they really realize that the British Empire of the future should be an association of co-operation between men of all races and creeds and customs, then indeed in the case of East Africa above all other portions of the Empire, they should use their full influence and power to bring about a better general feeling and to convince the

colonials that, whatever the short view in the long run their own interests make it necessary to have a large and prosperous and happy Indian colony in Kenya."

The publication of that letter had the effect of directing attention to the need for preventing an outbreak of popular indignation, either in India or Kenya, and to the means by which honourable peace between the British and Indian communities in Kenya might be achieved. Later in the year a definite course of action was decided upon and at the Imperial Conference in the summer of 1923 the Indian representatives made the following proposal:—

"Let the Dominion Governments who have an Indian population, let His Majesty's Government in the areas under their direct control, such as Kenya, Uganda, Fiji and other places where there are Indians resident, appoint Committees to confer with a Committee which the Government of India will send from India and explore the avenues of how best and how soonest the principle of equality implicit in the 1921 Resolution may be implemented."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, with the support of Lord Peel who was then Secretary of State in India, made a powerful plea in support of that proposal. It was favourably received by the Dominion Premiers—with the exception of General Smuts, who could hold out no hopes of any further extension of the political rights of Indians in the Union—and by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who cordially agreed that there should be full consultation and discussions between him and a Committee appointed by the Government of India upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies and protectorates and mandated territories.

In pursuance of the proposal, the Government of India appointed a Committee in March 1924 composed of Mr. J. Hope Simpson, M.P., as Chairman, H. H. The Aga Khan, Sir B. Robertson, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, and Mr. K. C. Roy with Mr. R. B. Ewbank, I.C.S., as Secretary to make representations to the Colonial Office on certain outstanding questions affecting Indians in Kenya and Fiji. His Highness held

consultations with Sir Purshotamdas Thakordas, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and the late Mr. V. J. Patel on the subject before proceeding to East Africa and placed himself in full possession of their views.

It was particularly appropriate that the Aga Khan should be included in this important Committee, for not only had he been long associated with the Indian movement to obtain rights of citizenship in the Dominions and Colonies but he had intimate knowledge of the situation in Kenya where he has many followers in whose well-being he is vitally concerned and whose grievances he has frequently espoused. The Committee, which met in London in April and dispersed in July 1924, was fortunate in being able to achieve results of great importance.

The main result of the representations made by the Committee to the Colonial Office was announced by Mr. J. H. Thomas in the House of Commons in August. On the question of franchise and of the Highlands of Kenya, there was no change in the position; but as regards immigration, to which Indian opinion attached the highest importance, the Secretary of State for the Colonies decided that an Ordinance which had been framed on the lines of restricting immigration should not be enacted, though he reserved to himself the right to enact any measure at any time, should native interests appear to be threatened by the influx of immigrants from abroad. The menace of further restrictions upon the immigration of Indians was accordingly removed.

As regards Indian colonisation, Mr. Thomas announced that it was proposed to set apart an area in the lowlands for agricultural immigrants from India. Apart from these gains, substantial enough in themselves, the Committee succeeded, in great measure owing to the efforts of the Aga Khan, in creating a better atmosphere and a wider understanding of the Indian point of view.

There are still many questions connected with the

treatment of Indians overseas that are not settled to the satisfaction of India. The whole problem in its many ramifications is immense. That progress has been made is, however, a great and notable achievement. Had the Aga Khan been able to have his way that progress, so far as Kenya is concerned, would have been directed on other lines—and in proposing them His Highness enunciated a scheme of profound interest.

In his memorandum which accompanied "Gokhale's political testament," which he published in England after the death of that veteran politician, the Aga Khan—looking forward to the task of post-war reconstruction—put forward a strong plea for the reservation of East Africa for colonisation by Indians as a reward for the loyal services rendered by India in the War. He considered it a natural outlet across the Indian Ocean.

He submitted that, if the retrocession of German East Africa were decided upon, British East Africa, including the Island of Zanzibar, ought in all fairness to be transferred to the Government of India as recommended by himself and Gokhale. He recognised that there are some dominions, such as Canada and the temperate regions of South Africa and Australia, that have been won to civilisation by the white races, and are more congenial to their expansion, and where the view is taken that the structure of society should be predominatingly, and in some cases almost wholly, of Western type and composition.

But no such claim he urged, could be made in regard to East Africa, whether British or hitherto German: those regions had provided a field for Indian immigration and enterprise from time immemorial, and Indians had played a conspicuous part in their development before the white man came on the scene as a settler.

Regarding an effort made to lead public opinion to look upon Mesopotamia as the natural field for Indian expansion, the Aga Khan has held to the opinion that

his countrymen are not prepared to accept this change of venue. "While every Indian patriot who has given thought to the matter aspires to drawing the peoples of the trans-Gulf territories to a free will outer federation with the Indian Empire, he has no desire that India should impose herself on these already civilised and settled regions. To Muslims, from prince to peasant, there is something singularly abhorrent in the idea of an economic conquest at the expense of the Arab, and settlement in a spirit of expropriation on lands that are historically contiguous to the cradle of Islam. Nor can the Hindu desire to see some hundred thousands of his race lost in a Muslim country, far removed from the life and traditions of India, with the prospect that within two generations they would be absorbed in Islam.

"Regarding the matter from the standpoint of economics, Mesopotamia" said the Aga Khan "under the new conditions will always be open to Indian trade, friendly non-colonising immigration and financial enterprise. In East Africa, on the other hand, if the Indian loses his association with the country, the probabilities are that he will be unable to return there, and can no more look across the Indian Ocean for a field of expansion than to Canada or Australia. Again, though Mesopotamia is a rich country potentially, yet, like Egypt and Sind, it is dependent for prosperity on water supply and irrigation, and the area of civilisation cannot be indefinitely extended. Under settled rule the Arab population will grow and prosper. In my judgment, therefore, not more than a relatively small number of Indians can profitably make the land of the Tigris and Euphrates their settled home.

"Turning eastwards we find that Southern China and Siam, the Malay Archipelago and Peninsula, while providing legitimate and hopeful spheres for the development of trading relations with India, are far too overcrowded for any possibility of setting up Indian immigration other than that which exists in the case of

Malaya to help in the provision of an imported labour supply. The vast tracts of Northern Australia, though suitable for Indian industry and practically useless if manual labour there is to be confined to white races, are still too little known and too undeveloped for the purpose of Indian immigration, even if the way was not blocked by the racial policy of the Commonwealth."

The Aga Khan argued with great force that "to the Indian conversant with public affairs there is something singularly revolting in the desire of a mere handful of his white fellow-subjects to keep East Africa as a preserve for themselves. There are but some 65,000,000 whites in the British Empire, and they have for their almost exclusive enterprise not only the United Kingdom (of which Ireland certainly needs population and colonisation as much as any country, at least in the temperate zone), but the immense tracts of Canada, Australia and South Africa proper. Yet a small section desires to bar the 350,000,000 Indian subjects of the King to the lands of East Africa, to which their labour and enterprise for centuries have given them an unanswerable claim. That claim is strongly reinforced by consideration of Imperial duty to promote the interests of the country most directly concerned."

He advanced a further argument for East Africa as the most appropriate field for Indian colonisation and settlement. Nations and peoples instinctively gravitate towards certain lands, and that semi-conscious trend is found on reasons. Were East Africa to become a real Indian colony, Indian commerce and enterprise would have an outlet for a great trans-African development, with the Congo, Egypt, North and West Africa, and the South. The East Coast would be for India a shop window open to the West. It would then be for India to put all her pride and patriotism into the development of those great regions, and by the measure of her success she would be largely judged. Indian men of science would be wanted to tackle the diseases of men and cattle;

Indian geologists, foresters, and engineers to conserve or develop the country. The specialised professional schools at Pusa, Roorkee and Dehra Dun, and all the Indian universities would have to give of their best; and still the country would absorb more.

As has been said, those views were formulated at a time when post-war reconstruction had yet to be tackled. Many dreams were shattered by the way in which that task was carried out and it cannot be pretended that Indian claims to East Africa were ever seriously considered. But before the time really came for their possible consideration there was no lack of opposition to them. It was even argued, with pathetic lack of logic, that as the chief part of the work of conquering German East Africa fell to the South African forces, and not to the Indian Army, the Union had a first claim on that territory.

This contention the Aga Khan characterised as mean and un-English and, moved by moral indignation, he said, "India is without self-government; her military forces are entirely at the disposal of Whitehall; they are sent to the great and urgent danger point in the early weeks of the war, to help in saving Belgium and France and in saving England herself from the menace of German occupation of Calais; by the thousands her sons, facing the rigours of trench warfare in a northern winter, die in the fields of Flanders—and then this preoccupation and later calls to Mesopotamia, Palestine, and elsewhere are used as a ground for keeping Indians from their natural outlet across the Indian Ocean."

With the revival of Germany, prophesied by the Aga Khan with grave warnings of calamitous consequences to result from the Peace of Versailles, which he held at the time to be a document essentially unjust and therefore certain to be repudiated, that country's demands for restoration of her former colonial possessions were bound to follow. From the very beginning the Aga Khan expressed his profound disapproval

of the terms of the so-called Peace Treaties signed at Versailles and he backed up his opposition with the warning that in twenty years Germany would once more have achieved the status of a first class and most formidable European Power. The events of the past few years and more particularly those of September 1938, and the following weeks indicate how true were those prognostications. His fears have been amply realised. The crisis, the Munich Pact and subsequent developments in a Europe which is sitting on the edge of a boiling cauldron have been followed with keenest interest by His Highness. As for the Munich Pact, the Aga Khan is definitely of the opinion that in achieving it, Mr. Chamberlain performed a service to Britain, Europe, the world and humanity for which no praise or gratitude can be too much. Definitely the Premier of Britain averted a disaster which but for his personal intervention must inevitably have engulfed civilisation. While, however, the Aga Khan is convinced of the benefit of that intervention and is prepared to concede even its paramount necessity in the circumstances that obtained at the time, he is firmly opposed to any suggestion for the return of Tanganyika to German control without a guarantee for the protection and rights of Indian settlers. His Highness has good claim to be heard on the issue and his views are undoubtedly invested with the authority of an expert with large interests in the country. Besides having a large community of his followers in Tanganyika His Highness possesses an intimate knowledge of the entire Indian community in that colony and the conditions under which they have been living there before and since the War. His Highness holds firmly to the conviction that Indians must identify themselves absolutely and in the most determined manner with the interests of their fellow countrymen in Tanganyika. In his opinion it is a matter of life and death that this should be done, particularly to the Indians of Tanganyika, lest the

experiences of Indians in the neighbouring British colony of Kenya be repeated in Tanganyika. In Kenya, said His Highness, Indians had experienced all kinds of restriction, some of which were most humiliating. South Africa was closed to Indians. Other British Colonies and Crown colonies had been according unfair treatment to Indians. Tanganyika was the only territory in the world where thanks to the League of Nations, there was the mandatory system which admitted of fair chances to Indians.

Indians got fair opportunities equal at least to those available to Europeans in trade and commerce. In fact, such a position of equality had not been enjoyed by Indians in their own country. His Highness wondered whether the one territory in the whole world where Indians could maintain their honour and their self-respect should also be allowed to slip out of the present position.

The ideal solution would be the formation of the smaller territories in Africa into mandated territories and allowing Germany to have an equal share over them. That might not be possible unless the democratic people in Europe became fully democratic and not merely rendered lip service to democracy.

Meanwhile, His Highness urged the Indian National Congress and other political associations, such as the Muslim League, to see and hear carefully what the representatives of India in Tanganyika had to say. He had advised Indians in Tanganyika to send a strong delegation to India. When that delegation reached India, he accompanied the members of the delegation to Bardoli and placed the case of the Indians in East Africa before Mr. Gandhi and Sardar Valabhbhai Patel. The delegation was assured of enthusiastic support by Mr. Gandhi and Sardar Patel. After careful consideration it was decided to adopt measures for the protection of the rights and interests of Indians. The Aga Khan and Indian leaders are only anxious to make it impossible for any Government to deal with

A CHARMING PICTURE OF THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS ALY KHAN
With their two sons.

Indians as the authorities in Kenya did where the Highlands were open to any non-British foreigner, irrespective of the standard of civilisation or education, but not to an Indian.

It was not the ecnomic question so much as the racial question that mattered. Indians in Tanganyika had proved that given a fair field, they could hold their own against anybody in the world.

Chapter Eighteen

PROBLEM OF THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

APART from the keen personal interest he has always displayed in the main administrative problems arising from the evolution of India's political destiny His Highness the Aga Khan has long been noted for his particular interest in that phase of it which is immediately concerned with defence. There is no aspect of the future of India about which some Indian politicians have been more ready to talk than this; few, however, have devoted so much thought to it as the Aga Khan has done over a long period of years. His consideration of the subject goes back to the days when he was a nominated member of the Viceroy's Council in the regime of Lord Curzon. At that time there was some fear of war with Russia and the authorities found it extremely difficult to obtain information regarding certain Russian activities. On the suggestion of Lord Kitchener, the Aga Khan sent one of his most trustworthy confidential agents to get the required information and succeeded in filling a most serious blank in the knowledge of the Government of India and the British authorities. The record of these secret diplomatic services is contained in the archives of the Intelligence Department in confidential reports from General Mullaley and General Malleson. This, however, is only one instance of many important services of a similar nature rendered by the Aga Khan to the Governments of Britain and India. For well nigh half a century he has used his authority—as his grandfather did before him—among the tribes of the North-West Frontier, where he has a substantial following of adherents, for the promotion or restoration of peaceful relations with the British Indian authorities.

The Russian menace first led him to study the problems

of Indian defence. In the Viceregal Council he gave emphatic utterance to his conviction that the first duty of the Government of India was to help in the maintenance of the military power of the Empire at such a standard as would not only make success in a war with Russia a foregone conclusion, but would prevent even the most Chauvinistic of Russian Tsars from interfering in the future with legitimate political and commercial interests in the independent Asiatic States near the Indian Frontier. While he held firmly to this opinion he also suggested methods by which, without reducing the effective war strength of the Army, Government could reduce the burden of its military expenditure and save many millions a year to be devoted to the propagation of national education. Without proposing a reduction in the British army in India, he suggested the introduction of a short service system in India and of a regimental and territorial reserve. He also urged that a certain limited number of the scions of the noblest houses of India, who had passed through the Imperial Cadet Corps, should be granted commissions in the Army. After the Coronation Durbar held by Lord Curzon at Delhi the Aga Khan urged that the Imperial Army should be employed to defend not only British India, but the whole country, including the Indian States. He submitted that accordingly the burden of the expenditure on the Army in India should not fall exclusively on the tax-payers of British India. He did not suggest, however, that an additional burden should be imposed on the Indian States, but pointed out that the forces maintained by the rulers of these States should be organised to a higher pitch of military efficiency. He thought it was clearly to the advantage of both the Imperial and the feudatory governments to bring these armed but practically wasted forces not only to the highest standard of efficiency, but also to include them within the system of Imperial defence under the direct peace and war command of the Commander-in-Chief in India. What

had been found necessary by all the rulers of German State was, in the Aga Khan's opinion, equally if not more necessary in India. He expressed his belief that such a system as he advocated would add enormously to the influence of the rulers of Indian States, and would make them important participators in the responsibility and privilege of fighting for their Emperor and defending their own country.

The Aga Khan has always shown the same interest in the problems of the defence of India and from time to time he has made suggestions for their reconstruction and readjustment in accordance with the experience gained during the Great War. Though Clive and Stringer Lawrence were the main creators of the Indian Army, the underlying ideas were those of Dumas and of the better known Dupleix whose remarkable military genius and immense abilities for organisation were never adequately recognised by France. So far the history of the mediæval and modern world has shown only two striking and successful methods of raising foreign troops for conquest when national forces are not strong enough or available with sufficient readiness for that purpose. The first was the old Turkish system of Janissaries. The other instance, based on the principle of ruling other people through the agency of forces supplied by themselves, was conceived in the master mind of Dupleix. It consisted in recruiting Indian forces on a large scale, disciplining, paying and officering them by Europeans and using them for the conquest of their own countrymen. Clive and others carried out the plan originally conceived and adopted by Dupleix. The change of name from the "native" to the "Indian" army gave it a national and territorial status in place of its former position of a racially different auxiliary of the British force holding the country. When in 1917 Mr. Montagu announced the removal of the bar which had previously precluded the admission of Indians to higher commissioned ranks in His Majesty's army, the

first step was taken towards the ideal of making the army in India a truly national force, for which the Aga Khan had been persistently pleading since 1903.

The Aga Khan's one desire is to create a uniform and federal army for the whole of India and his suggestions in this direction are worthy of serious consideration. He stresses the need of a proper Indian artillery on a scale in keeping with the interests to be defended. He desires to make the country more completely self-contained in respect of all branches of equipment, and not least of all in the provision of air-craft and other modern military equipment. One condition essential to success, however, is that there should be no barrier to army service on the mere ground of race and religion; and in this plea he has had the support of the late Lord Sinha who, as President of the Indian National Congress, advocated the enlistment of Indians to the regular army without discrimination in regard to race or province of origin. A similar opinion has been expressed by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, a veteran Muslim publicist. His scheme for the defence of India published in *The Times of India* in January 1918 attracted great attention. He supports the Aga Khan's contention that most of the difficulties with which Britain had to contend during the war, would never have arisen if full confidence had been reposed in the loyalty of India, and if a large Indian army had been trained for the defence of the Empire.

The Aga Khan has urged, too, the necessity for creating an Indian Navy. Under the East India Company's rule, the Indian Navy, manned by the seafaring communities of India and officered by Englishmen, roved all over the Eastern seas. It took part in innumerable naval fights, and the rampant evil of piracy in Indian waters which had almost ruined the foreign trade of India was eventually run down and suppressed by its vigilance and bravery. The Royal Navy replaced that of the East India Company in 1862, except for purposes of transport, police, survey, and

other local duties. Thus for nearly two generations India has been utterly dependent for its maritime defence on the British Navy and an expenditure voted by the House of Commons and disbursed by the British Exchequer. The Aga Khan considers it was an easy, but most unfortunate, arrangement that India should contribute towards the cost of this type of naval defence—her share in Imperial maritime defence being thus limited to the mere payment of a small subvention; and long before the Royal Indian Marine had been reorganised and converted into a combatant force, as was done lately by permission of Parliament, the Aga Khan had put forward an urgent plea for the recruitment and training of an Indian Navy. His project was more thorough-going than that which has been adopted as the result of the recommendations of the Committee which sat under Lord Rawlinson's chairmanship in 1925. England, he suggested, should loan to India the services of a number of naval officers to instruct young Indians of good family in a professional college established at Bombay, Karachi or Madras. Concurrently he urged, steps should be taken to provide the rank and file of the future Indian Navy from amongst the seafaring population of the coast which for generations has been supplying the British mercantile marine with such excellent sailors. The existing small naval yards in India could be enlarged, he pointed out, and others provided, to undertake, at first, the construction of small vessels and ultimately the larger ships needed for a proper Indian Navy. Eventually he thought, India might once again build ships of war as in days of yore when the teak ships built in Bombay by the famous Parsi firm of Wadia earned fame in many a gallant engagement in home as well as in the most distant waters.

Such an Indian Navy, apart from its direct utility, would be a unifying force amongst the provinces and people of India, all of whom would share the responsibility for its maintenance. It would be Imperial in the truest sense.

The Aga Khan is strongly in favour of the view advanced by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla that for the defence of the extensive sea-coast of India there should be sufficient Indian material. He has never attempted to minimise the heavy cost of these defence measures; but he has approached the question from the standpoint that "whatever the cost, the alternative of remaining in a state of unpreparedness is brimful of evils, especially having regard to the Asiatic situation."

His arguments for the creation of an Indian Navy are reinforced by Japan's attitude towards Geneva and China, and her insistence on her absolute hegemony in the Far East. Happenings in Manchuria, reports from Siberia, the general feelings in the Far East, and the war in China resulting from aggression of Japan, are so many warnings for India to remain in a state of preparedness. If this was so before, the force of the advice and arguments are a thousand times greater today, when the world is trembling on the brink of catastrophe and any moment may see it engulfed in an Armageddon more deadly than any in all the history of the human race.

The Aga Khan as a sincere well-wisher and admirer of the Great Asiatic nation of Japan regards the prospect of war with that country with the greatest concern. He believes that Japan, for the sake of their diplomatic and economic rehabilitation, must seek the cordial co-operation of England and the United States. During his visit to India and Burma, he tried to ascertain public feeling on the subject in view of the tremendous importance of British Government's responsibilities for the well-being, and security of His Majesty's subjects in the East; and he is of opinion that India cannot remain unaffected by Japan's defiance of world opinion and that Japan's naval policy must be carefully watched in the interests and safety of India.

The Aga Khan pleads for acceleration of the pace of Indianisation of the army for it is his firm opinion that there can be no National Government without a national army.

Chapter Nineteen

DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN INDIA.

Round Table Conference in England

The Aga Khan Elected as Leader

"In their prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment will be our security; in their gratitude our best reward."

—*Queen Victoria in Proclamation in* 1858.

WITHIN the recollection of those now living, no event has caused such uneasiness to the British Government as the political unrest in India. As pointed out by His Highness Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, at the Round Table Conference held in London in 1930, the issues at stake involved the prosperity and contentment of three hundred and fifty million souls and concerned in an intimate degree the greatness and safety of the British Empire. Few people in England realise the ferment that is astir in the political consciousness of India. The immensity and complexity of the task of framing a democratic constitution for India are universally admitted; but the task has been rendered even more difficult and complicated by misrepresentation, by the ignorance and suspicion evinced by the British electorate of the Indian people and by the campaign carried on in England by Mr. Churchill and his group, who seem to live in the last century. As if these troubles were not sufficient, disunity and conflicting elements in India add to the complexity of an already complex situation. A severe crisis in the political history of India occurred when Mr. Gandhi first launched his non-co-operation movement and the Congress Party decided to boycott the legislatures in 1921. After a period of three futile years spent in the wilderness

the Party entered the legislatures in 1924. It contained some of the ablest, most patriotic and self-sacrificing Indians of their day. Pandit Motilal Nehru, a stalwart leader of the Party in the Assembly, acting on the belief that the greater the sacrifice, the greater the appeal to the imagination of the people, gave up a most lucrative legal practice, gifted his fortune to the Congress Party, and dedicated his life to the service of the people. He did not live to see Swaraj established, but he saw its foundation well and truly laid. Though inspired by the highest patriotic motives, Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, launched by him with special emphasis upon its essentially non-violent nature, soon departed from that principle. In fact there were grave clashes when he launched his movement of civil disobedience, his no-tax campaign and his historic defiance of the law on a mass scale by the open manufacture of illicit salt. After a stormy period of tension Lord Irwin, then Viceroy of India, extended the olive branch to Mr. Gandhi and the movement of Indian nationalism. Proceeding on a spell of leave to England for a much needed rest, Lord Irwin seized the opportunity to consult the British Cabinet on the Indian situation and on his return to India in 1930 he announced that His Majesty's Government had decided to hold a Round Table Conference to consider the future of this country and reform its constitution. The announcement had an immediate calming effect, an atmosphere of peace was restored in the country and by previous appointment, a deputation consisting of Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah and Mr. V. J. Patel, President of the Indian Assembly, met the Viceroy to discuss the date and personnel of the Round Table Conference and the question of an amnesty for political offenders jailed in connection with the civil disobedience and other campaigns launched by Mr. Gandhi. The Viceroy showed himself very ready and willing to meet these

demands. Mr. Gandhi, however, made further new demands and the Viceroy finding himself unable to meet them, negotiations broke down and a resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress, which held its annual session at Lahore just then, to resort once more to civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi set the ball rolling with his famous march from Sabarmati through the villages of Gujerat with his followers. This created a stir which can better be imagined than described. It was hailed as a spectacular declaration of "War" against the Government who were forced back upon coercive measures, the employment of which fanned the "revolt" still further. Mr. Gandhi himself was arrested, prosecuted and convicted and sent to jail. The attempt to paralyse the administration and render it difficult if not impossible for the Government to discharge its functions almost succeeded. Mr. Gandhi's boycott of English goods and his picketing of liquor shops in Bombay greatly aggravated the situation. In the prevailing atmosphere it was only to be expected that the Congress would decline to take part in the first Round Table Conference which was held in London in November of 1930. The demand for a Round Table Conference to settle the political claims of India was first made by Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Indian Legislative Assembly in 1924, but his resolution was opposed by Government and was negatived. When six years later a Round Table Conference was eventually summoned through the good offices of a liberal and peace-loving Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi and his Party boycotted it, leaving a bitter legacy of hate and strife and bringing the country to the brink of economic ruin and revolution. Mr. Gandhi boldly asserted his disloyalty to Government, but though he was disloyal to the Government of India it was admitted even by his opponents that he was loyal to his own country, and nobody doubts today that his revolt was inspired by loss of faith in British statesmanship. Strong repressive measures were

adopted against the movement and its leaders but they had no effect. Jails filled swiftly and were overcrowded and India's ablest men and women, many from the highest social circles, were soon behind bars. The time came when Lord Baldwin was forced to admit that "we cannot hold India without reforms. We could hold India by force in the final necessity, but an India governed in that manner would be the gravest threat to the Empire." The *Daily Telegraph* in a forceful leader recognised that a rebellious or even a sullen India would be a burden such as even British financial resources could not sustain. This was the direct material argument, but there was the higher consideration that to hold India by force would be foreign to the whole genius of British rule. British statesmanship had to consider, not what was the last desperate measure it could take, but what would best promote the ends at which it had always aimed and to which it had repeatedly pledged itself in the most solemn terms and manner.

On the Aga Khan fell the task of allaying the bitterness that had been aroused and at the same time pressing the just claims of Indians to full responsible government, and the way in which he discharged both missions greatly enhanced the reputation he had already achieved as an ex-official ambassador for bringing England and India together.

The Round Table Conference was inaugurated in London by His Majesty the King-Emperor in a touching speech which will remain a landmark in the history of the Empire. His Majesty said :

"More than once the Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies on the soil of India, but never before have British and Indian Statesmen and Rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round one table, to discuss the future system of government for India and seek agreement for the guidance of My Parliament as to the foundations upon which it must stand.

"Nearly ten years ago, in a message to my Indian Legislature, I dwelt upon the significance of its establishment in the

constitutional progress of India. Ten years is but a brief span in the life of any nation, but this decade has witnessed, not only in India but throughout all the nations forming the British Commonwealth, a quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations of nationhood which defy the customary measurement of time. It should therefore be no matter of surprise to the men of this generation that, as was then contemplated, it should have become necessary to estimate and review the results of what was begun ten years ago and to make further provision for the future. Such a review has been lately carried out by the Statutory Commission appointed by me for that purpose and you will have before you the outcome of their labours, together with other contributions which have been or can be made to the solution of the great problem confronting you.

"No words of mine are needed to bring home to you the momentous character of the task to which you have set your hands. Each one of you will, with me, be profoundly conscious how much depends, for the whole of the British Commonwealth, on the issue of your consultations. This community of interest leads me to count it as of happy augury that there should be present today the representatives of my Governments in all the Sister States of that Commonwealth.

"I shall follow the course of your proceedings with the closest and most sympathetic interest, not indeed without anxiety but with a greater confidence. The material conditions which surround the lives of my subjects in India affect me nearly, and will be ever present in your thoughts during your forthcoming deliberations. I have also in mind the just claims of majorities and minorities, of men and women, of town dwellers and tillers of the soil, of landlords and tenants, of the strong and the weak, of the rich and poor, of the races, castes and creeds of which the body politic is composed. For these things I care deeply. I cannot doubt that the true foundation of self-government is in the fusion of such divergent claims into mutual obligations and in their recognition and fulfilment. It is my hope that the future government of India based on its foundation will give expression to her honourable aspirations.

"May your discussions point the way to the sure achievement of this end, and may your names go down to history as those of men who served India well, and whose endeavours advanced the happiness and prosperity of all my beloved people.

"I pray that Providence may grant you in bounteous measure, wisdom, patience and good-will."

After the ceremonial opening in the House of Lords, the Conference met at St. James' Palace under the

chairmanship of the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) on the 12th of November. The gathering was in every way unique. The big drawing-room of that ancient palace could never have witnessed a conference of equal variety and magnificence. At one end of the table sat the Princes of India with that veteran Ruler, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, at their head. On his left were bearers of historic names famous in the records of Indian princely chivalry, the rulers of Kashmir, Bikaner, Patiala, Bhopal, Rewa, Jamnagar, Dholpur, Alwar and Sangli, with their ministers, all of whom had already achieved distinction in the difficult field of statesmanship—Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Krishnamachari, Sir Kailas Haksar, Nawab Sir Liaqat Hyat, Sir Manubhai Mehta, and Sir Mirza Ismail. Nor was the British Indian representation less striking. Opposite the Prime Minister, who presided, sat the Aga Khan. On his left sat the Muslim representatives, the best known among whom were Mr. Muhammed Ali Jinnah, Sir Muhammed Shafi, Mr. Zafrullah Khan and Maulana Muhammed Ali. At the corner supporting the Muslims sat the two women delegates, Mrs. Subbaroyan and Begum Shah Nawaz. Prominent among the Hindu delegates were Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mr. M. R. Jayakar and Dewan Bahadur Rama Mudaliyar. The British delegation was no less impressive. Besides the Prime Minister and Lord Sankey, that delegation contained two men; one whose name was familiar to everyone in India as that of a brilliant ex-Viceroy on whose attitude much depended, Lord Reading; the other destined to write his name indelibly in the record of the Conference and who came to loom larger and larger as time went on, Sir Samuel Hoare.

The Parsi community, which is numerically the smallest one in India but which has produced eminent leaders in every walk of life, was represented by no less

than three prominent citizens of Bombay—Sir Phiroze Sethna, Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. (now Sir) H. P. Mody. One more Parsi delegate, Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy, a leading industrial magnate of Central India and a veteran in politics was added to the second Round Table Conference.

The case for India was opened by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a speech that will go down in history as a masterpiece of political exposition. It was an extremely able and thoughtful speech, and the case was presented in such an unassailable manner that the conclusion—a Federal Government with responsibility at the centre—seemed inevitable. In solemn tones, he invited the great Princes of India to join hands with their brethren in British India to establish an All-India Federation which would re-unite the common motherland into a great nation. The future of India depended upon the attitude which the Princes would take on this occasion. It was for them to say whether they would help in the creation of an All-India Federation? Would they do it? There were doubt and anxiety visible on all faces. They were, however, not to remain long in suspense. When His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner rose, all turned their attention to him. He soon removed their doubt and anxiety by responding to Sir Tej Bahadur's appeal in a manner which came as a most agreeable surprise to all concerned. His Highness welcomed the idea of Federation with legitimate safeguards in the interest of the States and affirmed the faith that was in him that in the greatness of India lay the greatness of the Princes. The Maharaja's profound faith as a patriotic Indian in the greatness of his motherland and the integral unity of the States with India found clear expression in the following declaration :—

"We, the Princes, are Indians. We have our roots deep down in her historic past, we are racy of the soil. Everything which tends to the honour and prosperity of India has for us vital concern. Everything which retards her prosperity and shakes the stability of her institutions retards our own growth and lowers our stature."

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner was powerfully supported by Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Nawab of Bhopal and the striking speeches delivered by these Princes in the conference were most helpful.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir in an invigorative speech said that "as allies of Britain, we stand solidly by the British connexion. As Indians and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nurture, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of this Conference is a genuine desire; so too is genuine our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation."

Sir Akbar Hydari as the representative of His Exalted Highness the Nizam echoed the voice of the States in the following words :—

"As with Hyderabad, so with all the States; and I can assure the peoples of the Empire and the world at large that no hand shall sever the ties which bind the Princes to the Crown.

"At the same time, the States, autonomous within their own borders, can fully sympathise with the aims and ideals of the peoples of British India and are ready to work in harmony with them for the Greater and United India, which we all hope may be the outcome of our deliberations.

"It is in this spirit that we enter the Conference, and in this spirit we shall do all that lies in our power to assist in the solution of the problems of our country and the satisfaction of her aspirations.

"Every race, creed and religion has its own distinct contribution to make to the common weal, and we of the States for our part bring with us no mean inheritance—the traditions and culture handed down from spacious days, when in politics, arts and science India stood amongst the foremost peoples of the World."

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal made a notable contribution in framing the new Constitution for India.

His Highness urged that a free Indian State means the disappearance of that doctrine of Paramountcy which has been imported, contrary to the treaties, into the relationship between the States and the Paramount Power. His Highness had no doubt that when the time came Indian States will furnish a stabilising factor in the new Constitution of India. He had noted that the previous speakers recognised that nothing in a system of Federation connotes any interference with the affairs of the States. That their relations with the Crown would remain unaltered unless and until modified by mutual consent. His Highness enlarged upon the goal that India desired to attain as a self-governing dominion, with equality of status, united to the Empire of the British Crown. His Highness concluded with a fervent appeal to His Majesty's Government for framing a suitable constitution for India in the following words :—

"I state, with all the earnestness I can command, that though she (India) seemed fair to the eye, the structure is full of fissures ; but treat her with the cement of national unity, which is ready to hand, give her national freedom and that equality of status, for which her sons and daughters are longing, and she will stand throughout the ages as the noblest and the strongest support of the British Empire."

His Highness the Maharaja of Rewa spoke as a conservative against the dangers of precipitation and short-cuts. The Maharaja defined the conservative attitude as differing from other schools of thought less as to the object to be achieved than as to the pace and method of achievement. His Highness wanted an assurance that the reforms which British India desired did not impose on Indian States obligations which the Princes did not desire. The Indian States desired to preserve their individual and historical identity which their forefathers had carved out for themselves and handed down to their successors. His Highness declared :—

"The Indian States—I speak for the conservative element—wish to safeguard their individual existence. They ask for guarantees that the changes in the Government of India, which are foreshadowed, will leave them free to pursue their own ideals in the manner of their heritage and tradition. They ask that their position will not be modified without their own consent, that changes will not be forced on them, and that the treaties into which they entered with the British Power in India will be honoured in the spirit and in the letter."

How much the presence of the Aga Khan as a delegate at the Round Table Conference contributed to the success of the deliberations and the acceptance of India's main demands by the British public is not yet widely appreciated.* There is a general idea prevalent that His Highness' great influence and prestige were exclusively placed at the disposal of the Muslim representatives and that what was meant for India was utilised for the service of the community. Nothing is farther from the truth. That it was his leadership that made the Muslim bloc the most important at the Conference goes without saying. But that is only a superficial view. His Highness' work at the Conference was truly national and in the interests of India as a whole, with proper and legitimate safeguards for his community.

At the first Round Table Conference the Aga Khan was unanimously elected leader of the British Indian Delegation and the wisdom of the step was obvious from the beginning. His influence and prestige with the British public were an invaluable asset to the national cause, and even that section of Conservative opinion in England which is inclined to look upon all national claims as veiled sedition suddenly realised that a movement which had the open support of His Highness could not be brushed aside as a manifestation of disloyalty. Much of the general friendliness to the

* This account of the activities and achievements of the Aga Khan at the Round Table Conference has been supplied by a valued friend, Mr. K. M. Panikkar, who, as a representative of the Indian Princes Chamber, had occasion to watch the successive conferences and the sittings of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee.

Indian claim which was the notable feature of the first Conference arose from this realisation.

It is well to recall the main outlines of the political situation in the autumn of 1930 when the first Round Table Conference was summoned. The Simon Commission had put forward a scheme which denied central responsibility and saw a federation of India as a distant vision. The position of the States was to remain undefined. The Muslim organisations, apart from their claims relating to the position of the community in the future, were insistently demanding a central government shorn virtually of all power over the Provinces even where central authority was essential. There was no question whatever of a federation in which the States of India were to be partners. In fact, when the delegates to the Round Table Conference reached London none of the parties to the Conference had any definite scheme—only conflicting claims. The Princes declared that their political relations were with the Crown and, while they were prepared to give moral support to the claim of British India, their interests could not be merged into a united Indian Government. The Hindus, while insisting on central authority and immediate democratic self-government, were not prepared to meet the Muslim demands or those of other minority communities. The Muslim delegation, on the other hand, rightly held to the fourteen points which Mr. Jinnah had elaborated on President Wilson's famous model. His Majesty's Government, anxious to meet the reasonable demands of all parties, felt themselves at sea in this confusion of contradictory claims. It was in these circumstances that the idea of an All-India Federation with the States as equal partners emerged from the preliminary discussions carried on between the leading Princes and delegates of British India.

The desirability, indeed the necessity of a federal solution of the Indian problem had been emphasised as early as 1919 by the Aga Khan in his Book, "*India*

in Transition," and he could therefore legitimately claim that he was one of the principal and original authors of this idea in relation to India. But in a more specific sense His Highness' contribution to the federal scheme requires emphasis. In relation to the federal proposal which was the outcome of the negotiations between the Liberal leaders, headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the representatives of the Princes, Muslim opinion was at the beginning far from friendly. Some of the Muslim delegates headed by Mr. Jinnah frankly opposed the idea of a Federation: their view was explicable if one stresses a doubt that the association of British India with States under personal Rule may lead to political reaction. Others there were who felt that in view of the predominance of Hindus in the Princely Order the association of States would result in a lessening of the political influence of the Muslim community. For these and other reasons, it became obvious from the beginning that the federal idea might not find acceptance among the Muslim delegates. If that fear had materialised then the Round Table Conference would have broken down at the very beginning. The fact that such a calamity was averted and that the idea of federation was accepted was mainly due to the personal efforts of the Aga Khan.

His Highness, with his remarkable gift of foresightedness and his wide experience of political life realised that, whatever temporary difficulties there might be in the scheme of federation, it offered the best and most acceptable solution of the Indian problem, that it was an opportunity which might never recur to unite India into one political entity, that if such a great ideal required compromise which might temporarily strengthen the reactionary forces, it was but a small price to pay for so great and noble a thing as the unity of India. It was only by persistently urging this point of view with all the emphasis at his command and with all the prestige attached to his great name and his

past services to the community that His Highness was able to get the Muslim delegation openly to declare their adherence to Federation. That declaration, though not so dramatic as that of the Princes, was in a sense even more significant.

From the very beginning it was felt that, whatever might be the form of the Constitution, no effective scheme of reform could be possible without a prior settlement of the communal problem. Naturally both the Hindus and Muhammadans looked to His Highness for a settlement of this question. It is indeed not too much to say that His Highness' entire energy was devoted to that single object during the whole of November 1930. On many occasions a settlement seemed to be in sight. Through the efforts of His Highness and a few others, on one occasion a communal settlement was practically reached to be broken, alas, by the intransigeance of one or two members. The misfortune that dogs the political efforts of India nullified the efforts of His Highness ; but it should be recognised by all that no pains were spared by the Aga Khan, whose time, energy and resources were willingly placed at the disposal of India for this purpose. Nothing affected him so much as the failure of the Hindus and the Muslims to settle their differences at the first Round Table Conference. No one felt the humiliation more bitterly and no one was prepared to make greater sacrifices than he.

The confidence which His Highness enjoyed may be judged from the fact that both communities were prepared to leave the question of the communal claims in Bengal to his sole arbitration.

It was only when all possibility of an agreed settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question vanished beyond all hope that the Aga Khan accepted the leadership of the Muslim delegation. A united leadership for British India had become frankly impossible, with the Hindus and Muslims looking at every question from opposed

points of view ; and His Highness naturally felt that, in the absence of any agreement, his duty was with his community as ultimately it was in the larger interests of the country. As the acknowledged leader of the Muslim delegation he was in a position more effectively to serve India than as a nominal head of a divided British India, and the Hindu delegates were the first to recognise that the presence of the Aga Khan at the head of the Muslims was a guarantee that nothing against the fundamental interests of India or of Hindus would be put forward at the Conference.

The position at the second Round Table Conference was different. Lord Irwin's statesmanship prevailed and he was able to persuade Mr. Gandhi to attend the second Round Table Conference. When Lord Irwin retired, *The Times of India* paid a tribute to his skill in negotiation with Mr. Gandhi and said :—

> "Sooner or later, as India went down the hill to ruin, there was bound to be official recognition of the fact that India could not be saved, or any sort of stable self-government assured, without the help of the Congress, the strongest political organisation in the country. Fortunately recognition of that fact came before the situation was irrevocably lost, and it is to Lord Irwin's patience and skill that India owes the successful issue of the negotiations with Mr. Gandhi. His Excellency has been accused of 'taking tea with treason' and of almost every crime against the Constitution that can occur to the minds of impassioned politicians who seem to think that, at the word from some mysterious strong man, a fast changing India will stand still as the sun once stood still upon Gideon. Lord Irwin has never shown to better advantage than in facing that storm of obloquy, and the memory of him that India will most cherish is that of almost the final scene of his career at Delhi. Muhammed Ali in a speech at the Round Table Conference spoke of Lord Irwin as 'that tall Christian.' Both epithets are just and distinctive—but not physically tall only, great in stature in the long line of men who have ruled India."

The Indian National Congress was thus represented by Mr. Gandhi and his claim to speak not only for the Congress but also for the Hindus and the Muslims naturally created a crisis. The minority communities

represented at the Conference felt that their representative character was being questioned, and the general atmosphere created was one of open hostility between the parties. Again His Highness had to act as the peacemaker. Being naturally anxious to secure the substance rather than to waste time in questioning claims or putting forward counter-claims, the Aga Khan invited Mr. Gandhi to negotiate a communal settlement with the Muslim and other representatives of the minority communities. It must indeed have been strange to see these two spiritual leaders, so singularly unlike each other, meeting to discuss and, if possible arrive at a settlement of the most complicated issue facing Indian statesmen—the one, a descendant of a long line of Princes, the religious leader of millions, polished, courteous and versed in the ways of diplomacy; the other the emaciated Mahatma, the incarnate spirit of Hinduism, shrewd, persistent, and with a settled view from which nothing in the world would make him budge an inch. The negotiations, after many days and nights of weary bargaining in the Aga Khan's room at the Ritz Hotel, proved abortive. It is unnecessary to inquire into the causes which led to their failure; but it can be said without the fear of contradiction that it was only the tact, wisdom and courage of His Highness which were responsible for the conversations continuing so long as they did. The attitude of mind which predominated in these communal discussions would have led, if any one else had been in charge of the negotiations, to an immediate breach. The failure of negotiations did not minimise the value of the work of His Highness; on the other hand even Mahatma Gandhi agreed that the Aga Khan displayed infinite patience, understanding and wisdom during those troubled days.

The failure of the communal negotiations had an unexpected result. The impossible claims of the Congress demonstrated to the representatives of the different

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN
With Mr. Gandhi at their meeting in London. In the background is Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

minorities the necessity of union among themselves and they negotiated an important agreement known as the Minority Pact. By this alliance, the different minorities—in fact all Indian communities except the caste Hindus and Sikhs—laid down a proportion of representation in the Federal Legislature, local bodies and official appointments, and agreed that they would support each other unreservedly until their claims received full satisfaction. In the light of the communal award, it may appear that the Minorities Pact was unfair to the communities not included in it; but, as a diplomatic move, it was a master stroke. It showed to His Majesty's Government the depth of feeling of the minority communities on the question: and it provided an effective answer to the untenable claim to universal representation made by the Congress. Besides it placed the minorities on a vantage ground for further negotiations, for they were pledged not to agree to any modification unless all other parties to the pact agreed to it. Looked at from every point of view it was a diplomatic success of unique importance to His Highness whose hands were thereby greatly strengthened in the discussions that followed with the British Government.

The announcement of the minorities pact changed the whole position. It was then obvious that it was a vain dream to hope for an agreed solution of the communal problem in India, and, as no scheme of reforms would be acceptable to any party without a settlement of this question, it was clear that there was no option but to leave the matter to the arbitration of His Majesty's Government. This was agreed to and the discussion on political questions naturally seemed unreal in the face of this outstanding fact.

The communal award of His Majesty's Government was announced in the following year. Careful students of Indian politics immediately recognised that as a measure of practical wisdom the award, in spite of many

obvious defects, was the best possible under the circumstances. They were not slow also to recognise a fresh triumph for the diplomacy of the Aga Khan. While it was undoubtedly true that all the Muslim demands were not granted in the award, it was obvious that the main claims of the community had been satisfied, that they were given all legitimate protection in the future constitution with their cultural, religious and political interests fully safeguarded; that their great importance as a community was adequately secured. That the award was so satisfactory from the Muslim point of view was without doubt due to the wisdom and moderation with which the Aga Khan, as the accredited representative of the community, carried on negotiations in England.

The award did not meet with universal approval, even among the Muslims. There were extremists, not alive to the realities of the situation, who were anxious to see that the scheme so laboriously worked out was rejected by the community. The representation allotted to the community in Bengal was in particular resented. It was only the prestige and authority of His Highness which gained almost universal acceptance for the award by the Muslim community of India. His Highness regarded the award as a compromise in which his community should share "the rough with the smooth," and he begged them not to ask for a victory as that would leave an unpleasant recollection behind and affect their relationship with the sister community.

As a result of the settlement of the communal problem, the position at the Third Round Table Conference and in the work of the Joint Select Committee was totally different from what had unfortunately developed in the first and second Round Table Conferences. It was on these two historic occasions that His Highness' leadership of the Indian delegation in his character as a genuine nationalist became evident. With the

ghost of the communal problem laid, it became possible for Hindus and Muslims to co-operate wholeheartedly in the work of constitution-making. The change of temper at the Third Round Table Conference was indeed remarkable. There was hardly any difference of opinion between the different sections of the British Indian delegation and, though the communities worked in different groups, their co-operation on the main issues was wholehearted. The credit for this belongs in a great degree to the Aga Khan who was never tired of urging on his co-religionists the necessity of working in complete agreement with the Hindus when the communal claim was fully safeguarded. It is well known that there were men in both camps who, as a result of the attitude developed during a life-time of communal squabbles, could not adjust themselves to this statesman-like point of view; but the authority and prestige of the Aga Khan with both communities helped to tide over difficulties and to create an atmosphere of trust and good-will in the conference.

At the Joint Select Committee His Highness was again formally elected leader of the British Indian delegation and his services in that capacity can scarcely be overrated. The communal peace which fortunately reigned helped him to speak to His Majesty's Government as the accredited leader of British India, not only of Muslims but also of politically-minded Hindus. The difficulties in the way of the Indian delegation arose mainly from three factors—

1. The attitude of certain newcomers to the delegation who desired to question the very basis of the White Paper and thereby to go back on the decisions of the Round Table Conference;

2. The attitude of some of the Parliamentary representatives who were unconvinced of the wisdom of giving India responsible government;

3. The position taken up by the representatives of certain large States in desiring to revive old

controversies regarding the size of the Chamber and other fundamental questions. At the meeting of the Indian delegation under the presidency of His Highness every question was discussed in detail and as far as possible a common attitude was evolved. These discussions, which were often prolonged into the small hours of mornings at the Ritz Hotel, had very beneficial results as the members were able to adjust their points of view and as time went on to present a united front on almost all questions.

The Parliamentary composition of the Joint Committee meant a predominance of influential Conservative members like Lord Derby and Sir Austen Chamberlain, whose attitude was at the beginning non-committal, and others who were frankly hostile to the Federal scheme. The Aga Khan's social influence and his known loyalty to the British connection were among the prime factors which helped to convert those influential members. This attitude of His Highness made him a target of criticism in the reactionary papers which saw in him an insuperable obstacle to their campaign of resisting all reforms on the ground that the scheme involved a surrender to the seditionists.

On the third point—that of altering the basis of the legislatures—a point which was pressed with vigour and persistence by the representatives of some of the larger States, His Highness had to take a determined attitude and to oppose it in the Committee on behalf of the Muslim delegation. His firm attitude finally settled the issue and turned the opinion of the Committee.

The most outstanding achievement of the Aga Khan at the Committee was of course the Joint Memorandum. For the first time in Indian political history a united demand on behalf of all communities, covering practically every important political point in the White Paper, was put forward before His Majesty's Government. This document, which may be called the minimum national demand for the modification of the

White Paper, was the result of the Aga Khan's continuous efforts to achieve national unity. As the Memorandum in its concluding passage says, "Our proposals are intended to secure that the process of further transfer of responsibility shall be continuous. We recognise that during an initial period, which in our opinion should not exceed ten years, certain provisions of the new constitution must remain unaltered. We cannot, however, too strongly impress on the Committee that, unless the new constitution brings the realisation of a Government fully responsible to the legislature within sight and its provisions are so framed as to render possible further constitutional progress by the action of the Indian legislatures, political activity outside the legislature will continue to absorb important sections of the politically-minded classes in India."

That paragraph summarises the national demand and though India had had to wait for four years before such a demand could be put forward authoritatively, it is a matter of supreme importance that it was made before the concluding stages of negotiation for political advancement. If any one delegate more than another contributed to this unique achievement, it is the Aga Khan. Through his persistent efforts, his known tolerance, sturdy patriotism and non-committal outlook, he was able to achieve what seemed well nigh impossible and thus served his motherland in a way that few others have done.

The Aga Khan was one of the principal witnesses at the sittings of the Joint Committee of the Government of India Bill. In the course of a memorandum which he presented to the Committee he said :—

"I accept the term 'Responsible Government,' though as an ideal my preference is for self-government either on the American federal plan or on Swiss lines leaving ultimate power through the Initiative, the Referendum, and perhaps the Recall. But the facts of the situation have to be recognised. Our future is linked

with Great Britain and not with the United States or Switzerland—and still less with an abstract perfect state conceived by the mind of a Plato. For a century and a half English institutions and sentiments have been moulding Indian political ideals. The very fact that this Bill is before the British Parliament shows that we must seek progress at this transitional stage in conformity with English views and English institutions. Under these circumstances 'Responsible Government' must be our way towards evolving in the future some plan more suited to a congeries of great States, such as India will become, and I believe the way will be found in something akin to the American Federal plan, plus the Initiative and the Referendum and possibly even the Recall. Meanwhile acceptance of the formula 'Responsible Government' postulates the necessity for making the electorate as wide as possible, as well as the establishment in the Provincial Legislature of a substantial elected majority."

In his oral evidence His Highness criticised some features of the Reform Bill and suggested certain changes which in the light of subsequent events would have made for definite improvement. His evidence throughout was marked by that clear grasp of realities which is a striking characteristic of His Highness's work in any field from politics to social reform. On one occasion in the course of his examination he declared that as an ideal he preferred self-government on the American federal plan or on the Swiss lines, but he recognised that India's future was linked with Britain, and responsible government must be a way towards evolving a plan more suited to the communities of great states such as India was bound to become. He looked forward to the day when electorates in India would have advanced sufficiently in their political consciousness to be able to exert the proper influence and supervision over their representatives. The existing system of dualism could not be a permanent solution, the Aga Khan held, but it was difficult in present circumstances to imagine any other coherent scheme for the necessary transitional period. One point His Highness made was that a two-thirds majority vote should be essential for the removal of a Minister. Though he thought the

power reserved to Governors to disregard the opinion of Ministers was desirable for the present as a safeguard from the British point of view, he doubted the practical utility of such power. He was of opinion that the best guarantee against hasty, unfair, or partial legislation and the best protection for the Governor himself would be the weapon of the referendum. He thought that the proposed restrictions on the financial and legislative powers of the Legislatures were unnecessarily severe so far as Bombay and Bengal were concerned. The Legislature, he said, should certainly be empowered to vote supplies.

Two events stand to the credit of the Aga Khan as a result of his powerful advocacy: (1) It was mainly through his efforts that Sind was made a separate Province, where Muslims are in a majority. (2) The elevation of the status of the North-West Frontier Province to that of a Governor's Province with a constitution analogus to that of the Governors' Provinces under the new regime.

The magnitude of the services rendered by the Aga Khan to the cause of India and to the Imperial cause with which he found it possible to reconcile the interests of his motherland, has been fully recognised by impartial critics, who are well acquainted with the far-reaching nature of his constructive proposals and the self-sacrifice imposed on him in carrying them through, and by the world at large when together with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru His Highness was raised to the status of a Privy Councillor. The London correspondent of *The Servant of India*, referring to the "quality and character" of the services of the Aga Khan, said: "Trammelled as he (the Aga Khan) undoubtedly was at one time by the personnel of the Mussalman section of the British Indian delegation with their strongly communal bias, His Highness managed, with considerable dexterity, to free himself from the suspicion that he shared the more extreme forms of communalism to which some

of his colleagues professed allegiance, and ultimately he won the unstinted praise of he British Indian delegation for the admirably impartial manner in which he presided over a team, selected haphazard, often inchoate and incoherent, frequently with mutually divergent and conflicting interests, and yet that nevertheless, with the aid especially of one or two other members of a more far-seeing vision, he succeeded in guiding towards commonsense and collaboration, resulting in the ultimate production of the Joint Memorandum. It was an exercise in tact, diplomacy and public spirit that went far to justify the late Mr. Gokhale's estimate of His Highness's great qualities.

"India may well take pride, if she can treat such matters objectively, in her trinity of Privy Councillors and Elder Statesmen, Mr. Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and His Highness the Aga Khan; and what India of today thinks of the last named of those three was shown in no uncertain way when he visited the country during the cold weather of 1933-34. Unmistakable proofs of his popularity and influence on that occasion showed a just appreciation of his great services to India."

The Aga Khan has again and again made it clear that acceptance of the Morley-Minto reforms and later of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms did not mean that he or anybody in India accepted them as final. Those reforms were accepted as instalments towards the realisation of full responsible government. As the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry emphasised on the occasion of the Gokhale Anniversary celebrations at Madras in March 1938, the acceptance by such a patriot as Mr. Gokhale of the reforms and his endeavour to work them did not mean that Mr. Gokhale and his colleagues regarded those reforms as final and so, too, with the Aga Khan who, while strongly advocating the working of the reforms, never forgot and never ceased to work for their supersession by yet greater

advances towards the goal which he has held to be India's, namely Dominion Status.

Widespread regret has been expressed that the recommendations embodied in the Joint Memorandum to the new constitution were not accepted by the British Government. The Government of India Act of 1935 having been passed by Parliament, the first part of the reforms, namely that instituting Provincial Autonomy, became operative in April 1937. It is now in full operation. First of all the Congress declined to accept office and created an atmosphere of more or less sullen discontent which was bound in the long run to have led to trouble, though their non-co-operation did not prevent the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, the ministers of the previous regime readily shouldering the responsibility of carrying on the administration. The various difficulties which attended the introduction of provincial autonomy were surmounted by Lord Linlithgow's tact and statesmanship, to the success of which Mr. Gandhi contributed in the most sensible way by a happily conciliatory attitude. As a result such differences as had arisen, most of which really concerned matters of procedure rather than fundamental questions of principle, were easily settled. The great danger of deadlocks was thus avoided and a spirit of willing co-operation gradually developed, as a result of which the Congress Party accepted office. Seven of the eleven provinces of India are now administered by Congress ministries, two by coalition ministries and in all the eleven of them the machinery of representative government is working far more efficiently and smoothly than had ever been anticipated. There appears to be the happiest measure of agreement between Governors of Provinces and their Ministries, and cordial co-operation between the members of the Civil Service and the Ministers. So far as Bombay Presidency is concerned, the Ministers have shown a wonderful grasp of administrative problems, and the efficient

manner in which they have been carrying out their programmes has won for them the admiration of the public. Former ministers used to draw Rs. 5,000 a month. Some of the Congress ministers in Bombay have given up highly lucrative practice amounting to thousands of rupees a month and accepted the comparative pittance of Rs. 500 a month, thus setting noteworthy examples of service and sacrifice. The Aga Khan has expressed his great satisfaction at the success of the Government and his hope is that every Indian will regard it his duty to make Provincial Government successful in all the eleven Provinces. Provincial Autonomy is a tender plant; it must be fostered and reared with care. To offer destructive criticism of its work is a crime against the nation and should be avoided at all cost.

While Provincial Autonomy is working smoothly, reform at the centre awaits the achievement or rather the establishment of Federation and this depends primarily upon agreement among Rulers in States representing "not less than half the aggregate population of the States and entitled to not less than half the seats to be allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber to enter the All India Federation." To establish this agreement is now the task of the Government of India and the next step in the political evolution of this country. During the past year they have been carefully examining the special interests of the States and preparing revised Instructions of Accession—that is, the terms on which they will be individually invited by the Crown to enter the Federation.

While the Indian Princes are ready and willing to help India on her onward political course, it is a pity that some highly placed Congressmen are striving to destroy the Federation and the Indian States. They want the introduction of immediate responsible government in the States and elected representatives to the Federal Legislature from Indian States.

The All India Government envisaged by the Government of India Act is far from satisfactory from the Indian point of view, but at least with certain amendments it is a practical and feasible scheme which can and doubtless will lead to greater things in due time.

One great need in India is to secure unity. On his return from Europe in November 1938, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stated a great truth when he said that only those nations which are strongly united, forgetting their dissensions, can attain freedom and retain it. If India is to achieve her freedom as a self-governing Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations, she must overcome internal quarrels. That is what the Aga Khan has been urging and impressing upon Indians for the last forty years.

Everyone is anxious to federate and everyone is opposed to it as it is envisaged in the Government of India Act. The Princes insist upon their Sovereign rights being kept intact; the Congress wants to be the successor of the present Government as the Paramount Power; the Muslim League passed a resolution at its session at Patna in December 1938, authorising its President to explore the possibility of a suitable alternative. It further passed a resolution sanctioning Civil Disobedience to be applied if and when necessary against the Congress Governments, as a protest against the latters' attitude towards Muslim aspirations and the right of Muslims to participation in the country's administration and enjoyment of public services. These chaotic conditions can only be ended by a policy of give and take on all sides, including His Majesty's Government, and by the establishment of an atmosphere of co-operation and good-will between the Princes and the Congress, between the Hindus and the Muslims on the one hand, and between all three and the British Government on the other.

Chapter Twenty

THE AGA KHAN AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE Aga Khan has been a delegate for India to the League of Nations since 1932. His appointment in successive years has helped to secure continuity of this important work.

It was particularly fitting that His Highness should be the foremost Indian delegate at the successive sessions of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva. A speech which he made at the fourteenth plenary session of the Conference in 1932, made a great impression, not only on account of his exposition of the special position of India having regard to the vastness of its area and the diversity of its conditions, but also by reason of the practical suggestion he made for international action. Great weight attaches to the pronouncement of the Aga Khan by the fact that for many years now the Aga Khan has been a world figure and has had Europe, Asia, America and Africa for hearers when he has discussed great public issues at the wireless microphone.

His Highness led the Indian Delegation to the Disarmament Conference and to the special Assembly convened to deal with the dispute between China and Japan. Early in the general debate the Aga Khan delivered a forceful speech in which he said :—

" Among the outstanding labours of the League during the last year has been the Disarmament Conference in which I myself have been privileged to take part. We all know the manifold difficulties which the Conference has had to encounter in undertaking its formidable task; yet we are all confident that with patience, good-will and co-operation these difficulties can be overcome. The Conference has now laid the foundations upon which its constructive work can be raised. It is approaching the most crucial part of its labours; the problem of shaping a Convention that shall embody in the form of definite obligations the principles laid down in the resolution of the General Commission on the

23rd July. On its success may depend nothing less than the peace of the world. That alone should inspire us to go forward wholeheartedly in the supreme effort to consolidate peace and banish that fear which is the enemy of peace.

" But upon the success of the Disarmament Conference depends also in increasing measure the prosperity of the world. The Assembly meets again under the shadow of the economic depression which in the past year has become more intense and presents its problems today in a form more urgent and no less baffling than on the occasion of the last Assembly. India, as at once a great industrial nation and a great producer of primary products, has not escaped the blast. The crisis is widespread and with every day that passes it becomes more evident that no solution will be fruitful which does not embrace the needs of all countries and that in the co-operation of nations lies the only sure hope of the world's salvation. The world, therefore, looks to the League: and it is essential alike for the credit of the League as for the welfare of the world that these hopes should not be disappointed. A propitious beginning has been made at Lausanne, but it is a beginning only, and here again we cannot fail to observe the intimate relation that the problem of disarmament may be found to bear to our economic and financial difficulties.

" I need not disguise a certain measure of disappointment on a review of the activities of the League in this field during the past year, that the energies of the League, and in particular of its technical organisations, have been concentrated, as it seems to me perhaps in an undue degree, upon the solution of purely European problems. But I do not now wish to dwell upon this. The World Economic and Monetary Conference will be subject to no such limitation. In that Conference India hopes to participate and will make to it, for the general good, such contribution as her position in the sphere of finance, commerce and industry dictates or allows.

" The unhappy dispute between China and Japan, which is a matter of such deep concern to us all, must, the report of the Commission appointed by the Council being not yet before the Assembly, be regarded at this stage as *sub judice*. I will say no more than that the Government and people of India deeply deplore the relations at present subsisting between the two great Eastern nations, which, whether in their religious, cultural, geographical or commercial aspects, present so many points of contact with India, and they earnestly hope that a solution, satisfactory to all parties to the dispute and consistent with the principles to which we are pledged, will be found.

" We are also unfortunately confronted with a dispute between two other members of our Society. I refer to Paraguay and Bolivia.

It is the earnest hope of us all that the good offices of the League will lead to a speedy settlement which may redound at once to the credit of the League and to the good-will and restraint of all concerned.

"I cannot let this opportunity pass without saying once again how gladly we welcome the presence of representatives of the Republic of Turkey. We have also before us the application of the Government of Iraq for admission to the League. The League is a world-wide organisation, and it is of the first importance that the universality of its obligations, extending to all continents and to both hemispheres should never be obscured. The admission of each new State to our membership is another milestone on the road to the attainment of that co-operation between all the nations of the world after which we cannot cease to strive, and to which, indeed, the admission of these two States will bring us sensibly nearer."

At the closing sessions of the final plenary session of the Assembly the Aga Khan spoke on the report of the 4th Committee. He said :—

"Certain questions of vital importance for the world have this year fallen outside the scope of the Assembly. Nevertheless, one question remained open which, if it were to discharge its responsibilities it was incumbent upon the Assembly to take resolute action—I mean retrenchment—which the League in common with the rest of the world must face.

"I do not wish to give countenance to the somewhat alarmist views which have found expression in certain quarters, but the financial position of the League is unquestionably such as to demand the most serious consideration. I should like to hope that the appeal to those States which are in arrears with their contributions will bear fruit. But, as the delegate for India said in the Fourth Committee, there is no escaping the conclusion that there are only two practicable alternatives before us, either a reduction in salaries on such a scale as to secure really substantial economies, or a curtailment of the activities of the League.

"It has now become clear that no decision of the Assembly can secure a reduction of salaries on anything approaching the scale that the situation demands. We must face, therefore, the alternative, a curtailment of the League's activities. When I use the word 'curtailment' I do not mean necessarily an actual cession of work already undertaken—a desperate expedient to which I do not think we need yet have recourse—but a check in the progressive expansion of the sphere of its undertakings. I deeply regret that it should be necessary to have recourse to this expedient. Growth is as natural to the League in the early stages of its existence as to the child, and a check to that development is as unnatural and harmful as is the check to the growth of the child. This all members of the League will recognise with equal concern.

"But there is a special aspect of the question on which, on behalf of India, I feel I should speak very freely. I deplore the necessity for any curtailment of the League's activities, but especially do I deplore, from the point of view of India, the failure to secure a reduction of salaries which would have saved us from that necessity. I cannot contemplate without anxiety the effect upon opinion in India of the knowledge that, alone of public administrations, the League Secretariat may remain unaffected by the universal stringency."

On the occasion of the entry of Egypt into the League of Nations, the Aga Khan made a notable speech. He said :—

"I account it no mean privilege to represent India at this special session of the Assembly, for the business we have in hand is the shaping of history itself. It is not merely that Egypt's entry into the League of Nations marks yet another stage on the laborious road towards that universality which is our goal. India is too conscious of her own many millions to find satisfaction in the addition of numbers alone. Whatever its numerical strength, the League has long seemed to India too representative of one civilisation and of one creed, to be able to claim universality in a truly catholic sense.

"Additions to our great comity of nations in the last few years have, however, wrought a vivifying change. Turkey, Iraq, Afghanistan and now—last, but not least—Egypt, have gone far to make up the balance betweeen East and West. And, in Indian eyes, no addition will be more significant than Egypt's entry into the League today. For Egypt is the meeting ground of both; a connecting link between the two. Like India, with an age-long civilisation that goes far beyond the thousands of years of known history, Egypt has an understanding of both Eastern and Western civilisation and will assuredly assist us in our deliberations and our activities to convert what all too often appears to be a gulf that divides, into a bridge that unites.

"But to an Indian, the scene we are now enacting means even more than this. Today the crowning seal is set on Egypt's reassumption of her ancient and glorious sovereignty. That she reassumes her full sovereignty, sponsored by Great Britain and with Great Britain's powerful support, is something that no Indian with any foresight could witness wholly unmoved, wholly untouched by imaginative vision. Least of all could a Muslim like

myself, one of the eighty million Muslims of India, witness it unmoved; for, to us, Egyptians are not aliens or strangers, but brothers with the same culture, the same religion, the same outlook on the world. How intimate that union of culture between Egyptian and Indian Muslims is can best be shewn if I quote the fact that an Indian Muslim or an Egyptian, whatever their social or economic position, if found in the other's country, will be immediately at home. Even if the language is not understood, the similarity of custom and habit of brotherly feeling and of religious faith, will make him feel that he has not left his own country. Thus, all the more heartily, sincerely and with pride and pleasure, in the name of India I bid Egypt welcome to the League and Godspeed."

The Aga Khan's devotion to the mission of the League of Nations and his fruitful labours to advance its progress, have had a marked effect upon the members. In recognition of his excellent work as the Chairman of the Indian Delegation at Geneva, he was unanimously elected President of the Assembly in July 1937, all the valid votes cast, namely 49, being in his favour. This unprecedented honour is a tribute to his fitness as a leader in the Empire; and not only India, but the Empire and the whole of Asia regarded the historic event as of vital consequence in the history of nations.

The Aga Khan's presidential address was as usual thoughtful and to the point. He said:—

"With more warmth of feeling at heart than I can bring to my lips, I thank you. You have done India, my country, a great honour, and my delight is undisguised.

"It is an honour done to a country whose whole philosophy of life is attuned to the fundamental principles on which the League of Nations is grounded, and whose greatest thinkers, from time immemorial, of whatever culture or creed, have sought in the supremacy of law the sole escape from the anarchy of force.

"I am very conscious of the weight of responsibility now laid upon me. In the spirit of devoted service to the League of Nations, I take it up, fortified by your good-will, and in the assurance of your co-operation I shall bear it willingly. May your good-will be undiminished when I lay it down.

"Never, in very truth, were good-will, co-operation and service more incumbent on all States Members of the League than today. We must face reality unflinchingly. The world is sorely troubled; a storm has long been raging in the extreme corner of Western

Europe, another has broken out yonder in the Far East. Grievous wrong has been done to the peace of the world and to the principles for which we stand, but though it is very meet and proper that we should take stock of our failures, we must not allow failures to blind us to the reality of our successes, or to rob us of their inspiriting influence.

"Without the League, would the Dardanelles or the Sanjak or Alexandretta have found their peaceful adjustment? And if there have been unforgettable defections from the ranks of the League, is it a small thing, a matter void of significance, that nations still knock at our doors for admittance? In the five years in which I have been privileged to lead the Indian delegation, no fewer than six nations, among them one of the Great Powers—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—have been admitted to the League. Indeed, to a Muslim like myself, the League is now more universal, more truly catholic, than when I first knew it, and I rejoice, with great rejoicing, that I have been privileged to join in welcoming first Turkey, then Iraq, then Afghanistan, and this very year, Egypt into the League.

"There are surely portents of good omen, for light comes from the East, and if it is true that the League, like the world itself, is passing through troubled times, and that its ideals have been sorely wounded, it is no less true that the League's ideals live and shall live, and, please God, shall prevail.

"And now let us turn to the business we have in hand. There is plenty of it. To the onlooker, much of it may seem undramatic, but much of what affects human life most nearly is undramatic, and if we can do something to bring about a more equitable adjustment of things in economics and in social life no less than in politics, the world will be the better for our labours and we shall have helped the League on the long road to the goal that lies and will ever lie before it—the peaceful removal of all causes of war and the establishment of the unchallengeable empire of peace throughout the world."

In declaring the session adjourned, the Aga Khan delivered the closing speech reviewing its work and stressing the significance of the existence of the League as of service to humanity. He said:—

"And now let me pass in review the much heavier task that has been yours. Your task this year was of a three-fold character. In the humanitarian fields the Assembly has striven, however unpropitious the circumstances, to stimulate the work of the League organisations. That work is ceaseless and of almost infinite variety. Almost everything that administers to man's

well-being—the great problems of Health and Transit, of Intellectual Co-operation, of Penal and Penitentiary Reform, and of the Suppression of the Traffic in Dangerous Drugs—all these and many others come within the League's purview. But despite the variety of its activity it is all inspired by a single principle—the service of Humanity. Everywhere the League gives proof of its anxiety to serve. It places its resources for investigation and execution and all the great experience it has gained in seventeen years of toil and research, at the service of every Government, whether a member of the League or not, and at the service of the world as a whole.

"To many the crushing difficulties of our times seem to put any solution, indeed any alleviation, of the world's *malaise* beyond our present reach. I for one set my face steadfastly against such an attitude of despair. The League has done mankind true service in embarking on its difficult and realistic survey of the world's problems in economics and finance. Some may argue that such exchanges of opinion cannot be called results. I differ. In the present state of the world, when the ball of responsibility is cast backwards and forwards between politics and economics, the frank ventilation of views by the representatives of so many nations is of living importance. In our discussions general permanent principles have gradually emerged and been confirmed. Here are being well and truly laid the foundations for future negotiations, which will give those principles concrete form.

"The division of responsibility between economics and politics is, indeed, one of the most difficult dilemmas with which we are confronted.

"'Give me a sound economic position, and I will pursue a sound policy,' says the statesman.

"'How can I pursue a sound policy', says the Economist, if you do not give me a sound political position?'

"The Assembly has declined to impale itself on the horns of this pessimistic dilemma. And rightly. What the present conditions allow it to do in the economic sphere, it has done. What those conditions allow it to do in the political sphere it has done likewise. Grasping its opportunities, facing its responsibilities, it has set itself unflinchingly to those grave problems which today beset the international community. And of this, our debates on the Spanish problem, on Mandates and the grave situation in China, are eloquent proof.

"That is the second aspect of your work this session. Let me turn to the third. Your enquiry into the application of the Principles of the Covenant reveals the Assembly's awareness of the need of the League to adapt itself to the ever-changing

conditions involved in its growth. Adversaries of the League who find in every new difficulty fresh reason for doubting it, and impatient friends who look upon those difficulties as reasons for asking of it too much, alike ignore the significance of one all-significant fact—the very existence of the League.

"Remember how the League came into being just after the war, when everything was in disorder. How it has passed through the vicissitudes of crisis after crisis—political, economic and other—crises not of the League's own making, but the inevitable inescapable aftermath of prewar pre-League conditions. Remember how, despite everything, it still stands, deep-rooted in the world's very necessity. Remember all it has done in seventeen short years for the gradual rebuilding of a devastated world, and how, never losing sight of its objectives, it has yet displayed enough flexibility to preserve its ideal intact through all opposition. Think of all this, and then say whether we are not verily right in paying homage and service to the League.

"Were I asked how I myself conceive the League's mission in the world I should answer in the words of the great Saadi: 'The children of Adam, created of the self-same clay, are members of one body. When one member suffers, all members suffer likewise. O thou who art indifferent to the sufferings of thy fellow, thou art unworthy to be called man.' Or I might borrow the words of a wise Hindu poet philosopher: 'All peoples in the world are to me even as my nearest kin and kith.' Or the final blessing at a Hindu service: 'Let there be peace! Let there be prosperity' The age-long experience of India had, indeed, taught its children that prosperity without peace was an impossibility. Even so may it be with the League of Nations.

"Indeed, all the problems that fall to the League may ultimately be reduced to one—that of man, and the dignity of man. It is in that sense that the work of the League assumes its true significance and acquires its permanent value. The tribulations of one people are the tribulations of all. That which weakens one weakens all. That which is a gain to one is surely a gain to all. This is no empty ideal. It is a veritable compass to guide aright the efforts of statesmen in every country and of all men of good-will who, desiring the good of their own people, desire the good of the whole world.

"And now for the present, my task is over. In the circumstances in which we separate, I may not wish you farewell, but with all my heart I wish you Godspeed."

The Aga Khan's work as the President of the League was admirable. The Indian delegate Pandit Dharam

Naraenji, spoke in terms of admiration of the way in which the Aga Khan despatched the work of the Assembly and the excellent impression he created among the members of the League.

Speaking in the Peace Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition in Glasgow in July 1938 the Aga Khan made an earnest appeal for the preservation of the primary political functions of the League of Nations. It was a law of life, he said, that men should labour and endure to uphold ideals and institutions and that other men should enter into their labours.

He suggested reviving the ideas of Briand and Stresemann to form a United States of Europe, when nine-tenths of the dangers to civilization would disappear.

The ideals and conceptions of which the League was the expression, said the Aga Khan, were imperishable. The War threw a lurid light, not yet quenched, on the insecurity from which the most civilized nations of the world had suffered in their relations to each other. Without reorganization there was the prospect of recurring wars, each more devastating than the last.

The League, he added, must not be allowed to renounce the great ideal of being the Parliament of Nations, the supreme authority to ordain peace instead of war throughout the world. They might go back to the ideas of Briand and Stresemann to form a United States of Europe, if she could be grouped into an economic power unit. Then indeed it would be possible for the nations of Europe to promote the use of the undeveloped parts of the world.

A necessary alteration in the fundamental constitution of the League would be to allow the inhabitants of a portion of a country—if sufficiently numerous—to have a referendum under League direction. By this they could, through a substantial majority, be able to leave that State and either remain independent members or join some other country.

A personality so essentially cosmopolitan as the Aga Khan with his unique knowledge of world affairs, his widespread political connections and the immense personal influence attaching to his position as religious head of an Islamic community scattered over several countries, all of them of vital importance in international politics, was bound to find expression, in such an ideally international institution as the League of Nations. So great, indeed, was the interest he took in this body that he soon became a leading figure in League circles and one of the best known personalities in the group of statesmen and idealists who periodically assemble at Geneva to endeavour, somewhat vainly it must be confessed, to lead the nations along the paths of prudence, wisdom and humanity to the high levels of culture and civilised existence. His work on the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments is a matter of international knowledge and world-wide esteem and it is one of the greatest satisfactions of his life that he was able to assist substantially the League's efforts in the direction of disarmament, an ideal consistently striven after by His Highness. That those efforts have been proved futile and the success achieved has vanished before the rise of aggressive nationalism, is neither discredit to nor belittlement of their intrinsic value and inherent righteousness. The Right Honourable Arthur Henderson, who was President of the League Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, came to rely in the highest degree upon the advice and assistance of the Aga Khan at Geneva throughout the progress of those protracted discussions. It throws an interesting light upon the Aga Khan's interest in League affairs that His Highness retracted much of the personal supervision which he is accustomed to devote to his enormous racing interests and had actually to forgo the desire to see his candidates run in the Derby—which on that particular occasion one of them very nearly succeeded in winning.

In regard to disarmament it is only natural that the Aga Khan as religious head of the Ismailis and as a spokesman of India as well as in his own individual capacity as a man who has consistently eschewed violence in any form in his own life and has consistently preached and spoken against it throughout his career, should have definite and decided views. These were clearly defined and uncompromisingly advanced in a speech which His Highness delivered at the fourteenth Plenary Session of the League Conference in 1932, a speech, incidentally, which is amongst the most brilliant ever delivered on the topic of disarmament and the inherent evil of war. In a day when the world trembles on the brink of a war greater ever than that which, ironically enough, was undertaken to end all wars, that the utterance of His Highness has even more powerful significance than when it was delivered and accordingly no apology is needed for its reproduction at full length here. It is, as has been stated already, a historic pronouncement.

Almost all of us here are preoccupied with the pressing problem that have arisen as a consequence of the Great War. Among these the most urgent is that of disarmament, with all that it implies. But let us not forget that for many years before the war this problem was insistent. The general burden of armaments had created alarm among those who were able to look ahead, and widespread dissatisfaction among the vast masses of the populations in all continents and countries—Eastern and Western alike—and India was no exception.

I am speaking here for many millions of my fellow-countrymen, who place the love of peace and the repudiation of violence among the first of the human virtues. With them, the ideal of peace is no mere economic expedient; it is an element deep-rooted in their very nature. That is the spirit which it is my task to reflect in making what contribution I can to the proceedings of this Conference.

The striving of mankind after some more organic development than the mere clash of nations and states is nothing new. Many of us who are taking part in this Conference will remember the hopes raised in our hearts by the first Hague Peace Conference; and we remember the grievous disappointment that followed its meagre results. The second Hague Conference was also a failure and even from the beginning little was ever expected from it.

Since then we have had the terrible lessons of the World War. Confined in the first place by historical and other causes to one continent, it gradually spread its devastating effects throughout the world. In distant India, no less than in Europe, it created a host of mourners and left a legacy of bitter tragedy. Over a million of my fellow-countrymen were called to arms, of whom more than fifty thousand laid down their lives. The ravages of war, in its toll of humanity, its social and economic disturbances, have left their mark on India as on the other countries which were drawn into its vortex.

With the coming of peace new hopes were raised that at last we had learned our lesson; that we could look to a better world in which force would be replaced by disarmament and arbitration, by the adjustment of national differences and difficulties through methods of peaceful co-operation; and that the reign of law was now to be firmly established.

Alas! We have found that armaments still hold sway, and that the feeling of insecurity persists. It is by no means certain that the war to end war has been fought and won.

To-day social and economic conditions throughout the world make it imperative that unless the fabric of organized human Society is to collapse vigorous steps must be taken forthwith. In this work the present Conference is called to play a leading part. On the moral side, we must set ourselves to remove the paralysing effects of fear, ill-will and suspicion. On the material side, it is absolutely essential that the non-productive effort devoted to war-like preparations should be reduced to the bare minimum. That minimum has already been stressed by the spokesman of the United States of America. In India we have constantly borne in mind the underlying principle, namely, the maintenance of forces that shall be no more than adequate to guarantee peace and order on and within her borders.

India's own scale of armaments allows no margin for aggressive uses. The size of her forces has to be measured with reference to the vastness of her area and the diversity of her conditions. The fact is so often forgotten that I will venture to recall it here, that the area of India is more than half that of the whole of Europe, and her population nearly one-fifth of that of the entire globe. May I also recall that within India herself more than one-third of the total area is under the jurisdiction of Rulers of the India States. Many of these maintain forces of their own, in part for the preservation of order within the States' boundaries, and to some extent also for co-operation in the task of guaranteeing the defence of India against the possibility of aggression from without. The remoteness of India is my excuse, if I need one, for alluding to these facts.

A happy augury of our proceedings—and I can say with experience of various conferences that it is indeed a happy augury—is that we have already at this early stage heard and bent our minds to a number of concrete proposals. This is the more helpful and fortunate since the time for detailed study in commissions of the Conference is fast approaching. Before we met here expectations ranged between the high hopes of idealists and the scepticism of those who looked for little or no result. The very atmosphere of our meetings and the earnest attention paid on all sides to fruitful suggestions give us confidence that we can now work for positive results. Would anyone have ventured to say three weeks ago, that so much practical ground-work could be accomplished within so short a time?

I think I am right in saying that there is already a general body of support for detailed suggestions of the kind that have been put before us by the representative of that great country, the United States of America, and may I say that America's long record of success in combining peace with prosperity is one that fitly entitles here to take the active part she has already taken in our deliberations? I look with hope and confidence to a continuance of her efforts.

Her suggestions are fresh in our minds. In dealing with them I might seem to be travelling away from the more immediate problems of my country if I refer to the larger questions of naval defence. But I would recall that India is essentially interested in these matters. Her coast line extends over five thousand five hundred miles, a length comparable perhaps with that of any of the States here represented. Though in the main an agricultural country, she possesses five great centres of industry that from their situation are exposed to attack from the sea, and her volume of sea-borne trade is a vital factor in her prosperity. She acknowledges the immeasurable advantages given her by the protecting power of the British Navy. In saying this I have in mind not only defence in war but the policing of the seas for the benefit of all who go about their lawful occupations. If not a maritime Power, India has maritime interests that entitles her to share in the discussion of all measures for relieving the burden of naval armaments.

Then, again, we will co-operate to the full in devising means for protecting the civil population against ruthless methods of warfare. Thus we support such proposals as that for the total abolition of the submarine, and of lethal gas and bacteriological warfare, and the use of poison generally.

Again, we will pay special attention to any suggestions for limiting the destructive power of air bombardment, and generally for restricting weapons of warfare which may broadly be classed as aggressive in their purposes. I know well the difficulty of marking off these weapons with any degree of logical precision. But there is already a great body of sentiment which demands that such a distinction can and should be made, and that no merely technical obstacles should be allowed to stand in the way.

To focus discussion on all these matters we have before us the draft Convention. We whole-heartedly recognize the patient thought and work out of which it has been constructed, and we readily accept it as the starting point of our new labours. Its detailed provisions deserve, and will receive, the closest examinations. We shall have to consider whether the principle of budgetary limitation may not provide an invaluable cross check on the limitation of armaments. We shall have to face the intricacies of the problem fully and frankly.

We must meet the difficulty, for instance, of comparing the very different facilities for production that exist in different countries. We must deal with the problems of relating the cost of highly paid members of a voluntary force to that of the lower members of a force recruited by conscription. And here let me say, on behalf of my country, that India would welcome anything that can be done to limit the burden of conscription and so to release human energy for the purely peaceful activities for which it was destined.

The authors of the draft Convention, however, themselves urge that it should be supplemented wherever possible by any further constructive proposals that at present lie outside its scope. For the work of peace that we have in view we must not concentrate a powerful frontal attack on warfare on one or two points only. We must consolidate the establishment of peace. We must make it invulnerable by the limitation of armaments, by the development of arbitral methods, by each and every means of giving to weak and strong alike an abiding sense of security.

The basis of all security is a foreign policy rooted in mutual goodwill and co-operation; a foreign policy in which no country covets its neighbour's possessions or seeks to infringe its moral and spiritual rights. Strides have already been taken in this direction, notably in the Treaty of Locarno. Those four great statesmen (Briand, Chamberlain, Mussolini and Stresemann), whose names will always be associated with that agreement, have placed not only their own countries, but the whole world, under a lasting debt of gratitude. The spirit of Locarno is, however, no fitful spark. For many years it has governed the relations between the States that compose the two great continents of North and South America—and here the case that comes most readily to the mind of a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations is that of the United States of America and Canada, where the very idea of

aggression has been so completely banished that whatever other calamities may threaten or befall their citizens, the calamity of mutual warfare never enters into their lives or thoughts. May there not still be ample room to develop regional fraternities which could in course of time come to cover the whole globe, to act as a reinforcement to the common instrument that already exists in the League of Nations with all its varied activities?

For shaping the work of future world peace, France, who has so often led the world in brilliant ideas, has put forward far-reaching proposals which have already arrested our attention. We must approach them from two sides. We must bear in mind the practical problems to which they may give rise, the vast and formidable adjustment of machinery that they may involve. But let us not lose sight of the ideal by which they are inspired. Let us keep before us the possibility of a better world organization, created not for sectional interests or for self-assertion, but for the single purpose of freeing each one of the many millions on this planet from the fear of war and from the burden of guarding against war in time of peace. The ideal, distant though it may be, will, I venture to say, carry an intimate appeal to my own fellow-countrymen, for whom the greatest good is that each individual should go about his daily task in peaceful and ordered co-operation with his neighbour.

I have placed this ideal in the forefront to show the spirit in which I would approach the practical problems underlying these proposals. We shall neither exaggerate nor evade them. For India, the first problem would be how a supreme world authority could be constructed so long as great and powerful countries like the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and several States who are India's neighbours remain outside the League of Nations. India has only one desire—to live in goodwill and amity with her neighbours. She is watching with friendly interest the processes to which they are now devoting themselves of re-adjusting their national and economic life, and she is not unhopeful that in the event they may find themselves able to assume the full rights, duties and responsibilities of Members of the League of Nations.

I will mention some other problems to which the proposals would give rise. For instance, would it be possible to compose an organization to direct the forces under the command of the world authority? Can it be formed out of the nationals of the various countries; and if so, how can it function if the international force has at any time to be employed against one of those countries? Again the central body of the world authority would have to be equipped with the power to take prompt and decisive action. Experience, so far, has unfortunately shown the extreme difficulty

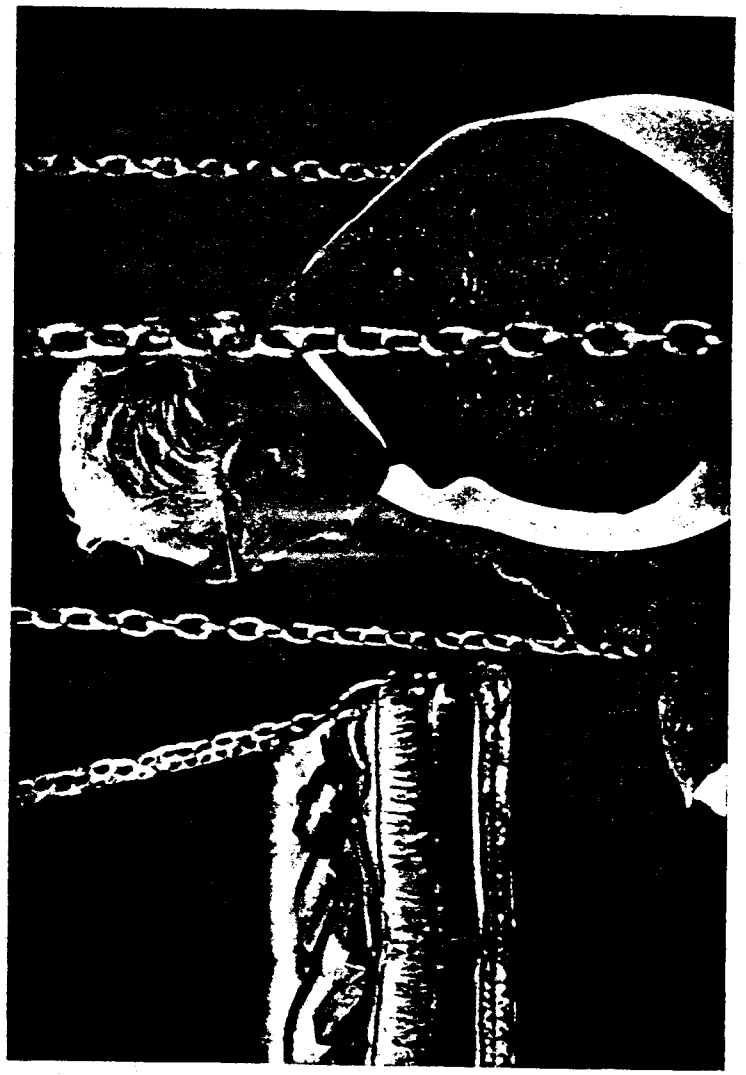
of assuring this condition, which nevertheless would be essential to the prestige, and indeed the existence, of a world authority possessing the final power to enforce its will upon recalcitrants. Further, the function of the forces maintained by the world authority if they should ever have to be set in action, will largely be to defend the weaker against the more powerful; yet both will be represented on an equal footing in the League. Here we encounter the thorny question whether decisions would be taken by a majority or by a unanimous vote alone. There is, moreover, the problem—which may be of special interest to India—whether the forces maintained by the world authority should be stationed at some central spot or distributed regionally in areas where the possibility of conflict may have to be taken into account. Beyond all this, the establishment of a world authority would call for a vast and complex adjustment of the manifold provisions of international law. That may well be a stupendous problem, no less than the others I have indicated.

However, I do not wish to dwell on the difficulties. I instance them to show that a vast amount of ground has yet to be traversed before we can confidently say that this, that or the other solution will terminate the problems and perplexities in which we are now living. But once again let us bear in mind what may be implied in the ideal which I have sketched. In the organization of States, a universal feature is the maintenance of a police force which commands respect just because it embodies the authority of the State; but behind it is a judicial organization which equally represents that authority. The one is dependent on the other. Both these bodies would have to find a parallel if humanity should work its way towards an all-embracing world organization. The judiciary would have to draw on the best representatives of the ability of nations, and on mankind. The central authority, acting as a whole, would have to exercise more than merely judicial or advisory functions. If confronted in various areas with vast internal forces of discontent it might in its ultimate state be called upon to carry out rectifications, realignments and readjustments in accordance with the wishes of the people most vitally concerned. Its duty would be to give effect to those wishes without ill-will and without risk of conflict between the nations. Above all, it should be a living and developing organism and not the dead hand of the past trying to prevent the full and healthy development of the future.

Clearly this ideal will demand all our best thought and our most patient study before it can come near fulfilment. Let us face the facts and agree that only a series of world conferences can lead us to the achievement of this happy end for mankind.

Meanwhile, we must concentrate on the work that lies immediately to our hand. There is no excuse for us to sink back in despair and abandon ourselves to cut-throat competition and the ceaseless rivalry of armaments. Rather we must see and develop to the full the instruments that are already in our hands. In particular, we cannot afford to cast aside the practical results achieved at the cost of such long and careful discussion by the Preparatory Commission. And to look further afield, it is inconceivable that the League of Nations as it now exists, with the immense and world-wide moral prestige that it has already won for itself, should not forge ahead. Let us devote our best energies to this great purpose. Above all let us seize the occasion which has now called us together. Disarmament in its widest sense—the neutralization of war, the security and peace of mankind—can and must be taken in hand. Let us go forward with it here and now.

There is a cry going up from the heart of all the peace-loving citizens of every country for the lessening of their military burdens, for a decrease in the financial load which those burdens impose, for the security of civil populations against indiscriminate methods of warfare, and above all, for security against the very idea of war. It is their growing hope and demand that all the moral authority of the League should be used now and strengthened in every case to prevent aggression and to support and establish the reign of peace, law, arbitration and international goodwill. My countrymen, to whom the cause of peace is sacred, since time immemorial, will anxiously follow our endeavours and whole-heartedly pray for their success.



HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN
In the scales being weighed against gold at Hasnabad, Mazagaon, Bombay, on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee on January 19, 1936.

Chapter Twenty-one

GOLDEN JUBILEE

THE AGA KHAN WEIGHED AGAINST GOLD

THE KING'S ILLNESS AND DEATH

THOUGH the occasions that provide the proud moments of the Aga Khan's life must be innumerable, his Golden Jubilee Durbar which was held at Hasnabad in Bombay, on 19th January 1936, will easily be accorded the foremost place in the calendar of his life, for apart from the other marks of a splendid and memorable occasion, it was distinguished above all other days of his life by stupendous and unprecedented burst of affection on the part of millions of his followers who offered him homage and laid tribute of affection and gratitude at the feet of a leader who had richly earned them. It was a most impressive and picturesque ceremony, simple in its nature, but for Bombay a novelty almost historic for one of its more spectacular features was that His Highness was weighed against gold offered to him by his followers, which he allotted immediately for the work of uplift among his flock. About thirty thousand people collected to witness the ceremony, which was the first of its kind in Bombay, though it used to be prevalent in bygone days in the Indian States. His Highness the Maharaja of Gondal, a most flourishing state in Kathiawar, was similarly weighed on the occasion of his jubilee two years ago, and so was His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner when that famous Ruler's Golden Jubilee was celebrated in his capital in 1937. It is an ancient and historic ceremony and so great was the rush of the people, at the Aga Khan's weighing that several persons, including a number of women and children, fell down and sustained injuries

by being trampled on and an Inspector of Police was seriously hurt in rescuing a child. A most elaborate programme of celebrations had been carefully prepared after weeks of organisation and planning to mark the golden jubilee and the entire population of Bombay was all agog to witness what promised to be one of the most spectacular tamashas of the century, but unfortunately it had to be curtailed on receipt of the sad news that His Imperial Majesty, King George V, had been taken seriously ill. His Highness immediately issued orders for the complete suspension of all the secular celebrations and ordered prayers to be offered for His Majesty's recovery.

Exactly at 11 a.m. on the day of the Jubilee His Highness, accompanied by the Begum Aga Khan, arrived to receive a truly staggering ovation. There was a tremendous rush of people eager to catch a glimpse of the great leader and his consort. Lady Ali Shah, the aged mother of the Aga Khan, who had come a little earlier, sat on the dais to the right of His Highness, and the Begum, who was dressed in a light green sari, was on his left. On the dais was placed a *gadi* embroidered in real gold with the coat of arms of the Aga Khan.

After inspecting the Guard of Honour provided by the Ismaili Khoja Volunteers, the Aga Khan, who was dressed in a purple robe, with his decorations and insignia, and a green turban, broke the news to the vast gathering of the illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor. His Highness said that he was gravely concerned about it, and that he had decided in consequence to limit the celebration of what in other circumstances must have been a joyous occasion, to the purely religious ceremonies, and to cut out all secular functions, till they received good news about His Majesty's health.

Although loud-speakers were installed, it is doubtful whether all those present were able to follow the proceedings, owing to the shouts of joy that continuously broke forth throughout the function. On more than one

occasion, the Aga Khan, in response to the vociferous cheering of the gathering, had to rise from his seat and show himself as he acknowledged the greetings of some group of his enthusiastic and delighted followers.

A culminating point in the ceremony was reached when Mr. Gulamalli G. Merchant, Vice-President of the All-India Committee that was in charge of the Aga Khan's Golden Jubilee celebrations, announced that a cable had been received from Sandringham (England), dated January 18, conveying His Majesty's congratulations to His Highness. The cable which was signed by Lord Wigram, His Majesty's Private Secretary, stated :—

"Before his illness the King informed me of his intention to send you His Majesty's warmest congratulations on your Golden Jubilee and offer good wishes for the future." This was a signal mark of the esteem in which the Aga Khan was held by His Majesty and His Highness was greatly touched by the gracious message while his followers were deeply impressed.

Mr. Merchant then requested His Highness to step into the special pair of scales in order that he may be weighed against gold. In doing so he said, "on behalf of Your Highness's followers all over India, I, as Vice-President of the All-India Committee for the celebration of the Golden Jubilee, most reverently and respectfully request that Your Highness will allow yourself to be weighed in gold on this happy and auspicious occasion, and accept the gold so weighed as an humble token of our love, devotion and gratitude to Your Highness for all the unbounded bounty and benefits that Your Highness's followers have derived during your Immamage during the last fifty years."

In accepting the munificent gift, the Aga Khan said :—

"I accept with great pleasure the gold that my dear spiritual children have offered me, and give them my loving and paternal spiritual blessings.

"I have decided to use the gold for the uplift of my spiritual children, and appoint Messrs. Gulamalli G. Merchant, Rahimtulla M. Chinoy, Cassamally Manjee Nathubhoy, Ali Mahomed Mecklai and Esmail Muhammed Jaffer to devise the best means of applying not only the income of this gold, but the corpus also for intensive uplift work among my spiritual children, in India particularly, by way of all kinds of scholarships, relief by emigration from congested districts, infant welfare and other beneficial work."

His Highness then stepped into the gilded weighing scales, and was weighed. On one side of the scale were placed pieces of bullion and on the other side was a cushion on which sat the Aga Khan. The Aga Khan weighed 9,500 tolas of bullion worth Rs. 3,35,000 (£25,760). When the weight was announced there was a burst of cheering from the gathering.

Two deputations from His Highness the Maharao of Cutch and His Highness the Raja of Lunawada waited upon His Highness and presented him with *nazerana* (valuable presents). The Cutch present consisted of a gold-bordered robe and one thousand rupees in silver while that from Lunawada was a beautiful silver tea set.

The Consuls for Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Afghanistan were then presented to His Highness, who shook hands with them and thanked them for their good wishes.

His Highness regretted that he was not able personally to present Jubilee medals as he had intended to do, but he declared that they would be delivered to the recipients by the Committee in due course.

A few days later, in commemoration of the Jubilee, an address was presented to the Aga Khan at a gathering of ten thousand ladies and gentlemen, representing different communities, assembled on the grounds of the Race Course at Mahaluxmi, which was beautifully illuminated and converted into a veritable fairyland. The address ran as follows :—

On behalf of the All-India Followers of Your Highness, we the members of the Golden Jubilee Committee, appointed to celebrate the completion of fifty years since your accession to the Gadi of your ancestors, beg to offer our homage and tribute to the distinguished services you have rendered to the cause of our dear Motherland, and in particular to the Islamic Brotherhood, of which we form a vital and integral part.

These fifty years will for ever remain memorable in the annals of Ismaili Khojas. Descended from a long line of illustrious ancestors, who made history on three continents and left imperishable memorials of their deeds for the benefit of humanity, your name has gained a lustre and renown comparable to those great figures, who carried the torch of enlightenment to the remotest corner

of the earth. You have happily continued the services which the Ismailian leaders of old rendered to the cause of science and learning with a view to improvement of man's estate without distinction of caste and creed.

To trace your ancestry to the Fatimite Khaliffs of Egypt must indeed be no small source of pride to Your Highness. It was under their rule that Egypt, after suffering oppression for centuries at the hands of Greeks, Romans and Arabs, recovered not only much of her ancient prosperity but a sense of nationality. As Becker has stated, they gave Egypt for the first time a dynasty full of vitality founded on a religious basis. It is a matter of gratification and pride to us that Your Highness has preserved undimmed the prestige and splendour of those world renowned Imams, who have left lasting monuments of their energy and enlightenment in the shape of buildings for prayer houses and universities, especially Al Ahzar known throughout the civilised world as the University which furnishes Egypt even to-day with her ministers of religion and her exponents of Muslim law. Following in the steps of your great ancestor of nearly 1000 years ago, Your Highness is in your turn a great patron and benefactor of the Muslim University at Aligarh which was brought into existence through your spirited leadership. It is a far cry from Al Ahzar in A.D. 971 to Aligarh in 1936—from the oldest existing university to one of the newest, and most influential seats of the Muslim learning in the world. We find in these two universities the historic link which furnishes evidence of the fact that you inherited love of learning from the ancestor who founded Al Ahzar; to-day you spend no less a sum than Rs. 2,70,000 annually on the education of your followers and many more sums on the promotion of Muslim culture.

If, therefore, we speak to-day first of your eminent services to our community, it is in no spirit of particularism but because you have inevitably been brought into most vivid contact with your followers. Some of us can remember the day when in August, 1885, at the age of nine, you ascended the Gadi of the Imammat. Looking down this long vista of years, we desire to express our deep appreciation of the wise devotion of Her Highness Lady Ali Shah to your full education, religious and secular, and to the assiduity with which she has watched over the interests of the Khoja Community during your absence from India. Again, surveying this half a century we are conscious of the progress which the Khoja Community has made in all walks of life. Under your inspiring leadership Khojas have been knit even more closely in the bonds of spiritual union. In the secular field your followers have made remarkable progress in every sphere of human activities,

especially the Law, Medicine, Commerce and Industry and in the widening field of Indian political growth. In this connection we cannot do better than cite the elevation by sheer merit of one of your followers, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, to the honour of G.B.E., and to one of the highest positions in the land, the presidency, of the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Our community has been rich in philanthropists and public-spirited citizens; and it is a matter of no small pride to us that the first Muslim Baronet, Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, is an Ismaili Khoja. We are particularly appreciative of your watchful care of the rising generation, for whom you have encouraged the organisation of a Volunteer Corps, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides—also of the social well-being of the community, for whom you have stimulated the establishment of schools, clubs, maternity homes and an improved hygiene. These are services of lasting benefit to the Ismaili Khojas.

But to-day it is not of your work for our own community that fills our hearts with pride and satisfaction. It is not easy for us to express the profound admiration with which we have witnessed your rise to the position of a statesman of the Empire and an eminent citizen of the world. We find you close to the Throne of our beloved King-Emperor as a member of His Majesty's Privy Council, and the trusted adviser of His Majesty's Ministers. At Geneva, as leader of the Indian Delegation at Assemblies of the League of Nations, you have held your own in the company of statesmen of European reputation. At the Disarmament Conference you have led the van in pursuit of the peace which we all have so dear at heart, and if these efforts have not been crowned with success it is due to no weakness in your advocacy but because of the prevalent neurosis of fear which crushes the spirit of international co-operation. At successive sessions of the Round Table Conference your eminence was revealed. During the Sino-Japanese dispute in 1934 it was refreshing to find you fearlessly entering a powerful plea for all the Asiatic States, emphasising the need for the preservation of their integrity and independence. Whilst the Indian people have reason to bless your wise advocacy of their claims, we recognise that this was pursued in no narrow communal vein but from the conviction that peace and harmony in India depend on the security of each component element in our people, and that the confidence of the whole rests on the confidence of every part. The best evidence of this is the appearance, at the instance of Your Highness, of the Joint Memorandum which expressed the matured opinion of all the delegates from India as to their minimum demands and the form which the constitutional progress of our land should take.

Your exposition and advocacy of Islamic culture and the true

significance of Islam at the Muslim Educational Conference held at Delhi on the occasion of Lord Curzon's Durbar, and on many other subsequent occasions, have contributed in no small measure to awaken in Muslims the necessity of educational and cultural advance. Your powerful advocacy of the rights and independence of the Muslim States, and your efforts to bring them into alliance with Great Britain on terms of independence, so that they may form a bulwork of world peace, stamp you as a statesman of great sagacity. Your unceasing labours to secure a mitigation of the severe Allied terms to Turkey and to provide a real and not a fictitious peace in the Far East, and your presence at the Second Lausanne Conference as a friend of both parties, contributed substantially, though entirely unofficially, to the ultimate success of negotiations which were repeatedly on the verge of a breakdown. When, after anxious weeks of discussion, the Treaty was signed, you issued a pacific message to the Muslim world, pointing out that for the first time in history a Treaty has been concluded on behalf of the Muslim people with the great Powers of the West on equal terms. We have not forgotten that pacific message and its significance to the Muslim world. Your advocacy of the rights of Indians abroad and your fight for the removal of their grievances will always be remembered.

These are services so great, so rare that they have earned the gratitude of all Indians. We admire the distinction which your eminence in all these fields of activity has conferred on our land and our people. We deeply appreciate the talent and devotion which have raised the stature of India and its people in every country in the world.

In reply to the address the Aga Khan said that during the last fifty years the Khoja community had made great strides of progress in all walks of life. But these were days of the survival of the fittest and he exhorted his followers to keep themselves abreast of the time. Members of the Khoja community were residing not only in all parts of India but they were to be found in all parts of the world. They had made themselves known for their integrity and enterprise. He asked them not to rest on their past laurels but to strive harder for further progress in the future. He asked them to concentrate their attention on the healthy growth of the community. His advice to them was "educate, educate and educate your children," so that the community might turn out

good and loyal citizens who would be prepared to work for the relief of humanity. The object of education should not be to find employment in Government service but should be to turn out better type of men imbued with the ideas of service and sacrifice. He regarded it a most gratifying sign of the time that Khoja women were taking to higher and liberal education and the community possessed today several women graduates. There was a great field of social work before them and they should take full advantage of their opportunities to serve their sisters.

The community, said His Highness, had produced great commercial and industrial magnates like Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and eminent political leaders like Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola who had set shining examples worthy of imitation by the younger generation. He asked them to imitate those examples of service and devoted patriotism and exhorted his hearers to concentrate on social service, remarking that they should deserve before they desired anything. Their motto should be "Service and sacrifice for the greater glory of the Motherland and of Islam." A great future, he declared, lay before the community if they recognised properly their duty as patriotic citizens to serve their country and the Empire, not merely in a spirit of narrow nationalism, but in the broad human spirit that regarded all men as brothers and the world as its home and interest, by developing an international spirit. He thanked them for the reference they had made to his dear mother who was unable to be present that evening, but he assured them that even at her great age she was earnestly anxious to serve the best interests of the Ismaili community. He assured them that he would support every enlightened effort for the uplift of the community so long as its members were alive to their duty. He wished them all happiness and prosperity in their business.

The continued illness of His Majesty the King-Emperor resulted in the curtailment of the programme

of Jubilee celebrations and when at last the mournful news reached India of the passing of King George V, the Aga Khan immediately ordered that the celebration programme should be forthwith abandoned.

His Highness was deeply moved by the sorrowful announcement. All Khoja shops in Bombay were closed and business entirely suspended for three days. In the course of an interview with a representative of *The Times of India*, His Highness gave expression to his sorrow and poignant grief at the death of the beloved King-Emperor and enumerated his services to mankind. The Aga Khan's close contact with His Majesty gave him an opportunity to study the King at close quarters and his opinion about the late Sovereign of England will be read with deep interest by people of every shade of opinion in the world.

"Nowhere in the world will the death of His Majesty" said the Aga Khan "be mourned more deeply than in India. His Majesty's message of sympathy delivered at the Guildhall Banquet on his return to London after his visit to India as Prince of Wales and his subsequent message of hope after his Coronation at Delhi, are still ringing in our ears. They were the harbingers of political progress and economic and industrial progress in India, which owes a heavy debt of gratitude to His Majesty's personal interest in its welfare.

"I can recall the scene that occurred during his Majesty's visit to Calcutta as Prince of Wales. It was a scene which I shall never forget, and I have not forgotten it. I wrote what I saw then :—"Tears of joy ran down the faces of old men and young Bengali lads who were probably students who had been agitating several weeks before. Amongst one large group I went up to an old man, a Muslim, who seemed deeply affected. His grey beard was wet with the tears of joy he had shed, and his moist eyes shone with that happy satisfaction which one so rarely sees on the faces of very old men. I went up to him and asked why he shed tears and why

he looked so happy. He turned round and told me with an expression I can never forget:—'I went to see them arrive the other day. His first glance—and his whole bearing all these days has confirmed it—has shown that he is a man, and that he looks on us as men. Oh, how good it is to have a man who does feel that we are human beings. . . . I cry for joy that the heir of the Indian Empire and his Consort do consider us as human.' The hundreds who surrounded the old man with one voice said 'Shabash! Shabash!' and looked as if they instinctively agreed."

"I can truly say," continued the Aga Khan, "that His Majesty was every inch a man—a man amongst rulers, and a ruler amongst men." Our beloved King George was a world figure and his sudden death is a world-wide loss. We all feel it as a grievous and personal bereavement owing to his intense love for all of us and his anxiety to share in our joys and sorrows. A deep note of sympathy for the sufferings of humanity rang in and rang out of his noble heart and he was a personification of kindness towards all. His love for India was genuine and unbounded.

"To me personally," added the Aga Khan, "his death has been a source of poignant grief and sorrow. I have experienced his gracious favours and I had enjoyed his confidence for thirty-seven years. I have the pleasantest reminiscences of his kindness towards me. The world has lost in him a safe and true guide, the Empire the greatest pillar, and India its greatest friend and well-wisher."

"We all mourn today one of the best kings of world history. I had the honour and privilege of knowing him intimately. Besides his passionate desire for the well-being of his subjects, his great qualities were justice, mercy and forgiveness. I had very many occasions of meeting the King under all sorts of circumstances, and it is no exaggeration to say that one thought only dominated his life and his work, namely, peace and the peaceful interests of his vast Empire.

"India had ever been very near and dear to his thought. From his first visit in 1905 till his last day that interest had grown with personal knowledge, and a passionate desire that the pace of India's true and peaceful development, neither too hasty nor too slow, but healthy and natural, should continue. The King set no limit to India's political progress as a dominion within the Empire and yet he fully realised the force of his famous advice to Gokhale in 1905 at Calcutta to deal urgently with the problem of raising the condition of women as an essential to national progress, which proves that he was conscious of all the complex problems of this vast Empire and eager for their right solution.

"Nothing caused the King more grief than the war, which came as a terrible shock to him and his one anxiety was to secure a lasting but just peace, with charity towards all and malice towards none.

"During the war what prompted Indian Princes and Indian people to sacrifice their all was due to the personality of His Majesty, who struck a true note of duty and patriotism to the nation, and his inspiring messages and speeches and his work amongst the soldiers were a source of great encouragement to the nation to do their duty by the Empire. His Majesty visited hospitals, shipyards, factories, ammunition works, convalescene homes, and everywhere where war work and activities were carried on, and his presence never failed to give encouragement to the workers. His visit to the fleet and the army at the front showed that his heart was with them in the hour of the Empire's trial, and his presence proved a source of inspiration to all concerned. Though he was the revered and renowned ruler of the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen, His Majesty possessed a serene dignity and was altogether a selfless person of charming habits and deep courtesy.

"No reigning king or queen of Great Britain had ever visited India, and it is an open secret that when strong pressure was brought to bear upon Their Majesties

to abandon their proposed visit to India, the King would not hear of it, so great was his love for the people of India. India will ever remember that memorable visit, and His Majesty's memorable proclamation transferring the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and undoing the partition of Bengal. The King's visit to India for his Coronation showed that he regarded India as an important and integral part of the Empire. His address at the opening of the First Round Table Conference will be regarded as a great landmark in the political history of India. It was a sure guarantee of India's autonomous position within the Empire. His Majesty's historic services to India will always be cherished with affection by her children."

In conclusion, His Highness said :

" Let us hope and pray that the peace which his father longed for but was not destined to have should be the dominant feature of the reign of King Edward VIII, our new Emperor, and that reconciliation on which the welfare not only of Europe but of the whole world ultimately depends may come to pass and promote the work of civilisation and happiness of humanity. May God help our new King."

The Aga Khan got another opportunity of expressing his views about the late King at a public meeting convened by the Sheriff of Bombay, Mr. C. B. Mehta, on 11th February 1936 at the Town Hall, Bombay, when tributes to the kingly qualities of the deceased monarch were paid. On the motion of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, seconded by Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the Aga Khan took the chair. In the course of his speech, His Highness said :—

" We meet today under a deep gloom cast by the death of King George V, Emperor of India. The suddenness of the blow has so dazed us and the occurrence is so recent that it is difficult to realise how great is the loss sustained by the world in general and the Empire in particular. Words fail adequately to describe our grief. The Royal family has suffered irreparable loss, the Empire and particularly India has lost a genuine well-wisher, and humanity at large has lost a true friend.

" The universal mouring witnessed since King George passed away testify to the great hold His late Majesty had upon the people of the world at large. No monarch was ever called upon to rule over Great Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations in such times of stress and storm as have been witnessed during the last 25 years.

" The World War destroyed many renowned monarchies in Europe and it is the highest tribute to the late King George V that in spite of these events, the British monarchy today stands more firmly established than ever. After the war, the late King strove not only for lasting peace but for fairness to and friendship with our erstwhile enemies. His success in this direction is a striking testimony to his unrivalled influence even in former enemy countries. The latter mourn the loss as sincerely as the peoples of his own dominions.

" The late King was loved and honoured not only by his own subjects," he said, " but by people of all foreign countries as well. His intimate knowledge of the component parts of the Empire, his sympathies not only with the aspirations but in the sufferings and hardships of his people and his readiness to respond to every appeal to his sense of justice or to his spirit of charity and compassion won for him the love, esteem and confidence of his people. He possessed all the kingly virtues, was jealous of the traditions and was the faithful guardian of the constitutional liberties of the people.

" He performed the most arduous and manifold activities which are the inheritance of monarch with remarkable dignity and grace and succeeded in winning the love and confidence of his people by his deep solicitude for the common interests of all. His sincerity and simplicity and his strong and dominating sense of public duty and patriotism made him a model monarch.

" I had the honour of knowing His late Majesty personally for nearly 40 years, and what struck me most was his ideal of service and duty to the State and his living and abiding interest in the welfare of the people of India. These two things were always present in his mind. His late Majesty was indeed a great statesman and a great sportsman in the best sense of both terms. A singular judge of men, his rare gifts of commonsense and unrivalled tact were his great possession. **** His Majesty was the centre and symbol of Empire unity. We cherish with affectionate memory his magnificent services to this country.

" It is our loyal and agreeable duty to pay our homage to King Edward VIII on his accession to the throne.

" His late Majesty's deeds form a great memorial to his magnificent services but our sense of loyalty demands that we should

commemorate these services by a fitting memorial and I hope rich and poor alike will rise to the occasion and supply funds for a suitable memorial for the relief of the sick and the suffering, in which he was deeply concerned, and which was nearest to his heart. I may add that His Majesty King Edward VIII has been graciously pleased to accord permission for the memorial.

"I am glad to say that we shall begin the great work to which we are about to put our hands today under the most favourable auspices, as you will all agree when I tell you that the Governor of Bombay and Lady Brabourne have consented to be the President and Vice-President respectively of the Committee of the citizens of Bombay. We all know how keenly and incessantly both His Excellency and Lady Brabourne strove only last year in connection with the Jubilee Fund. We also know how keen and constant has been their lively desire to ameliorate the lot of the poor and the sick."

Chapter Twenty-two

VISIT TO EAST AFRICA

IT must be amply clear to the reader by now that honours have fallen thick upon the Aga Khan's brow and that success may almost be regarded as the habit of a life which from the beginning has been full of important and even historic activity in an amazing number of fields. Nor is there any reason for surprise that it should be so. If there is one quality which distinguishes the Aga Khan more than others, it is his prudence. He is no maker of rash promises. When he undertakes a mission, sets a goal for achievement or makes up his mind that something needs to be done, he has already considered every possibility connected with the project or proposal. Difficulties have been anticipated, objections countered, obstacles provided for—in fact every possible precaution taken to insure success in so far as it can be humanly insured. This is more than a habit with the Aga Khan. It is a primary rule of life. The rest follows with the ease and certainty of logic and honour of course is an ancient handmaid of success.

Among the unique honours that crowd the career of this great leader in Islam is one that deserves special mention. His Highness the Aga Khan is the only man in history who has been weighed twice in gold. Once, as we have seen already, in Bombay on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee. The second time was in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya Colony, when he visited his followers there. The honour, it must be emphasised, was accorded to him not only as religious head of the Ismailis, but in the most particular degree it was a tribute of love and esteem from a community to its revered benefactor to whose wide leadership it owed its existence and prosperity in East Africa.

In response to an earnest and pressing invitation from

his followers in that country. His Highness and the Begum Aga Khan decided to visit East Africa. On arrival they were given a cordial welcome by residents who staged demonstrations of tumultuous rejoicing which were unprecedented in the history of the country. It was a noteworthy feature of the reception that British officials and Indians irrespective of creed, sect, caste or position joined heartily in the welcome. Arabs in thousands and Ismailis from every corner of Asia and Africa flocked to the various important centres visited by the Aga Khan and the Begum in the course of their tour, the interest of which will be evident from the fact that among the places they visited were Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Belgium Congo, South Africa and Portuguese East Africa.

His Highness was lionised everywhere. Numerous addresses were presented to him and a host of entertainments were held in his honour. The Aga Khan naturally made innumerable speeches, all of them admirable alike for the noble sentiments he expressed and the valuable advice which he gave to his followers and to Indians generally who were resident in East Africa. The main purport of his utterances was an exhortation to all to live in harmony with one another, to work together in co-operation, to settle in greater numbers in undeveloped parts of the country and to take earnestly to mercantile pursuits. He advised them to make small beginnings in business and then, as they prospered, to take to bigger commercial enterprises. Just as Englishmen had made Canada and Australia their adopted country, he asked them to adopt Africa as their permanent home. They should strive their best to hold them, to improve themselves in commercial, educational and social spheres, and he added that their love for their adopted country should be given full expression in their endeavours to raise the standard of living of the people among whom they lived. They should regard themselves as members of one family

and they should cultivate the most friendly relations with the Arabs and with the Muslim communities. Turkey, Egypt, Persia and Afghanistan, he pointed out, were adopting Western culture and Western civilization. He asked the Indians in Africa to assimilate all that was best in Western culture and Western civilization, and at the same time to learn and develop the best in their own literature, traditions and customs. They must steep themselves, he exhorted them, in the ennobling history of Islam and must hold up to themselves for inspiration the example and achievements of those who had made Islamic history. He urged them to refrain from drinking and the use of tobacco. Alcoholic drink, he rightly asserted, could do nobody any good and they would be consulting their own interests and their own health if they refrained from intoxicating drink. Instead, be suggested that they should take to drinking fruit juice.

His Highness laid great stress upon the education of girls ; the welfare of furture generations and the progress of the community, he pointed out, depended in the most important degree upon its women and its mothers. In regard to education, His Highness said it was a means of training their minds and a vital necessity for the proper development of character and discipline. He emphasised the importance of physical culture, the need for which he regretfully noticed was not properly appreciated by them. Unless men and women are bodily fit, they cannot be mentally sound.

One point most earnestly urged by His Highness was the need for adult education. And his Highness added that in their new home they should not confine themselves to settled districts and larger towns, but becoming pioneers carrying the torch of culture and enterprise, they should penetrate into the interior, into the most distant villages, and develop trade and stimulate industry where there were none before. They should establish co-operative societies, form

banking and insurance companies and generally prove themselves the bearers of the standard of commercial prosperity. Finally, said His Highness, in whatever they did and said they should uphold the glory of their forefathers, the dignity of India and pride in the Empire, of which they as well as their country were an important and valuable part. The Aga Khan's advice has already borne fruits and a beginning has been made in establishing banking and Insurance business on sound lines.

In Nairobi the Aga Khan was weighed in gold amid extraordinary scenes of enthusiasm. The precious metal was presented to him by his followers as a token of their love and affection for their revered leader. The Aga Khan thanked the Ismaili Khojas for the great honour they had done by presenting him with gold, which he asked them to receive back from him and to use it for the uplift of the community in East Africa. He advised them to make such use of it as would benefit the community and raise it in the scale of civilisation. He asked them to remember that no enterprise could be successful unless it was pursued with strictest integrity. In every walk of life, he told them, integrity, industry, courage and patience should be their watchwords.

The Government of Zanzibar conferred on the Aga Khan the title of the Brilliant Star of Zanzibar. The Begum Aga Khan was presented with addresses by Khoja and Indian ladies when Her Highness made a fervent appeal to work for the regeneration of their communities.

Chapter Twenty-three

FOUNDATION OF WORLD PEACE

IN connection with the crisis that concluded with the Munich Pact the Aga Khan contributed an article to *The Times*, London, worthy of more than passing interest. In the course of it His Highness wrote :

" Peace prevails, thanks to the wisdom of the Prime Minister and those who loyally supported him in the Cabinet and the country. What about the future ?

" The foundation of world peace is an Anglo-French alliance by which all the resources of Great Britain would be placed at the disposal of France in the event of an unprovoked attack on that country, and *vice versa*. One hears two opinions whether or not Germany and her Chancellor can be trusted to keep the peace. The question of trust is irrelevant. In dealing with dictators we must remember that, unlike hereditary autocrats, they are men who have arisen by their own qualities from obscurity to be the rulers of their people. To have achieved this they must have had many outstanding qualities. Their essentially cold and calculating minds weigh the advantages and disadvantages of any course of action ; and they will never risk their countries in a war save on questions of vital interest or honour. " The substance of German unity is now achieved. What is still outstanding ? Eupen, Malmedy, and Schleswig are so small that no sane person can imagine a world war for these areas. Poland ? Herr Hitler's greatest triumph, the foundation of all his later successes, was his prompt understanding with Poland, his acceptance of the fact that the Reich has more than 30,000,000 Polish neighbours, and that even a successful attempt to suppress their outlet to the sea would make eternal enemies of them. A " live and let live " policy with the Poles, recognizing the Corridor and the fact that over 1,000,000 Germans would remain in Poland, has given Germany security in the east. She will not risk that security at the price of local conquests. Danzig will probably come under direct Reich administration by an amicable arrangement with Poland, and a similar accord probably awaits Memel. But it is inconceivable that such settlement could cause a world war.

" Will Germany turn west and attack France ? What for ? Alsace-Lorraine ? There may be 1,500,000 men of Teutonic descent in those provinces, but what about the cost of conquest ?

Germany would lose more than that total of *young* men, and from the demographic point of view her wastage would be infinitely greater because on the youth so sacrificed the future of the race depends. Besides, what would Germany do with Alsace-Lorraine even supposing she got it at this terrible cost? France and England would still exist and there could be no real peace with them. Germany was unable to absorb these people last time: they remained Alsatians from 1870 to 1914 and, as such, were saturated with French ideals. If it be maintained that the object of such a war would be the control of the potash of Alsace or the minerals of Lorraine, the answer is that Germany could, at infinitely lower cost than war, buy much greater quantities of ore and potash from anywhere in the world.

"Would Germany try to take the Channel ports? The cost of such an adventure would be even more formidable than an attempt to recapture the lost provinces. It would mean war with Belgium, thereby repeating the follies of 1914 and uniting half the world against the aggressor. We are told that in *Mein Kampf* Hitler wrote this and that. But every statesman in what Gladstone called 'a position of greater freedom and less responsibility' has said things and suggested courses that he never contemplated carrying out when in power. What about the Ukraine? Germany could only attack her if Poland were an enemy or an ally. If an enemy, the problem of the 30,000,000 Poles permanently hostile to Germany would arise. If she became the ally of Germany in this venture which of the two countries would gather the spoils? If Poland did so she would become almost equal to Germany in power, and this certainly would not be to the latter's interest. A German Ukraine would place Poland in the nut-crackers, and she will avoid such a fate.

"We all know that Germany will ask for colonies. But can she use aggressive methods to obtain them? To conquer and keep colonies she would have to be stronger than England and France combined at sea. By the Anglo-German Naval Agreement Herr Hitler has recognized Britain's naval supremacy. As long as colonies are owned by other countries it is impossible to deny permanently Germany's right to share the white man's burden. As an Asiatic I have no sympathy with 'the white man's burden' theory: I consider it the coloured man's burden, after the model of Sinbad the Sailor. But there it is, whether Asiatics and Africans like it or not. If some have vast colonies Germany will also claim a place in the tropical sun. To bring about a permanent understanding on the colonial question the men who negotiate for Great Britain must possess imagination, great ability, courage, and resource; they must not be tied down to precedent

or red tape. Men with these qualities can arrange an African readjustment that will satisfy Germany once and for all. Merely to return one or other of the old colonies is no solution. This matter must be tackled with boldness and vision.

"We must realize that there are spheres where, for geographical and natural reasons, Germany will be the dominating economic factor. Commercial treaties can be made by which Germany may become one of the great exchanging countries, and history proves that such business intercourse is for the good of all the nations concerned. These economic understandings will be the ultimate solution of Germany's population problem.

"The idea of an ideological preventive war against the totalitarian States may be dismissed as too immoral to be worthy of consideration by the people of this country. So we have now reached the point in this survey of the horizon where we find no reason why the glorious victory for peace with honour won by the Prime Minister need degenerate into a truce. Reason, self-interest, conscience; all point to peace. What are the next steps to make peace a reality, and not drift again to a period of truce? Peace, like war, needs a positive active policy. A few practical suggestions may be offered.

"The Fuhrer has repeatedly and most solemnly declared that just as the frontier with Italy is final, definite, and sacred so he considers the present frontier with France to be inviolable. Let us take him at his word. Why not begin with a non-aggression treaty between Germany and France on one side, and Great Britain and Germany on the other? Such a treaty between Great Britain and Germany alone would not be in keeping with the spirit or letter of an Anglo-French alliance. But the conclusion of such a treaty between all three Powers would be the beginning of the work of building a real world peace.

"Further, a complete understanding with Italy in respect of Mediterranean interests and safeguarding her communications with her African Empire would make stable the prospects of peace among these four European Powers. This would naturally be followed by qualitative and quantitative disarmament, mutually agreed, and guarantees of one another's frontiers and colonies. Thus, by a natural process of evolution, the actively friendly relations of the four great Powers could be made the foundation of a new, real, growing, all-embracing system of collective security for mankind."

"Let good assert itself. Let good come forward and insist on justice and fair-play. Let the civilised portions of the earth be ruled by the principles of

self-determination and nationality." In these words His Highness made a stirring appeal to save the world from the terrible catastrophe of another world war in a broadcast talk from Bombay in January 1939 on "War or Peace." The Aga Khan said :—

"We are living in a period of exceptional interest and importance to humanity. The rise and fall of Alexander, of Rome, of Persia and of other Empires, the conversion of Rome to Christianity, the rise of Islam, the Renaissance, the Mogul invasion, and the ruin of Persia and Baghdad, the discovery of America, the French revolution and its war and the recent Great War have all been periods when the world's history changed its course as a great river changes its bed. But a world war today such as is an inevitable alternative to peace will be a far more terrible catastrophe than anything that could have happened in the past.

"How easy it is to imagine a world war in which all the British Dominions, including Great Britain herself, the United States of America, France and Russia against Japan, Germany, Italy and Spain—each and everyone doing its utmost to destroy all the others—a vision of hell on earth, the negation and defeat of good by evil.

"But there is no need, no reason, for such a world disaster. Let good assert itself. Let good free itself from the whisperings of its evil companions and the spirit of evil. Let good come forward and insist on moral justice and fair-play. Let the settled and civilised portion of the earth be ruled by the principles of self-determination and nationality. Let there be an end to the possession and direction of one race, one culture and one civilisation by another.

"Doubtful areas could be adjusted by plebiscites and by exchanges of population. The really backward portions of the earth like the greater part of Africa should be pooled and administered as a mandate, as a trust for the indigenous population and for the economic welfare of all nations. Trade, travel, and communications should be as unrestricted as possible and all artificial and unnatural obstacles removed. The world failed because it failed to rectify the terrible and horrible injustices of the Versailles and Sevres treaties.

"The so-called law of nations has been used to strengthen the title-deeds of the "haves" against the "have-nots." One country has begun to rule over races that today are in revolt against the spirit of another race. But the triumph of the spirit of good and justice is to help forward today nationality and self-determination and the pooling of the earth's resources for the welfare of mankind without racial favour and partiality. Work on that must be the object of those who wish to save this world of ours from the terrible alternative of a world war which is the only thing that can come unless we respect every culture, every nationality, every desire even of the individual to be itself, even if it were but a small portion within any State."

Chapter Twenty-four

FUTURE OF INDIA

INNUMERABLE instances of the Aga Khan's love for the countries where his forefathers ruled, namely Arabia, Egypt and Persia, and his attachment to the country of his birth are to be found in his acts, writings and speeches. His visit to Cairo, the cradle of his ancestors' pride and glory, when Lord Cromer held charge of that country, aroused powerful emotions in him. He spent hours discussing with Lord Cromer various Egyptian problems. In one of his conversations, Lord Cromer remarked to the Aga Khan that Governments such as those of Britain in India and Egypt could not maintain itself except by light taxation. The Aga Khan's main fight is directed against economic factors which may create revolutionary tendencies and he has always made it plain in the most outspoken terms and manner that grinding taxation in any country is bound in the long run to bring about the downfall of the ruling authorities. As to the necessity of liberalising the administration of Egypt, the Aga Khan has always spoken without reserve. He submitted long ago that it was essential for the good name of England in the East that the first possible opportunity be seized of liberalising the administration of Egypt. The reform he maintained had long been overdue and would provide a striking object-lesson the benefits of which could not be exaggerated. The position of the Ruler of that country and its people, their political helplessness—compared with which the Indian States and even British India enjoyed full liberty—tended to give Great Britain a bad name in the East, since they offered her enemies a ready example in impressing on the Orient ideas of British territorial selfishness and race pride. "The very material prosperity which our laws, our irrigation

works, and our equitable fiscal system have brought has served," he declared "to emphasise the political and intellectual, the moral and spiritual backwardness of the Egyptians, *vis-a-vis* the officials." He contended that at the end of the war it ought not to have been difficult to evolve an administration of the Protectorate more in keeping with modern ideal everywhere, including the East. "Nothing," he averred, "could do more to raise the real prestige of Britain for liberalism than a thorough reform of the Egyptian administration by a far larger infusion of native co-operation, and the grant of greater powers alike to the Egyptian Sovereign, to the Egyptian Ministers, and to popularly elected assemblies for both national and local municipal purposes." The Aga Khan's advocacy of independence of Egypt has borne fruit and he has had the satisfaction of seeing that country on the road to prosperity and independence. The latest treaty between England and Egypt has been hailed with satisfaction.

As for the country of his birth, it can be said without exaggeration that his singular efforts for the attainment of political independence and dignity for India are unrivalled. His passionate plea for the political freedom of India has paved the way for the attainment of the status of a full grown Dominion for India. With characteristic frankness he wrote: "In these days when just stress is laid in the principle of self-determination such a corollary to the contemplated political advances in India would enormously increase the Eastern belief in British honour and beneficence.

"A sincere policy of assisting both Persia and Afghanistan in the onward march which modern conditions demand, will raise two natural ramparts for India in the North-West that neither German nor Slav, Turk nor Mongol, can ever hope to destroy. They will be drawn of their own accord toward the Power which provides the object-lesson of a healthy form of federalism in India, with real autonomy for each province, with the internal freedom of principalities assured, with a revived

and liberalised kingdom of Hyderabad, including the Berars, under the Nizam. They would see in India freedom and order, autonomy, and yet Imperial union, and would appreciate for themselves the advantages of a confederation assuring the continuance of internal self-government buttressed by good-will, the immense and unlimited strength of that great Empire on which the sun never sets. The British position in Mesopotamia and Arabia also, whatever its nominal form may be, would be indefinitely strengthened by the policy I have advocated."

As to the urgency of giving the people of India a fuller share and effective voice in the control of affairs in their own country, the Aga Khan invites attention to many forces internal and external, which are awakening Indians in general and the urban population in particular, to the reasonableness of their claims to a share in their own government.

The Aga Khan argues the case of Indians for a full share in the government of their own country with irresistible logic after pointing out the establishment of self-government in enemy countries liberated in the war with the help of Indians. The Aga Khan asks, "Can Britain continue in India an administration in no sense responsible to the people?" He pleaded their case thus:—

"Though illiteracy is, alas! still general, though divisions, especially amongst the untaught masses, are deep, there is a general consensus of opinion amongst the upper and middle classes that the establishment of an administrative system more or less responsible to the people, and drawing its forces from their confidence and co-operation, cannot be long delayed.

"We all know that the vast Indian majority consists of illiterate peasants and field labourers in the rural districts, but it must not be forgotten that the urban dwellers and the literate classes, though forming but a small proportion of the aggregate total, are still numerous enough to be equal to the population of a secondary European State.

"Turning to the vast Hindu population, we find amongst its educated members the feeling that the great conflict designated as a war for liberty and freedom, for the protection of self-development in small countries, such as Belgium and Serbia, carried for the Allies the implication that political freedom is the heritage of every nation, great or small. The principles that rendered the Allied cause just in Europe were of universal application, *mutatis mutandis*, leading to the deduction that India, too, must be set on the path of self-government. At this moment India is almost the only stable and advanced country where the administration is not in any appreciable degree responsible to the people, and where the foundation of state policy is the theory that the government is superior to the governed. Some fifteen years ago, when, for instance, Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer ruled in India and in Egypt, Russia, Turkey, Persia and China were all ruled on this principle. But recent transformations in those lands leave the position of India unique. China and the Russians are republics, with nominally the most democratic forms of government. In India alone we have a government that is not only in practice free from internal parliamentary control, but is actually based on the principle that final decisions are in the hands of an administration not responsible to the people. The contradictory position of the Government leads to its being open to attack from all quarters, and yet to its being considered anomalous that Indians, alone of the great Eastern peoples, should have no control over their administration. These causes, and many others, led to general expectation and desire throughout the length and breadth of India that, when the cause of liberty as represented by the Allied armies had led humanity through victory to peace, the structure of Indian administration also would be brought into line with the spirit of the times and a fair share of control and supervision be given to the Indian public."

His advocacy of freedom for India has borne fruit and eleven provinces in India are under popular Government with executives responsible to the legislatures.

The Aga Khan has always dilated upon the need of righting social wrongs, through handling of the problems of sanitation and public instruction and the establishment of a certain level of well-being as the inherent right of every citizen. He has adopted measures for the solution of these problems for his followers and set an example to the rest of India in regard to the vital principles of a healthy life.

The Aga Khan asserts with reason and justification:—

"Now, British rule in India has been criticised, and rightly criticised, for having allowed the twentieth century to dawn and grow without having grappled fully and successfully with the illiteracy general in India, and with the insanitary environment of the masses which is so bad that avoidable deaths are counted by the million every year, while the standard of the physique of the masses is deplorably low. The various modern departments of State that lead towards social betterment and social welfare in the West have still to be organised. The Indian public conscience unanimously demands that British rule should come into line with progressive modern ideas and tackle illiteracy and other social problems left far too long unsolved." The work of removing illiteracy and improving the standard of physique of the masses has now devolved upon Indian ministers in the Provinces and by the results they produce, they will be judged by the public.

After reviewing the question of finance and defence, the Aga Khan came to the conclusion that a higher standard of citizenship, with both greater sacrifices and greater responsibilities must be imposed on the people if the great work of Britain is not to end in failure. The accomplishment of the task which destiny has placed before England cannot be complete unless India is raised, through social laws and institutions, to the standard of at least a backward European or Spanish-American country. The necessary corollary is that India must be so able to defend herself from foreign aggression as to make her independent of the mere goodwill or the accidental and temporary impotence of her neighbours. Yet neither of these two great conditions can be brought about without the co-operation, through representative institutions, of the people with the Government, and without a thorough change of system that unites the administration with the masses by constant discussion, leading to unity of aim between the direct representatives of the people and the highest officers of the crown.

"Thus, from several principal points of view and apart from the many minor lines of argument that lead to the same conclusions, we see that the Government of India needs radical change; that the time has come when it should be no more a mere government of fiat, however excellent the fiat, but an essentially modern State based on the co-operation of every community and of the Government, by giving to the people themselves the right to direct policy. This metamorphosis will not only lead to the happiness and contentment of India, but to the strengthening of the British Empire as a whole and to drawing India nearer to England and the Dominions."

No Indian nationalist, not even Mr. Gandhi, has argued India's case for justice and liberty with such cogency and independence as the Aga Khan. What he has demanded for the Indian nation, he has gifted to the community over which he presides with such distinction and ability—free primary education, scholarships for higher and scientific education, physical culture, recreation clubs, social reforms of a far-reaching character, welfare movements, co-operative banks and insurance companies—he has conferred all these inestimable boons to his followers. No religious leader in the East or the West, however renowned, has given so much attention as the Aga Khan has done for the improvement of his race. He has fearlessly put into practice his ideas and practical ideas without grudging the cost to himself.

"What do you think of the future of India", was a

question asked of the Aga Khan. To this question His Highness replied :

"I am always an optimist. The past record of India, which is in consonance with her ancient civilisation, forbids me to take a pessimistic view. A country that produces a Jamsetjee Tata, Phirozeshah Mehta, a Gandhi, a Gokhale, a Ganga Singhji and a Ranji can have no reason for despair. There is already self-government in eleven provinces. Here and there, there is a rift in the lute, but the beacon light is clear and if our ministers work with the single idea of promoting the welfare of the masses and be guided by the lessons learned from the misfortunes of countries like China and Spain, there is every hope that Indians will be able to give a good account of their administration, which should refrain from imposing unbearable taxation on the people. Indian leaders should refrain from setting the masses against the classes. There should be no encouragement given to war between the classes and the masses. It should be remembered that India owes her progress to the benevolence of her capitalists, who have founded many useful institutions. Look at the example of the Wadias, Readymoneys and Jeejeebhoys. Sir Ness and his brother C. N. Wadia alone have spent crores of rupees in establishing model houses for their co-religionists and given lakhs of rupees for the endowment of hospitals in Bombay. The late Mr. N. M. Wadia placed his fortune of over a crore of rupees in permanent trust for relieving the suffering caused by natural catastrophes throughout the world and the admirable management of that Trust is a testimony to the capacity of the Parsees to manage their own affairs. Sir Hormusji Adenwalla and his brothers are widely respected in Aden and East Africa for their enterprise and munificence.

The Congress, which for years was in opposition to the whole system of government, is now in charge of the administration in the majority of Indian provinces. It is for them to show that they are more efficient in their work and more sympathetic towards the people than the former Government and their success will be judged by the relief they afford to the masses and the care they bestow upon the interests of the classes. I am glad that effect is given to the Congress plan for the betterment of the people and for rural uplift and I hope and pray that the Congress rule will produce far better results for the uplift of the people at large.

"The endeavours of the ministries for the uplift of the rural population are an excellent augury for the future healthy growth of India. The Congress Governments deserve credit for bringing down the level of salaries of Government servants. It

is inexcusable that a poor country like India should continue to pay salaries thrice as much as those in rich countries like France, Germany and Japan. The argument that with a reduction of salaries there will be a falling off in efficiency is, in my opinion, untenable. The country is not devoid of public-spirited and self-sacrificing men and women. They will willingly agree to work on a reduced salary as the Congress ministries have done.

"Hindu-Muslim unity is the bedrock and sheet anchor for the future peace and prosperity of the country. I have been working at it for all my life and I hope it will not be long before Mr. Gandhi and other Hindu leaders will come to terms with the Muslim leaders. I have already opened negotiations with Mr. Gandhi and I leave the work in the hands of responsible persons who will continue the negotiations in my absence.

"In the past I have worked hand in hand with Mr. Gandhi with pride and pleasure for the removal of grievances of Indians in South and East Africa. I hope my latest conversation with Mr. Gandhi will produce satisfactory results for political peace and unity in India. I have never failed in my duty towards the country of my birth. It is safe to say that India will reach the goal of a Dominion at no distant date if the ministries continue to do constructive work and give impetus to commerce and industry and improve the finances of the country. I have played my part as a fearless advocate of her rights and I have never been a party to the perpetuation or infliction of any wrong to my country. I have always exposed and opposed it in the interest of my country. I will continue to play my part energetically and honourably till the last day of my life."

A man of few words and great deeds the Aga Khan means what he says, and he has the reputation of always saying what he means. India wants many men like the Aga Khan. It may safely be said that in several centuries only one Aga Khan is produced for the regeneration of his race and his country.

In the autograph book of an Indian Princess, the Aga Khan wrote :—

"Life is a great and noble calling and not a mean grovelling thing to be shuffled through as we can, but a lofty and exalted duty."

The set purpose of the Aga Khan's life is aimed towards a lofty and exalted destiny which he is fulfilling with unsurpassed fidelity and unrivalled devotion to duty.

Chapter Twenty-five

THE AGA KHAN'S FAMILY AND HIS HEIR

THE Aga Khan was married first in 1898 to the daughter of his uncle, Aga Jangishah. In 1908 he married a lady whose maiden name was Theresa Magliano. Before her marriage she adopted the Muslim religion and the ceremony was carried out in that faith. Princess Theresa had two sons, one of whom died an infant. Her second son, Prince Aly, is the eldest son and heir to the Agà Khan.

Princess Theresa had real talent as a sculptress and her works were exhibited in the Royal Academy in London, in Paris, and in Belgium and Italy. In December, 1926, she became ill and was operated on for an intestinal complaint at a Nursing Home in Paris. She seemed to recover from her illness but eight days after the operation cardiac embolism occurred and resulted in sudden death to the great grief of her family.

In 1929 the Aga Khan married Mlle. Andree Carron. This event excited newspaper gossip in a degree which was far from dignified. The *Daily Express* (Lord Beaverbrook's paper) strongly condemned the chatter as being in the worst possible taste and in a felicitous editorial note recalling the Aga Khan's services to the Empire wished him every happiness.

The Times of India in its editorial column said :—

" The marriage today of His Highness the Aga Khan is an event to which the writers of gossip in the London press have given a good deal of fictitious importance. But their anxiety to drag the domestic affairs of His Highness into the lime-light is really no more than a reflection of the importance which he enjoys as a statesman and as a great gentleman. His position as a Muhammudan leader by itself entitles him to consideration as a personage of the first importance, and, although that position may not be fully or rightly appreciated by the English and Continental papers which delight in reporting his doings, it ensures for him a publicity

THE AGA KHAN AND PRINCESS THERESA,
With their first son who died in infancy.

which he must often dislike. None, in fact, can realise better than he does the penalties of great eminence, and we in India who know him well can sympathise with him on that point. At the same time we know that we shall voice the general sentiment in India when we wish him every happiness. It is a matter of concern to India, and more particularly to Bombay, that His Highness the Aga Khan should find happiness in his private life. He has done much to give happiness to others. There is, for example, no more liberal benefactor than he is and the princely gifts which he bestows every year for the purpose of education entitle him to receive the warmest gratitude. There are some who regard him only as a political leader of rare sagacity; others may think of him only as a leader of society or an enthusiastic patron of the turf; others again may remember him as the foremost advocate of education among Muhammudans. The many facets of his character serve to establish him all the more firmly in the esteem of the peoples of India and he may be assured to-day that he has their good wishes to an extent that must rejoice his heart."

The marriage ceremony was performed in the South of France, and about a hundred correspondents from Europe and America flew there to describe the event.

The Begum Aga Khan has outlived the gossip. She has taken her proper place in society and by nobly performing her duties in society and towards the Ismaili community, she has confounded the critics.

A son was born to her in January, 1933. He is named Sadrudin. The Begum thrice accompanied the Aga Khan on his tours of India and Burma. She was given a most cordial reception in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, Rangoon and other places. Wherever she went, she tried to be helpful in promoting the social welfare of Indians and made herself popular everywhere by her frank and obliging nature.

In 1937 she accompanied the Aga Khan to East Africa where she took the initiative in organising social welfare movements in the community especially for the benefit of Ismaili womanhood. She was presented with an address in which a reference was made to her social service. The Begum Aga Khan, in reply, said that she sympathised with their women in their efforts for their emancipation

and freedom from customs which hampered their progress. In seeing them happy and prosperous, she found her happiness and she shared her husband's anxiety to promote their prosperity. She wished that the Khojas, both men and women, would always rise in public estimation and take their proper place in all spheres of human life.

She visited South India, including Travancore and Mysore. On her way back to Bombay she visited Madras where she was presented with a valedictory address by the Khojas. In replying to the address she pledged her support to all social movements for the uplift of the community and stressed the importance of education among girls and the need to improve the status and condition of women in the community. She asked them to observe integrity in all their dealings and expressed the hope that they would show greater enterprise in fostering and carrying on industrial activities which benefit the country.

Prince Aly Solomon Khan, the elder son and heir of His Highness the Aga Khan, was born at Turin in Italy on June 13th, 1910, and is now in his twenty-ninth year. His childhood and early boyhood were spent abroad under the care of his mother, Her Highness the Begum Theresa, chiefly in France, Italy and Switzerland, where he acquired a grounding in several languages and gained something of the cosmopolitan outlook for which His Highness the Aga Khan is so distinguished. At the age of thirteen, he was placed under the guardianship of Mr. C. W. Waddington, the late principal of the Mayo College at Ajmer for sons of Indian Princes, and latterly tutor for two sons of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur. For several years afterwards Prince Aly spent the summer in England while he stayed for the winter in his own villa at Cimiez on the Riviera.

It was the constant wish of His Highness that his son's education should not be merely scholastic, but should be directed to equipping him for the practical affairs of

life, in short to make him what is known as a man of the world. Prince Aly himself was naturally disposed to the study of strictly utilitarian subjects. To mathematics and the drier departments of a school curriculum he gave a secondary place. In all matters connected with manly sport, horses and horsemanship, he applied himself with unusual zeal and assiduity. At an early age he volunteered to take a stiff course of riding lessons in an equestrian school at Cambridge, with the result that when he found himself in the hunting field he was perfectly at home in the saddle and immediately took his place in the very first rank of horsemen. Beginning with a season in the comparatively easy country of the Sussex South Downs, he went on in successive years to the Beaufort and Warwickshire Hunts, which afford the severest tests of horsemanship. Since that time he has distinguished himself as a rider both on the flat and over jumps, winning the Bar Point-to-Point Race for three successive years, as well as many other well-contested events both in England and France. His interests and accomplishments include horsemanship, motoring, yachting and aviation. He has the love of an Arab for his steed and the passion of a Persian for horsemanship, and in his daring and power of endurance, he resembles a rugged and hardy Rajput. His ambition for championship in riding has been fulfilled. As an amateur rider, he has won many races in a splendid fashion. His keenness in motoring has more than once involved him in serious accidents but no risk or danger to life would cause him to abstain from this kind of pastime. The greater the element of danger in sport, the greater his love for it. In connection with his father's famous stud and racing stable, he set himself to study the form and breeding of horses to such good purpose that he was soon in a position to be entrusted with much of the responsibility for the training and racing of the Aga Khan's horses as well as for the breeding operation of His Highness's celebrated stud farm at the Curragh. When Prince

Aly was called upon to take the place of his illustrious father in various missions to India, Egypt, Syria, his natural quickness of intelligence and that intuitive insight into character, which is perhaps an inherited gift, enabled him rapidly to grasp the essential bearing of each situation as it arose, and to handle the leaders of the most diverse communities with tact and judgment. Though he could have lived in ease and comfort enjoying without effort the traditional dignity as a scion of an illustrious family, he has not been content to rest on borrowed laurels. Even had he not been born to the purple, he would have made a mark, for at an early age he showed an enthusiastic desire and dynamic energy to get things going and improved. Behind his apparently frivolous nature, he conceals a seriousness of purpose beyond his years and passionately desires to create for his race brighter and happier conditions by finding means of employment and food for the millions of his father's followers. To this end, he has been giving serious thought to found colonies for the Ismailians where they can prosper in trade and commerce. He has already won the hearts of millions of Ismailians by his infinite charm of manner and gentleness and his desire to serve. Once his secretary in India went to him and gave him shares of a certain company in lieu of a debt incurred by an acquaintance but which he was unable to pay off. His characteristic reply was :—"If the man is really poor and unable to pay his debt, why deprive him of what little he has got? Return his shares to him. I will be happy in the thought if it brings him any comfort."

As the son of His Highness the Aga Khan, Prince Aly was assured of an enthusiastic welcome from every Muslim country he visited but the warmth of his receptions has been due in no small measure to his own ability and charm of manner. At public meetings his alert and vivid personality could not fail to impress his audiences, while his *savoir faire* and knowledge of the world stood him in good stead when confronted

THE PRINCESS AND PRINCE ALY KHAN

with any delicate or difficult situation. He has already shown qualities and prudent foresight beyond his years and illumined the course of his life by human sympathy that appeals to the hearts as well as to the intelligence of his people. His unaffected sincerity corresponds to the boyish charm of his winning personality. He is full of life, full of energy, and his constant care is to fit himself for the great responsibilities which one day will fall on him. A friend once asked him what would he do if he was made the ruler of Egypt or Persia where his ancestors ruled: Would he make a race-course there? Contrary to expectations he replied: "No, I would build schools and hospitals. I would make those countries famous for learning and science." When he visited India in 1933 he received the homage of his community as a representative of his father; but he soon won their affection and esteem in addition. The wonderful receptions that he received in India from his own and other people were only surpassed by the great civic reception that was given to him in Rangoon. A public meeting convened by the Sheriff of the City was held in the Town Hall. This was his first visit to Burma, whither he flew from Calcutta.

His reply to the address presented to him made a great impression on the audiences. He declared his sympathy with Burmese aspirations for political power, and supported their claim for autonomy. He evinced the same interest in Burmese affairs as his father who was their true friend and was interested in their advancement. There was he declared, great scope for industrial, economic, political and social progress in Burma but that progress depended upon their own efforts. There was a great future for Burma and he wished them every success.

He visited Rajkot, where he met the Ismaili followers of the Aga Khan in Kathiawar. In thanking them for the presentation of a congratulatory address which was couched in admirable terms, he assured the jamat that

he had come to Rajkot to know them personally, to learn their customs and to study their needs and requirements and to do what he could to encourage them in raising their educational and social standards; he asked them to believe him when he said that he would consider it his sacred duty to promote their welfare in every possible way. They belonged to the great Ismailian race which had carried, he told them, the broadest culture and deepest learning to the remotest parts of the world, when Europe was still in its lethargic sleep. The object of education, he emphasised, is not to be confined to reading and writing but, as his father had frequently emphasised, its aim is to build up a higher type of character and capacity in the world of Islam. To his cultured mind education was the means for developing the finer and idealistic side of the humanities. He shared the opinion of his father that power without education was a danger. Those who have been watching the progress of the Muslims in the domain of education need no reminder that the Aga Khan has given a new direction to educational activities in the community. It was Sir Syed Ahmed, who first lighted the torch of education among Muslims in India: and in good time, his father enthusiastically took up the work. His idea in promoting education, on which he set his whole heart and for which he unloosened the strings of his purse, was that it might remove ancient prejudices and superstitions, soften asperities that had crept into society, promote loyalty to the King-Emperor, and at the same time secure the redemption of Islam and progress of India.

He did not wish to enlarge upon the beneficial effects of education and the pursuit of liberal studies, which tended to expand the views and enlarge the sympathies of youth and fit them all to be happier and more useful in life. Knowledge was not the sole or the highest object of education. They, by their education, must prove that they did not acquire fame only by their learning. They gained it also by their probity and faithfulness, by their adherence to truth, obedience to their parents and discharge of the duties of life according to the recognised moral principles. They must aim for purity and self-restraint; develop sympathy and consideration for the wants and needs of others. It must be their aim to make those around them better and happier by their acts and charity. The pillar of social morality was just this, that they should all share and lighten the burdens of their less fortunate fellow-creatures. This was the key-note of his father's life-work and he was determined to follow in his footsteps. His father had always stressed the importance of commercial, scientific and industrial education: he had further stressed the necessity of physical education. They should not fail to educate their girls. Future generations depended upon mothers for their formation of character, and school education without proper home education did not mean much.

To care for and comfort orphans is the first duty enjoined by the Prophet of Islam, and he was glad to find that the Boarding School at Rajkot which he was asked to open was doing immense good in maintaining and training orphans, and for this service both credit and gratitude were due to Mr. Daya Velji. He advised them to let service and sacrifice for the community, country and their beloved King be their proud motto. He had just come from England where he had had the good fortune to have an insight into the doings of the Round Table Conference. The decisions arrived at in his opinion were a step forward in the political liberty of India, and those who had any doubt about it should study the concluding speech of the Prime Minister which, when once the dust of controversy had subsided, would be regarded as the Magna Charta of Indian liberty and freedom. He had come in contact with many British statesmen whose aim was to make a greater and more contented India which

might become an equal and powerful partner in the British commonwealth of nations. He condemned in the strongest language the terrorist movement that had made its ugly appearance in India. It would not help but must retard the progress of India. Political freedom was never won by terrorist crimes. He asked them to have nothing to do with such activities, but urged them to stand by the authorities in stamping them out root and branch from the country. He wished every prosperity to them all and to the great province of Kathiawar, which possessed many enlightened and patriotic Princes. He asked them to be loyal to their Princes and to the King-Emperor.

Since he commenced his visits to India as a representative of his father, he has interested himself in various schemes for the welfare of his communities. He has formed Ismailian volunteer corps, encouraged the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements in the community and taught his people to realise the responsibilities of citizenship. He has given impetus to their physical development, for which his father has made liberal provision by providing Clubs and Gymnasiums. He is particularly interested in the problem of the defence of India and the Eastern possessions of His Majesty the King-Emperor. In view of the undisguised naval and military preparations of Japan, he was greatly interested in the naval base at Singapore; and after a study of the situation came to the conclusion that India should have a big air fleet and that Indian States would be much benefited if they kept a commercial air fleet which could be changed into an aerial force in times of emergency. Prince Aly is a great believer in the potential strength of air armadas both for military purposes and for the development of commerce. He believes that the next war will be fought and decided by air forces. During his flights in India, Burma and the Malay States, the great possibilities of aerial development for military and commercial purposes was borne

KARIM AGA

Already evinces at his tender age qualities of sportsmanship which must make his grandfather very proud of him. The little Prince about to take a ski run at a famous winter resort in Europe.

KARIM AGA

Is a lover of the winter snows as this picture clearly shows.

A happy snapshot of the two sons of Prince and Princess Aly Khan in winter kit and surroundings.

upon him. In a special article he contributed to *The Times of India*, he deplored the lack of aerial facilities for transport and pointed out that in spite of the efforts of the League of Nations the prospects of general disarmament were not bright and that if and when the next war came it would be the air strength of the rival powers which would decide the issue of the struggle. Several Indian States such as Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Patiala, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Indore and Bhopal spend yearly large sums of money on maintaining armies. Besides these States, there are others which maintain Imperial Service Troops. With the development of aircraft and the science of aerial warfare all these States will have to revise their military establishments and get into line with foreign countries which are equipping themselves for aerial warfare and substituting air armadas for their land forces. He was gratified to know that His Highness of Jodhpur and His Highness of Jaipur were keen aviators. He recognises that it is true that it will never be possible to eliminate the use of land troops altogether, but he holds that it is no less true that most of the wars of the future will have to be fought in the air. Such land troops as may have to be maintained need no longer be a charge upon the Indian States, who can greatly enhance their strength as well as their usefulness to the Crown by the maintenance of well equipped and thoroughly trained air armadas, which he pointed out would also be of great use to the States themselves, which could reduce their existing military forces to a squadron or so required for purely ceremonial purposes. Indian States which are under treaty obligations to maintain an army will be able to reduce their expenditure in this direction, since apart from the initial outlay the expense of maintaining an air force is much below that necessitated by military establishments, of equivalent fighting strength. The advantage of cheapness is enhanced by the enormous

gain in fighting value. But more important than these factors is the value of such air forces in the commercial development of the States. Nowadays machines are built which can be used in peace for commercial purposes and in war converted into fighting machines. The value of such a fleet cannot be exaggerated. From what he had seen he could assert with confidence that in the development of trade and commerce in India, aviation was bound to play a growingly important part if only because of its power to annihilate time and distance, the two chief obstacles to commercial enterprise and progress. From the purely military point of view, it must make for great economy and efficiency. The usefulness of an air fleet to such a State as Kashmir, for instance, which has a long land frontier to protect, cannot be questioned. Besides reducing military expenditure it should more than pay for itself by its usefulness in developing the country. In a State like Hyderabad, with the vast potentialities it offers for the development of its commerce and industry, a regular commercial air service would be of incalculable usefulness to the State and its people; the same applies to the Gaekwar's territories or to Gwalior. The rulers of Kashmir, Jodhpur, Jaipur and Patiala States have already evinced an active interest in aviation and other States should imitate their example, looking upon aviation as an essential condition of progress and prosperity.

The suggestions made by Prince Aly Khan have been taken up by several States who have given orders for construction of aerodromes and Hyderabad and Baroda, Indore and Gwalior, Udaipur and Travancore are taking steps to introduce aerial postal services in their States. Like his father Prince Aly is fond of travel. He has visited America and almost all Islamic countries in Asia and at present he is touring in Africa.

Prince Aly married the Hon. Mrs. Noel Guinness at the Paris mosque on May 18, 1936. They were first

married, according to French Civil Law, at the Town Hall of the XVI Arrondissement and then at the mosque according to Muslim rites. Witnesses to the ceremony which was conducted by the Mayor, were the Aga Khan, the bride's mother, Mrs. Wessel, formerly Lady Churston. The Mayor in a brief address spoke of the generosity of the bride and the bridegroom in giving a large sum of money to the poor.

The bride is the sister of the fourth Baron Churston. Princess Aly Khan has become a devout student of Islamic literature and she has commenced learning Persian and Arabic. She has already been grounded in the tenets of the Ismaili religion and is deeply interested in the affairs of the community. She and Prince Aly paid a visit to India in 1937, and were the guests of His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of Hyderabad, on the occasion of the Nizam's Silver Jubilee. They also visited Jamnagar and were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Jam Saheb Digvijayasinhji of Nawanagar.

In 1938 they visited Egypt, Turkey and Syria and acquainted themselves with the progress of followers of the Aga Khan in those countries. They have two sons who are being brought up in Switzerland.

Chapter Twenty-six

THE AGA KHAN, SPORTSMAN

THE name of the Aga Khan will always figure largely in sporting circles, in Western India particularly. This is surprising for a man who in his boyhood had few opportunities to indulge in games like the average schoolboy, for it must be remembered that he did not have any school life in the real sense. His education was private. He had no class mates whose deeds on the sports field might have created a spirit of emulation and so laid the foundations of that love of sport which the modern boy, even in India, generally acquires. True he found himself the possessor of a large racing stable at an age when most boys' sporting activities would be confined to cricket, football or hockey and this undoubtedly is the reason why the Sport of Kings—and Princes—has such a great hold upon his spare time, and why he has made such a great success of it.

As a young man he played hockey and it is due to the manner in which the Aga Khan encouraged this game that it has become the national team game of the country. Comparatively poor vision precluded him from playing cricket though he has followed the game with great interest. Lord Harris had a lot to do with this as the ex-Bombay Governor fostered the already keen interest in outdoor sport this young prince was showing. He played a lot of tennis in his young days, and it is not generally known that he played the game in a competitive sense in France.

But opportunities for distinguishing himself in any game, as a player, was denied him. As a young man he had little leisure. He was kept hard at it learning the duties he would have to perform later in life and had even then begun to assume because of the high office to which he had been called.

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN
Is an ardent golf enthusiast. He has still one ambition left to be realised, namely to win a golf handicap at St. Andrew's.

Of him it can truly be said he has practically made one game in India, a game at which Indians have been Olympic champions at three Olympiads. It was his gift of two handsome challenge cups for hockey which created a tremendous interest in the game, an interest which spread throughout the country, resulting in countless thousands taking up the game, until today it has practically ousted wrestling as the national pastime. Today the Aga Khan's cup tournament is looked upon as the blue riband of hockey and premier competition in India and attracts entries from every part of India. Singularly enough it is run by the Bombay European Gymkhana.

When the first Indian team of cricketers left India to tour England the Aga Khan was a large contributor towards its expenses. He introduced motoring to India and offered a trophy to encourage it, as he did for aviation later on.

He is a very keen golfer and is one of the few amateurs who engaged his own professional, George Duncan having the honour to be appointed golf coach to His Highness and no sinecure either was it. So keen was, and still is, the Aga Khan to improve his game that Duncan found his time fully occupied and to his credit be it said, he has succeeded in reducing his handicap though it is still what is known as long.

But it is because of his amazing success on the turf that the Aga Khan is best remembered in the minds of the sporting world. One of the first things which meets the eye when one enters his palace in Bombay is a splendid silver cup, surmounted by a race-horse. It is the Sassoon Cup which was won by his grandfather at Poona in 1871 and in the next room is an even more magnificent trophy, the Burdwan Cup won at Calcutta by his father. On the wall is a portrait of his son, Prince Aly Khan on his horse Limelight on which he won a big handicap race in England. There is no doubt that the owner of these rooms is a racing man.

As a young man he told the Duke of Connaught when he was Commander-in-Chief in India that it was his ambition to win the Derby. Everybody knows that he has won it three times. Early in life the Aga Khan set himself three things to accomplish. To win the Viceroy's Cup, which his family had been trying to win for three generations; to win the Derby and to win a golf handicap at St. Andrew's. He has accomplished two of them, the two connected with the turf and now that his political responsibilities are somewhat lighter than they were, he is setting out to achieve the third. And with such a man, with the determination to get what he wants, the ability to concentrate on his objective, and the relentlessness with which he pursues it, there is every probability that the last one will be gained.

His grandfather, who came to Bombay in 1845, had a great love of horses and horse racing and even in his ripe old age, when practically blind, he rode to the course at Mahaluxmi on a led horse just to be within hearing of the sport which was such a great passion with him. In his stables was the best Arab blood and English jockeys, trained on the famous downs of Epsom and Newmarket, places later to see so many of his grandson's triumphs, rode them.

A good deal of this passion for horseflesh has descended to the Aga Khan, who today is the owner of one of if not the most successful stables in the world.

Like everything else he set out to do, the Aga Khan decided that he would not start a racing stable and stud until he could give it personal attention. Lord Wavertree, when the Aga Khan visited him in Ireland where His Lordship had a breeding establishment, suggested that he should take up racing but it was not till seventeen years later, in 1921, that the Aga Khan took the initial steps towards the formation of his now famous stables. He had waited until he could do it as he had planned. No stable of a few odd horses for him, it had to be the

best or nothing. But all this time he had been steadily acquiring knowledge and studying the stud books.

As is his custom he sought the most expert advice. He approached the Hon. George Lambton and asked him to run his stable for him but this could not be arranged. The Aga Khan, however, was determined to have the benefit of Lambton's advice, at least for a start. Lambton is as shrewd a judge and trainer of horses as any in England, and finally it was decided that Lambton should act as buyer for the Aga Khan.

This was an arrangement that His Highness has never had reason to regret. With a stud in view Lambton had to concentrate at first on fillies and how well he succeeded. Two of his first purchases, Cos and Teresina, were destined to make names for themselves famous on the track and at the stud. Then in his second lot the Aga Khan became the owner of one of the most famous fillies ever to run a race, the spotted wonder, about whom "sensational," "phenomenal", "amazing", were but a few of the adjectives showered upon her, Mumtaz Mahal, the "flying filly," the fastest filly the turf has ever known. These were handed to Mr. R. C. Lawson to train and in his first year the Aga Khan was ninth in the list of winning owners.

The following year he was second to Lord Derby, thanks chiefly to Mumtaz Mahal, Diophon, Salmond Trout, Teresina and Paola. In 1924 Diophon won the Aga Khan his first classic, the Two Thousand Guineas. In July of that year the first mares began to arrive at his stud farm in Sheshoon, on the Curragh, County Kildare, Ireland, the van containing Friar's Daughter and Voluse and he ended the year leading owner in England.

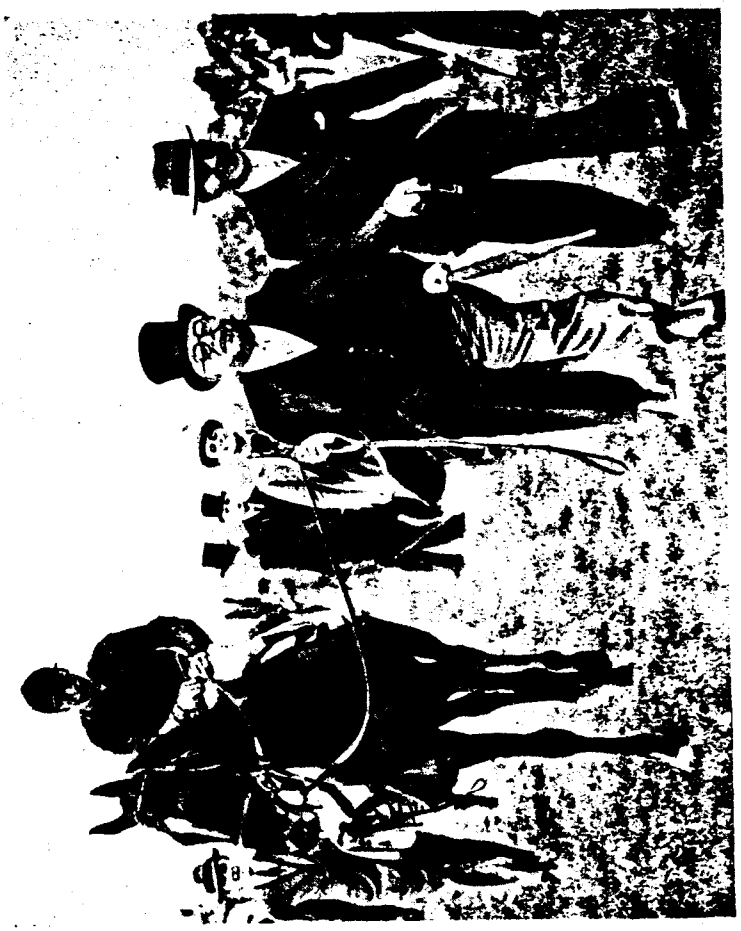
In three years he had spent nearly a hundred thousand pounds on bloodstock. This was the commencement of a succession of wonderful triumphs on the English turf. In 1925 he nearly achieved the first of his ambitions, his Zionist ran second in the Derby and his chocolate and green jacket began to be as familiar with those who only

looked at the first three horses in a race as the green turf on which the horses ran. But the Derby was not to be the first of his ambitions. In 1928 he won the Viceroy's Cup with Astre D'Or thus adding that trophy to others of the Indian turf, including the Burdwan Cup and the King Emperor's Cup.

The following year he was England's leading owner. But he is a breeder first and owner second. While he has naturally a manager for his stud, the Aga Khan controls it. All matings are worked out by him, this taking him something like a month's concentration each year and these are based on the system worked out by Colonel Vuilliers' theory of mating. But while this is the basis of the matings, the Aga Khan veers from it as he thinks fit.

He owed his position in 1929 to a young colt, Blenheim, a colt which the next season was to win for him the most coveted race in the world and realise for him the second of his ambitions. In 1930 His Highness had Blenheim and Rustom Pasha in the Epsom Blue Riband and owing to his practice of never racing two horses entered in the same event together in their training, the stable fancied Rustom Pasha as it had every right to, on form. For though Blenheim had only run fourth in the Two Thousand Guineas, in which his stable mate did not run he was bred to stay and the decision to run him proved to be a wise one. When Rustom Pasha was beaten with barely a furlong to go it looked all odds on the Aga Khan having to wait another year for the honour of winning the Derby but Wragg, who had the mount because Beary, the stable jockey, had chosen to ride Rustom Pasha, brought the gallant little horse up in the last hundred yards to win by a length and the Aga Khan had won his first Derby with his second string.

What a proud moment that was for him. Laughing like a schoolboy and carrying his hat in hand he went out to meet Blenheim and lead him in and later was summoned by Their Majesties, by whom he was



HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN
Leading in his classic horse "Bahram" after his famous Derby victory.

warmly congratulated on his great victory. Later he exclaimed "I can hardly believe it is true, it all seems like a dream—it is impossible to say how glad I am to have won the greatest race in the world." But the gallant Blenheim was destined never to race again. He was entered for the Eclipse Stakes but jarred himself badly and as the injury did not yield to treatment in August he bade farewell to Whatcombe and left for Marly-la-Ville, near Paris, where, on the low-lying pastures of his owner's French Stud farm, kept watch and ward over by Colonel and Madame Vuilliers, he passed his honoured retirement until he was purchased for £45,000 by an American Syndicate in 1936.

Thanks to the victory of Blenheim in the Derby and of Rustom Pasha in the Eclipse Stakes, the Aga Khan once again headed the list of winning owners, in addition to the satisfaction he undoubtedly derived, as breeder and owner, of producing a really good horse from his own stud in Rustom Pasha.

About this time three other horses from his Sheshoon stud came upon the scene. Dastur, Firdaussi and Udaipur, the "three Musketeers of the Turf," though one of them, unlike Dumas's characters, was a lady. Udaipur, the lady of the trio, did not run during her first season in England but the other two did and gave promise of developing into the great horses they afterwards became. Unfortunately during this year Dick Dawson, who had been the Aga Khan's trainer from the start, had a difference of opinion with his patron and the Aga Khan withdrew his horses from Whatcombe and sent them to Frank Butters at Fitzroy House, Newmarket. Thus came to an end a great racing association which had been attended by brilliant success. It is gratifying to record that a couple of years or so later, the two settled their differences and shook hands on it, like true sportsmen.

In Butters the Aga Khan secured a trainer who was a worthy successor to Dawson. Once again his uncanny

accuracy in picking out the right man was proved. 1932 was another very successful year for this sporting Prince. His Dastur ran second in the Derby and he furnished four out of the first five horses in the St. Leger, a remarkable instance in the history of the English turf, Silvermere separating Firdaussi, Dastur, Udaipur and Taj Kasra, who finished first, second, fourth and fifth respectively.

"I am a great believer in not over racing a horse, as, if fillies are the better for it, so horses should be better also" the Aga Khan once said, and in consequence his horses are usually retired to stud after their third year. He made an exception to this however, in the case of Dastur and Firdaussi and they helped considerably in keeping his name well up the list of winning owners.

Ask the Aga Khan which horse is the one he is most proud of and he will answer "Bahram" of course. And he has every reason to be. The Aga Khan will wax enthusiastic over this magnificent animal. "The best horse since Ormonde" he will claim "and who knows, probably a better one." The only horse who was never beaten since the great Ormonde left the turf, Bahram was bred by the Aga Khan and to use his own words "To breed another Bahram is beyond my wildest dreams." Incidentally Bahram is the horse's second name. Originally he was named Bahman but Wetherbury's said he would have to be renamed as there was a horse called Barman and the two would sound practically alike. And so Bahram he became. He is one of the laziest horses ever to have carried silk but he always won.

In 1935 Bahram continued his invincible career winning the triple crown being the first horse to do so since Rock Sand in 1903 and it is no wonder that his breeder-owner is proud of him. But while Bahram was getting all the limelight there was another horse carrying the chocolate and green jacket who was showing signs of becoming a tip-topper, Mahmoud, a grey colt who, the following year, was to carry that jacket to victory in

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN
Leading in Mahmoud after his Derby victory in 1936.

the Derby for the second year in succession and the third time in all, with, strange to relate, the second colours on Taj Akbar running second to him. There was no doubting the success of the Aga Khan's methods. Once again his careful selection of men and animals had proved his judgment.

While all this has been written about the Aga Khan's horses one must not forget that it was his supervision of the matings, his shrewd judgment and knowledge of horse-flesh which had made these successes possible.

Not always did everything go right. But then the Aga Khan took his reverses as he did his victories, as a true sportsman. And he is the first to give credit where it is due, to his trainers and jockeys, to the managers of his studs and if a purchase did not turn out as expected he never complained.

Early in his life the Aga Khan said " We want to raise the Indian People to the Anglo-Saxon level and that can only be done by the people being made to possess healthy minds, healthy morals and healthy bodies. I firmly believe in the encouragement of sport as a patriotic duty as far as India is concerned."

And he has lived up to that statement. And not only India has benefited by his encouragement. The Indian community of Zanzibar are grateful to him for a fine club house, sports club and large park where games are played. He furnishes the funds which enables many cricket and sports clubs of his own community to keep going.

He is interested in the Indian turf though it is not likely that he will figure so prominently on it as he has in England, or as some of the other Indian Princes like the Maharajas of Gwalior, Rajpipla, Kolhapur, Kashmir or the Gaekwar of Baroda. He holds the opinion that the encouragement of the Indian bred horse is essential but sounds a note of warning in that it must not be too hurried.

Here is a sphere in which India could well utilise

the experience of His Highness. With him as controller of Indian horse breeding for a few years, it is certain that the Indian-bred race-horse would improve considerably, but even with him directing operations, in his own words "it cannot be done in a hurry." But it is probable that the realisation of his third ambition will be the objective upon which he will concentrate for the next year or two. He has still to win a golf handicap at St. Andrews.

But the English turf will remember him as the only man to head the list of winning owners seven times and the only living man to win the Derby three times, twice in succession.

SOME OF THE AGA KHAN'S CHIEF SUCCESSES ON THE TURF

England

The Derby

1930, Blenheim. 1935, Bahram. 1936, Mahmoud.

St. Leger

1932, Firdaussi. 1935, Bahram.

Two Thousand Guineas

1935, Bahram.

The Oaks

1932, Udaipur.

Irish Derby

1932, Dastur.

The only man to head the list of winning owners in England seven times.

1924, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1934, 1935, 1937.

The only living man to win the Derby three times.

1930, 1935, 1936.

India

King Emperor's Cup—1926, Quincy.
Viceroy's Cup—1928, Astre D'Or.
Burdwan Cup—1903, Swiftsure; 1926, Frater.
Eclipse Stakes—1926 and 1927, Quincy.
Governor's Cup, Poona.
Nizam's Gold Cup, 5 times.

EPILOGUE

ONE of the ablest commentators on the Western world of to-day, Mr. John Gunther, wrote his well-known book "Inside Europe" from the point of view that "the accidents of personality play a great role in history." From the same point of view one may look upon the Aga Khan, and, bearing in mind the men about whom Mr. Gunther has written, one cannot but be struck by the difference between the Aga Khan and the dictators of the present day. The difference, fundamental and characteristic, is indeed far more striking than any resemblance that can conceivably be discovered. One finds in His Highness none of that neurotic abnormality which distinguishes the best known dictators. Nor is there in him any of that animus against race or religion that may be noticed in Hitler, or Stalin, or Mussolini. On the contrary the Aga Khan is pre-eminently a champion of religion, and, though the accident of birth has made him the leader of a comparatively small though important sect, it is Islam as a whole of which he is the appointed defender. Islam and the splendid traditions of that historic faith have had in modern times no more devoted champion and no more worthy apostle.

What sort of ruler, one wonders, would he have made had destiny placed him at the head of an Indian State. It is a question that raises many issues. Those who know the history of the Indian States are well aware that a cosmopolitan Prince with wide knowledge of the world does not necessarily make the best ruler. Nor is it always the Prince of great intellectual power and culture who shines brightest in a place of administrative trust. One remembers, for example, a Maharajah who was conspicuous for intellectual power but failed miserably as a ruler because he lacked stability of purpose and character. In H.H. the Aga Khan, on the other hand, are to be

found just those qualities of head and heart which the ideal ruler is expected to display. It is a fascinating, if futile, pursuit to imagine to what heights he might have attained had his lot been cast differently; and at the same time the speculative spirit is chastened by a thought of that ruler, of whom Tacitus wrote, who was by general consent capable of ruling—if only he had not ruled! Yet of one thing one may feel certain that, if the Aga Khan had had the opportunity to rule a State, the Hindu-Muslim problem within its borders would have been of comparatively slight importance; and education and sanitation would have been the most conspicuous features of his administration with people healthier, happier and richer. A magnificent dream with every possibility of attainment through such an enlightened administration as he could assuredly establish. How often within the past forty years or so have the Muslims of India looked to His Highness for light and leadership and have found in his wise counsels not only the inspiring guidance of a devoted Muslim but a triumphant call to live in peaceful brotherhood with the Hindus for the service and benefit of India. To use the oriental metaphor of the old Jewish prophet, the Aga Khan has been like the shadow of a great rock in a thirsty land, and to no other Indian has it been vouchsafed to play the role in anything like the same degree.

There have been many other great Indian educationists, many of them practical men who can claim by the tangible proof of statistics greater results than the Aga Khan has achieved. But there has been none who has more consistently, and, as his own lavish grants have shown, more unselfishly pressed the claims of education as a means of raising his co-religionists in the scale of civilisation. There have been other great communal leaders in India. But none has striven more righteously to raise his community with the object and the desire that its uplift might mean the uplift of

the country as a whole. The Aga Khan is not an orator. He does not attempt to carry his audience by oratory. He is a far-seeing and wise statesman, with a gentle and loving heart and feelings of deepest sympathy with suffering humanity. His words come from his heart and go straight to the hearts of those to whom they are addressed. And therein lies the secret of his great hold on the love and affection of millions of Muslims, Hindus, Christians, Parsees and Sikhs. He has given his best to India and the Empire. He has helped powerfully to keep the soul of India alive. It is deplorable, but, nevertheless, it is a fact that India is a country where racial distinctions are most marked and at times find demonstration in murderous riots. That is the bane of the country and militates against its progress and prosperity. The Aga Khan's persistent and sincere efforts have done much to counteract the evil of racial animosity. With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy it seems to have been revived. The trouble, however, appears to be inspired by political rather than religious motives. In the dethronement of autocracy on the part of leaders, he sees the remedy for the evil. If the leaders of all parties show real love for the country, if they all bend their energies to the common purpose of uplifting India and ameliorating the condition of its teeming masses, irrespective of castes and creed, then there should be no reason for natural suspicions and antagonisms which can bring nothing but disaster to the country. "Do not retort, do not blame each other, but diagnose the causes of antagonism and operate upon them with the surgeon's knife and remove the deceased limb that cripples the body politic." That is the lamp of wisdom, which the Aga Khan holds out both to Hindus and Muslims. At present, however, passions run so high that a calm and dispassionate consideration of the situation is difficult. "Bury your passions," exclaimed the Aga Khan, "and calmly think out and follow the course that makes for harmony

and unity. Banish hatred, banish intoxication, banish lust for power, for self-aggrandisement, which have been the fruitful causes of the disastrous wars of history. Act according to the dictates of Conscience and Prudence and Almighty God will light and smoothen your path and direct the exercise of your power for the good of mankind." It is a fact well-known to Indian Muslims and in greater degree to his intimates that nothing has so deeply pained the Aga Khan, so greatly moved him to feelings of despondency, as those barbarous outbreaks of communal hostility in which repeatedly he has been called to use his influence on behalf of peace and commonsense. Indeed, if ever there was a man in India of whom without exaggeration it may be said that he has loved righteousness and hated iniquity, it is the Aga Khan. As the years pass that becomes increasingly evident; and it is perfectly true to say of him that many disappointments and trials have done nothing to deprive him of the youthful zest with which he first set himself to the apparently impossible tasks of both raising the level of Muslim education and culture and of reconciling Hindu and Muslim aspirations.

The gifts he brought to that task were as remarkable as the position to which he was born. That combination is in itself phenomenal. The appearance in these latter days of this "Admirable Crichton" has all the elements of romance. Add the unique distinction of birth to a position of leadership that has no equivalent in the world, and one realises something of the position that the Aga Khan has come to occupy. That position, it may well be said, is an anachronism; but it is a very happy one. The romance of it, in an age of dictators and all their shoddy imitators who seek to sweep away tradition, is almost overpowering. Yet who would have it changed? The Aga Khan, as religious leader, fervent Indian patriot, devoted upholder of the British Crown, sportsman, man of the world and fortune's favourite, plays many parts—and plays them all well. One

looks upon him at one moment as institutional, something as firmly established as Islam itself: and at another moment as a man, feeling intensely the joys and sufferings of his fellow men, devoting himself with rare gifts of sympathy and friendship to the common cause of mankind, or exercising a fine quality of statesmanship in the service of peace. An experienced statesman said of him that he possessed the wisdom of the entire League of Nations. It has been his good fortune to attain fame in many fields. As President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, as the leader of Indian Muslims, as the trusted envoy of the British Government on missions of great difficulty during the Great War, as the intimate friend of the King Emperor, and as the sportsman who has won the most coveted trophies in England, he has achieved a level of distinction that has been reached by no other Indian and equalled by few Englishmen. In him are joined in the most happy blend loyalty to the Crown with burning love for India. This unique devotion has helped him to wield a powerful influence on the British mind and it is no exaggeration to state that the Aga Khan has played a most useful and valuable part in awakening the Englishman's interest in India and firing his sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of her people.

Happily the record is not yet complete: there may be much more of it to come. But in a fast changing world it has seemed worth while to write this account of a man who has stood inflexibly for what he holds to be right and worthy and who has been, and happily still is, an inspiration to many. If there should be some who at first think it strange that a Parsi and not a Muslim should have made this hazardous venture into biography perhaps they will recognize in that very circumstance something of the forceful charm with which His Highness the Aga Khan makes Indians sink their differences in the service of their country.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDIAN STATES

The Aga Khan's Plea for Their Preservation

Appointment of Indians as Governors

"*We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own.*"

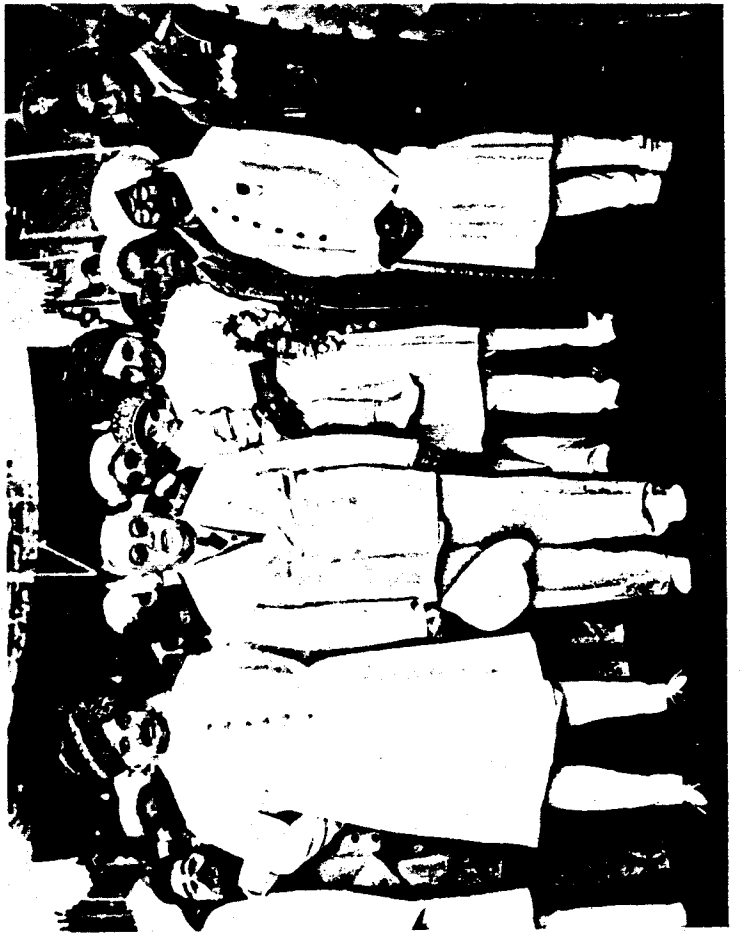
—Queen Victoria's Proclamation, 1858.

The late Amir Abdurrahman of Afghanistan in his autobiography wrote derisively of Indian Princes and in a vein of mockery referred to what he described as their attitude towards work of any kind, namely, that they thought useful occupation, derogatory to persons of their status. This may be true in some cases, but even in his time there were notable Indian Princes who learned and applied the lessons of history and the principles of political science to the various urgent problems with which they were confronted in their day. If the Amir were alive to-day, he would be astonished at the standard of efficiency that characterises the administration of several India States. Most of the Princes of India have shown the most commendable appreciation of their responsibilities as rulers and in many cases have conducted themselves in a manner calculated to excite the highest admiration and earn the gratitude of their subjects displaying keenest enthusiasm and devotion to their duties towards those over whom destiny has placed them. Many have introduced educational and social reforms in their States, in some cases far in advance of those prevailing in British India. As the Maharaja Jamsaheb Digvijaysinhji remarked at a Durbar held in Jamnagar the Princes regard themselves not as rulers but as servants of their people. They have fought for the Empire and they have shewn at all times and on all occasions a patriotic pride of the country of which they are at once devoted sons and illustrious leaders.

Centuries ago Mewar produced the greatest of India's national heroes, the Maharana Pratap. His successors have upheld the great traditions of that noble house and their latest successor, the present ruler, His Highness Maharana Bhupal Sinhji of Udaipur, is bringing the most ancient and conservative country in line with other progressive States. By his devotion to the interests of his people he has earned their love and esteem.

Among other Rajput States, the marvellous progress of Bikaner and the tremendous capacity of its famous Ruler, Maharaja Ganga-sinhji Bahadur, may be cited in example of what a self-sacrificing ruler can achieve. He was described by Mr. Lloyd George as a magnificent specimen of the manhood of India and a wise man from the East, whose advice was relied upon by the Imperial War Cabinet. The progress of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotah and Dungarpur in Rajputana, Jamnagar and Bhavnagar, Gondal, Dhrangadhra, Porbandar, Morvi, Limbdi and Palitana in Kathiawar is so striking and the burden of taxation so light that a Frenchman who came out to India remarked that he would like nothing better than to live in an Indian State. In Central India Rutlam, the Premier Rajput State in Malwa possesses an enlightened and liberal ruler devoted to the welfare of his people. Another Rajput State in Central India which attracts attention by the wisdom of its Ruler, H. H. Maharaja Gulab Singh, is the famous State of Rewa, while Indore, in Central India is worthily maintaining its reputation as the Premier State in the Province under a liberal Ruler, H. H. Maharaja Yeshwant Rao Holkar. In Gujerat Rajpipla is leading the pace of reforms, Baria, Chota-Udaipur, Lunawada, Dharampur and Bansda keeping pace with the times and showing progress in every direction. Among Maratha States, a visit to Kolhapur, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Dewas and Dhar will show how happy are the people of those States. The States in the south, Mysore, and Travancore, have long been held up as models of wise government and their statesmanlike administration has called forth lively appreciation from British administrators. Cochin is emulating them. Among Sikh States, the young Ruler of Patiala, the premier State of the Punjab, is bending his energies to make his State a model one. The people of Dholpur, a Jat State desire nothing better than the paternal rule of their popular Maharaj, Rana Udai Bhan Singh. His Highness of Kapurthala, whose travels have broadened his mind is among the most popular of Indian Princes, beloved by his people and deservedly esteemed by the Paramount Power.

Among Muslim States, we see marvellous progress in Hyderabad and Bhopal whose distinguished ruler Nawab Hamidulla Khan is a great Indian patriot and takes an enlightened interest in his own State. Peaceful progress is penetrating Rampur, where sugar industry is established by a Parsi industrialist of Bombay, Sir Homi M. Mehta. Bhawalpur another important Muslim state is fast developing on modern lines, while in Kathiawar, Gujerat and Central India, prosperity is general in Junagadh, Palanpur, Cambay, Radhanpur, Janjira and Jaora as a result of the beneficial activities of their respective rulers. Junagadh a conservative State has



HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN

Photographed during his recent visit (February 1939) to the State of Jamnagar in Kathiawar, with His Highness the Jam Saheb (left) and the Jam Saheb's brother who is seen holding the Jam Saheb's little daughter in his arms.

under the present ruler modernised it. Though the ruler is a Muslim, he supports Hindu temples and makes no distinction between Hindus and Muslims. No one goes hungry in Junagadh for grain and food is supplied to every needy man and woman. The maritime state of Cutch presents a record of benevolent rule, under its conservative but humane and enlightened ruler, Maharao Shree Khengarjee Savai Bahadur. The ruler of Barwani, a Seesodia Rajput State in Central India, is a minor, but the minority administration is carried on efficiently and economically by a State Council appointed by the Government with Sir H. N. Gosalia as the Dewan and President. In Bengal Mayurbhanj is making liberal progress.

There is one Indian State which for benevolent administration and ideal relations between ruler and subjects might be the world's model of autocratic government in its best and highest expression and which for that reason alone deserves special notice in a chapter dealing with the Aga Khan's plea for the Indian States. It is the State of Gondal in Kathiawar, small in size but great in the happiness and contentment of its subjects which by all authorities is the first and sole justification of a state. And such is the power of virtue that the fame of Gondal as a model state is known throughout the world. Its ruler, His Highness Maharaja Shri Bhagvatsinhji, has won the love and devotion of his subjects in a manner and degree without parallel unless one goes back to the remote days of patriarchal rule or the time of the good King Asoka and recently his people gave a striking and unique manifestation of their deep appreciation of their ruler's personality and benevolence. The Golden Jubilee of the Maharaja falling in 1936, his subjects decided to mark it by performance of the ancient ceremonial of *tula-vidhi* or weighing. As is well-known this is an historic Aryan ceremony performed at royal coronations and its performance is supposed to insure peace, health and prosperity to the person weighed. There are instances in the country's older history, the golden age of Hinduism, when gods and heroes stalked the earth and inspired mankind to noble deeds and nobler sentiments, of monarchs who were weighed in gold at their coronations and the precious metal gifted in charity to the needy and the poor. In all such cases the gold came from the royal treasury, its bestowal was royal largesse. At the golden jubilee of Gondal's ruler, the gold against which the Maharaja was weighed came from the humble purses of his subjects, the poorest vying with the wealthiest in order to provide the precious metal for the *tula-vidhi* of their beloved and paternal Maharaja.

Another striking fact about Gondal, also unique in all the world, is that it is an absolutely a taxless state. Not a tax of any sort

not even a Customs duty is levied from the people—and paradoxical as it may seem the treasury of Gondal is well filled. Crores of rupees have been invested in public works. The land revenue is assessed at an extremely light rate which has never been revised in all the long period of the present Maharaja's rule. When His Highness came to the gadi in the year 1884—how far away that seems!—there were levied in the State of Gondal no fewer than fifty taxes. On accession His Highness made it the first act of his administration to abolish them. Despite the sacrifice Gondal remains one of the wealthiest and happiest states in all India and it is some measure of its ruler's high sense of his responsibilities towards his subjects that while the State's revenue has increased beyond all proportion to the sacrifice of taxation, the Maharaja's privy purse has remained at the same figure as it was half a century ago. It is only the ruler of an Indian state could show such a record of benevolent rule and achieve such marvellous result, because only in Indian States does the highest form of administration known to mankind, namely, that of personal rule wisely exercised, obtain to-day. To perfection does His Highness of Gondal fulfil the definition of Agesilaus who said "that King shall best govern his realm who reigneth over his people as a father doth over his children." The Maharaja is a great social reformer. The late Maharani of Gondal was the first Rajput lady to cast off her purdah. The compulsory education of girls is a singular and bold achievement of the Maharaja. During the earthquake disasters in Bihar and Quetta, His Highness topped the list of donations by giving one lakh of rupees on each occasion to the Relief Fund.

One instance, trifling but significant, may be cited here to indicate how the Indian Princes feel towards their subjects. On the occasion of the marriages of the heir-apparent of Morvi and his younger brother, the agriculturists of the State, according to ancient practice, collected a sum of about two lakhs of rupees and presented it to the Ruler as a token of their love. The Maharaja of Morvi returned the amount to the agriculturists and in addition wiped out their revenue arrears to the extent of several lakhs of rupees. This generous ruler is truly the father of his people. The late ruler of Dhrangadra had built a big theatre. The present ruler, His Highness Maharaja Ganshiamsinhji, on his accession turned it into a school building.

The late Madhav Rao Scindia, who took special pride in calling himself a servant of India, one of the oldest and most intimate friends of the Aga Khan, was a man of exceptional calibre and capacity. He recognised that the future of India was inseparably bound up with industrial development and in order to create

fresh wealth, he employed his immense wealth in British India for the industrial development of the country. His mantle has fallen on his heir, Maharaja George Jivaji Rao, who has been worthily upholding the splendid tradition of the house of Scindia by prosecuting energetically the greater schemes initiated by his august father for the ordered development of the State. The late Maharaja Jam Saheb Ranjitsinhji was another shining example of wise administration. Like Shakespeare, a man of Ranjitsinhji's type can occur but once in three or four hundred years. The late Maharaja of Patiala, while ready and willing to introduce reforms in his State and advance the cause of Indians, regarded it as a principle of prudence in Government not to be too hasty or indiscriminate in forcing the pace of advance in his State as such injudicious stimulation tends more often than not in weakening authority.

These stalwarts realised, as do their heirs, that the best security for their position consisted in deepening the personal attachment of the people to them. And what about the new ruler of Patiala, Maharajadhiraj Shree Yadvindrasinhji? At the Dussera Durbar in October 1938 he declared his policy for spreading contentment among his subjects by adopting measures for their social, moral, educational and economic welfare and thus laid the sure foundation of an administration based upon the affection and gratitude of his people To-day, most Princes are actuated by a strong sense of duty. They realise the grave obligation that rests upon them to rule wisely and well.

During the Round Table Conference the Rulers of Baroda, Kashmir, Bikaner, Indore, Bhopal, Dholpur, Rewa, Sangli, the late Maharajadhiraj of Patiala and the late Jam Saheb Ranjitsinhji proved that they were Indians first and Princes afterwards. Whenever they voiced their views they did so as representatives of India as a whole. It was as a result of the powerful patriotism they evinced at the Round Table Conference that the historic Scheme of Indian political reforms was evolved which paved the way and opened the door of India's destiny as a nation, by instituting the historic plan for responsibility at the centre of the Government of India. For thousands of years Indians have been bred and brought up in the shadow of monarchy. Even today when thrones have crashed and crowns tumbled into the dust throughout the world, sovereignty remains an object of popular veneration in India. They have known no other and they would ask for nothing else.

Long ago the Aga Khan suggested that in conformity with the great principles of Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858, Indians should preside over Provinces side by side with English-

men. He urged that " the innovation should be made by inviting one of the ruling princes to leave his own territory for five years for the wider field of provincial administration. To take a concrete case, there is no reason why that patriot-statesman, the Maharaja of Bikaner, should not succeed Lord Zetland or Lord Willingdon. There are certainly other ruling princes capable of administering great provinces, but I take His Highness of Bikaner as a shining example, whose qualifications cannot be denied.

" During the period the selected ruling chief would undergo a personal metamorphosis; but I am confident that our best modern princes are quite capable of adapting themselves to such a change of situation. They will be able to play their new part and take up their wider responsibilities, exactly as an Englishman forgets that he is a large land-owner in Kent or Surrey when he becomes a Governor or Ambassador. On a small scale something of the kind occurred when the gallant Maharaja Sir Partab Singh abdicated the Idar *gadi*, and returned to Jodhpur to be regent for his grand-nephew. The English heads of neighbouring Provinces would find substantial advantage in the contiguity of an Indian ruler of proved administrative ability, dealing with public problems corresponding to his own. Later on ordinary British Indian subjects should be eligible for appointment to governorships."

There was great force in what the Aga Khan wrote years ago. Great changes have taken place in India since he made these suggestions. Provincial autonomy has been established in India and the Governor has become the constitutional head of the Government. The Aga Khan considers it appropriate to the spirit of the age that Indian statesmen should be appointed as governors. Lord Sinha was the first Indian Governor and he proved himself to be a capable administrator. It is a pity that the precedent established in the case of Lord Sinha has not been followed up. Temporary appointments were made, however, when the Governors of the Central and United Provinces, Madras and the Punjab went on leave. The successful manner in which the acting Indian Governors discharged their duties confirm their claim to the appointment.

The Aga Khan urged another consideration for the appointment of Indians to provincial governorships. He pointed out with great force that in accordance with the principles of Parliament laid down more than a hundred years ago, if the position could be worthily held by an Indian, he should not be debarred therefrom merely on the grounds of race. Hence he urged that appointment to provincial governorships should not be beyond their range. " Can it be honestly maintained ," he asked, " that there are no minds or characters in modern India equal to those of the Viceroys

sent out from England ? In intellect and character, in his opinion, a Bikaner or a Sinha yielded to none. If the Viceroyalty is to remain anything less than a constitutional role, a position due, like the monarchy it represents, to the symbolic power of hereditary kingship, then it must be open to Indians as well as to Englishmen. No self-respecting Indian will allow for a moment mere racial superiority as an argument for the exclusion of his countrymen." We hope that in future, the Aga Khan's suggestion will be acted upon and Indians will be appointed Governors.

Writing about the Indian States after the War, the Aga Khan said :—

" It is a familiar though often forgotten fact that these principalities vary in size, climate, density of population, economic, racial and intellectual conditions to an extraordinary degree. There are great dominions such as Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir, worthy to rank with Kingdoms in Europe. The Nizam of Hyderabad is the equal in power, in dominion, in the number of his subjects, and in the variety of interests to be considered with the Kings of Belgium or Roumania. Indeed, just as the German Emperor has kings within his dominions, and as we hope some day the independent sovereigns of Iran and Afghanistan will, of their own free will, wish to enter the future South Asiatic Confederation, so, *prima facie*, there is every reason why the Nizam should, like the former kings of Oudh, receive the royal title of " Majesty," a concomitant act being the rendition to him of the Berar. A step forward was taken on New Year's Day, 1918, when he was given the special title of ' Faithful Ally of the British Government,' and the style, new to India, of ' His Exalted Highness.' This designation is strangely reminiscent of the old Dutch style of ' High Mightiness,' which was proposed for the President of the United States, but refused by Washington.

" Then there are States not so vast in extent where, by intensive culture, commerce and trade have reached such a development as to make them the equals of the richest British districts in India. Some of the principalities go back in tradition and history to the very dawn of civilised society. There are Rajput States, the germs of which must have existed when Alexander encamped on the banks of the Indus, and it is not improbable that orderly governments, under the ancestors or collaterals of some of the present Rajput princes, were carried on in the eras of Cæsar and Augustus. Other principalities, again, date in present form from the early days of British rule, and in some cases were obtained by purchase or by other equally unromantic forms of acquisition from English officials, reluctant to accept further direct responsibility for Indian government. But whether ancient or comparatively

new, the individual variations of these autonomous territories are of absorbing interest. Large dominions, like those of Baroda and Gwalior, possess a unity of history and sentiment attaching them to their ruling houses, from which, especially in the case of their present heads, they have received such devoted service as to have established between prince and people a relation almost tribal in the strength of its affection. There are smaller States, such as Kapurthala and Bhavnagar, which are excellent examples of hereditary good government and contentment of the people.

"Amid the diversities I have indicated, there is an all-embracing link of profound attachment to the British Crown. Not only through the last War, but on many previous occasions, in almost every frontier expedition, in China, in Africa, and elsewhere, the princes have proved their devotion to the British Empire, and have made sacrifices such as to win for them the merited title of partners therein. During the War they have been enabled, by freewill gifts and sacrifices, to share in the great task of securing a victory for the Allies to an extent which has evoked general admiration and has vastly raised the scale of India's contribution as a whole. Their well-trained Imperial Service contingents, maintained by the Darbars for a generation past, formed an invaluable contribution to the military units in being when war broke out, and the stream of recruitment from the States has enormously helped to meet the pressing need for repair of the heavy wastages of war.

"Looking back on the 150 years of British predominance in India, I can see scarcely any other act equal alike in wisdom, justice and far-sightedness, to Queen Victoria's promise through Canning, on the morrow of the Mutiny, to refrain from the absorption of any Indian States into British India. It came to relieve the fears and anxieties aroused, with unhappy results, by the Dalhousian policy of 'lapse.' Had that policy been vetoed at the time by the Government in Whitehall, I am firmly convinced that Britain's position in India to-day would have been all the stronger, for the existence of Oudh, Nagpur, Satara, and the other sequestered principalities. The aggregate territory from which British Indian revenues are derived would have been less vast, and I do not deny that there would have been some other disadvantages, of a temporary character, but these would have been altogether outweighed. The administrative machinery of British India, so great and cumbrous, would have been simplified; British rule would have had in those directly concerned sure and honest friends like the princes of to-day, and there would have been a correspondingly larger measure of indigenous government, with all its advantages, side by side with British administration. The

builders of United Germany, from Bismarck downwards, have borne witness that the diversified principalities are the mainstay of that Empire, and that destructive anarchy has no more powerful antagonist than a dynasty belonging to the soil, ruling from age to age relatively small areas with a confederation.

"It is not too much to say that to-day the Indian princes are the bulwarks of the Imperial connection. I have sometimes met Indians whose names, of course, I can never mention even in private, actuated by bitter hatred of England, and whose absorbing idea was to cut the painter. On one point they were all agreed; that the existence of the Indian States made an insuperable barrier to the success of their ambition, and it was always with bitter regret that they referred to these principalities.

"From the point of view of good administration these areas of indigenous rule, scattered like so many islands of varying size in the sea of British India, are advantageous both to their inhabitants and to those of surrounding districts. They provide suitable fields for administrative experiments such as could not be applied, without prior test, to the whole of British India. Some States advance the cause of social reform by enactments and orders which English administrators, conscious of their limitations as non-indigenous officials adhering to the principles of strict religious neutrality, have not dared to apply. In some services for the commonweal, such as education and sanitation, there are respects in which the most progressive States are ahead of British India. But it would be unfair to fail to recognise that the stimulus to advancement is reciprocal. The high standard of British justice, to give but one instance, calls for emulation, as is recognised by almost every State. Here and there are to be found principalities in which the administration of justice and general civil policy leave much to be desired; but happily, with the spread of modern ideals, these have become rare exceptions. Religious liberty prevails in the States as well as in British India. A Muslim ruler, like the Nizam of Hyderabad, is respected and loved by his millions of Hindu subjects, while there are Hindu princes, such as the Maharajas of Indore, Gwalior and Kolhapur (to mention only three names), whose Muslim subjects look upon them with almost filial affection and veneration, and who constantly prove that, if Hindus in faith, they are superior as rulers to all sectarian or other narrowing influences.

"Again, these indigenous Courts scattered over the great peninsula are the fitting patrons of art in every form. Indian music, architecture, painting and the arts generally, have natural protectors and patrons in the various Durbars. It is not improbable that within the present century some of the dynasties may

produce patrons of art as influential as the Medicis, or the princes of Weimar. Some special branches of higher agriculture receive encouragement from the princes, and in many other directions they give a remarkable impetus to the upbuilding of an expanded Indian life, responsive to modern ideas, yet distinctive of the country and its peoples.

"Increasingly, of late years, some of the best known princes have been cherishing the ideal of a constitutional and parliamentary basis for their administrations. There can be no doubt that a liberal policy in British India will soon be followed in many of the States by widening applications of the principle of co-operation between the rulers and the ruled. It is most gratifying to Indian patriots to note the sympathy which the princes and nobles have shewn with the aspirations of the people of British India toward self-government. After all, these rulers, unlike the small dynasties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy, are children of the soil and have a natural sympathy and fellow-feeling with their countrymen.

"There could be no better or more convincing presentation of these aspirations of India, in brief compass, than that given by the Maharaja of Bikaner, in his historic pronouncement at the luncheon of the Empire Parliamentary Association to the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, at the House of Commons, on 24th April, 1917. Those of us who personally know the ruling princes of to-day—so active, hardworking, patriotic, and devoted to the welfare of their people, usually so free from all 'side' and, in a word, so different from the legendary Maharaja of the imaginative writers of the past—have no reason to doubt that this eloquent plea voiced not only the views of the educated people of India, but also those of the average ruling chief. In fact, His Highness of Bikaner spoke on similar lines to his brother princes when they entertained him to dinner in Bombay on the eve of his departure for the Imperial War Conference.

"The States cannot be mere spectators of the constitutional changes now impending. The question arises, 'What is the part they are to play in the politically free India of tomorrow?' To reduce them gradually to the mere position of great nobles, and to let the power and the individuality attaching to their States pass out of their control would be a crime against history, art, and even nationality. On the other hand, the present standard of relations between the protecting Power and the protected State cannot go on after British India reaches the first stages toward self-government. What is the solution? Happily in federalism we find a system that will meet the need both of British India and of the Indian States. It has been maintained that a successful

THEIR HIGHNESSES THE AGA KHAN AND BEGUM AGA KHAN
With the young Maharaja George Jivaji Rao of Gwalior whom they visited shortly before their departure for Europe at the beginning of 1939.

True to the spirit of the times, several Princes have already revealed a desire to associate their subjects in the administration. Evidence of the fact that the Indian Princes are alive to their duty came from the ancient state of Jodhpur, with a view to associating the subjects of Jodhpur State with administrative problems in an increasing degree, and to afford them opportunities of receiving training in the working of democratic institutions, the Maharaja has decided to establish panchayats and advisory boards, with effect from February 1, 1939.

In accordance with the Marwar Panchayats Act of 1938, panchayats will be established in all Khalsa and Jagir villages with a population of 1,000 or over and where no municipality exists. Smaller villages may, with the approval of Government, establish similar bodies. These panchayats will administer their own village (*malba*) funds and exercise defined powers of civil jurisdiction. In Jagir villages the *sarpanch* will either be the Jagirdar or his nominee.

The *hakims* and assistant superintendents of the Hawala Department are charged with the special responsibility of visiting panchayats, inspecting their courts and advising them generally on their administrative duties.

A Central Advisory Board, consisting of 36 members, will be formed at Jodhpur with a president and secretary to be appointed under His Highness' orders. District advisory boards, consisting of eight members, under the presidentship of the *hakim*, with the assistant superintendent, Hawala, as vice-president, will be established in each Hakumat headquarter town.

These boards will be representative of all classes and will be competent to advise Government on matters relating to a wide range of administrative subjects affecting the public welfare.

Among the latest to announce the grant of reforms in their States are the rulers of Bhopal, Cutch, Idar and Palanpur which is the most ancient Muslim State in India.

The Bhopal reforms, made public on the Nawab's birthday, include the addition of two elected seats to the Legislative Council and an increase of five elected seats on the Municipal Board. In Cutch, the Maharao has announced the grant of several privileges to his subjects; these comprise the conferment of the right of election on the municipalities of the four leading towns, the abolition of Durbar rates for the hire of conveyances, the inauguration of a famine relief fund and the establishment of a committee to examine the possibilities of introducing prohibition.

Bhopal, the principal Muslim State in Central India, ranks only next in importance to Hyderabad among the Muslim States of India. Largely because of its geographical position, Cutch

is reputed to enjoy more of the elements of a distinct nationality than any other State in Bombay Province. The grant of reforms in these two important States is in keeping with the trend of the times and symptomatic of the new spirit in State administration.

The welcome news of the formation of the Legislative Assembly comes from Idar. The Idar Bar Association has passed a resolution, thanking the Ruler and his Dewan, Mr. Bhandari. The prevalence of democracy in British India cannot fail to exert influence on the States in the years to come. The association of the people in the administration of Indian States is therefore inevitable, but if at the instigation of outsiders the subjects of the State try to stampede the Princes into a declaration of radical policy, they will do harm to the body politic if the reforms are not assimilated in small digestible doses. Indian Princes are ready and willing to redress the grievances of their subjects and without agitation they will be ready to make appreciable concessions which will be augmented with the passage of time. In British India the reforms have proved too costly and the people are overburdened with taxation. Indian States are not in a position to bear heavy burdens of reforms and consequent unbearable taxation. The lesson of British India should not be forgotten by subjects of Indian States.

In a leading article in October 1938 *The Times* pointed out that the Congress party at its Conference at Haripura decided that the question of the democratisation of the States was no longer a direct responsibility of the party. It pointed out that the Congress party, which was opposed to the Federal Government, did not seem to have taken into account the fact that most of the Chief Indian States are efficiently governed and the work of such Prime Ministers as Sir Akbar Hydari, Sir Mirza Ismail and Sir Krishnamachari, to mention only three of them, is known and admired throughout British India and the Indian States. There are other administrators whose fame is writ large in the administration of important States. Among them can be mentioned Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, who was Acting Commerce Member of the Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy, Sir Kailas Haksar, the Prime Minister of Bikaner, Sir Shunmukham Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, Sir Lyaquat Hyat Khan, Prime Minister of Patiala, Sir Saraimal Bapna, Prime Minister of Indore, Sardar C. S. Angre of Gwalior, Sir Manubhai Mehta, Rao Bahadur D. A. Surve, Prime Minister of Kolhapur, Dewan Bahadur N. Gopalswami Aiyengar of Kashmir, Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux of Bhavalpur and Sir Azziudin Ahmed of Datia and many others. These Ministers strongly supported the rights of the people of British India for responsible government. They are true friends

of India and their love for the freedom of their motherland is beyond question.

The Times further stated that Cochin which is now under the administration of a young statesman, Sir Sanmukhham Chethy, who had risen to eminence in the public life in British India, had now a partly responsible government and other States, Mysore and Hyderabad, for instance, were planning further constitutional advance.

The Indians should carefully consider whether they want enlightened progress in Indian States under the aegis of their rulers or its alternative, Bolshevism. On stability and peaceful order depends the security of India and the Empire, and as the Aga Khan has forcibly emphasised, it would be a crime to seek to reduce the power attaching to the States. His powerful plea for their preservation is as much in the interests of India and the British Commonwealth of Nations as of the States themselves.

One of the more disquieting features of Indian affairs at the moment is provided by the disturbances that are constantly breaking out in Indian States. They add yet another element of disunity and discord to the political ferment that appears to be in progress in every quarter of the country, and the conviction is growing in every right thinking mind in and outside the Indian States that something must be done to stop all this agitation—a great deal, of which, it is worth remembering, is quite unwarranted and much of it inspired by motives which may rightly be stigmatised as base. Not all States, it may be admitted, are equally progressive; but neither are all Indian States hotbeds of tyranny, oppression, cruelty and malpractice of the kind with which they are being charged by the professional agitators who are for raising such trouble these days in the domains of the Indian Princes. It follows, therefore, that while the States are earnestly taking measures to associate their subjects in the administration of their own Government and to train them to the burden of that heavy responsibility, they are also adopting resolute precautions for the preservation of law and order within their territories and taking necessary steps to safeguard their sovereignty. It is with this purpose, that various Indian States have had to forbid the entry of certain individuals into their territory whose activities, there is good ground for believing, might lead to disturbances—as indeed they have done in several instances—arising from artificially formented discontent. On the plea that such bans constitute unwarranted interference with liberty they are being defied, direct action is threatened and dismal forebodings of an all India crisis arising from the resulting situation are being expressed and entertained.

In the first place, it is important to remember that the Indian States are independent principalities, each enjoying sovereignty within its own territory and in direct treaty relationship with the British Crown. So far as British India is concerned, its association with the Indian States extends no further than that both exist within the borders of the same country, have a common culture and are in a commercial relationship of mutual advantage. With the view that it might help British India to progress more swiftly towards its goal of self Government, the Indian States agreed to join with British India in an Indian Federation. Such co-operation did not imply any sacrifice of privilege or sovereign rights by the Princes—it implied only a certain degree of political co-operation in order that a National Indian outlook and policy might be more easily secured and shaped in certain important directness. Naturally the Princes will resist as powerfully as they can any attempt to whistle down their authority in their own domains and any move to dictate to them how they shall govern their subjects, particularly when such efforts and dictation come from outside. The Congress, which as Mr. Gandhi put it in his journal *Harijan* not long ago, is hoping to be the paramount power in India at no distant date, is resolved that the power of Indian Princes as independent sovereigns of their States should be curtailed, and naturally the Princes are determined that no such curtailment should take place. They are ready enough to introduce whatever reforms may be necessary in their States, but not on compulsion from outside and certainly not by agitators who stir up trouble in their territories. In this connection His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb, Chancellor of the Indian Princes Chamber, made a striking speech at the Conference of Princes held at Bombay at the end of November 1938, in the course of which he set forth the attitude and position of his order in terms that are clear and eminently reasonable. His Highness said:

"We are meeting to-day at a crucial juncture in the history of the country. Issues of life-and-death importance await decision and demand of us carefully planned action. The need for the States to stand together was never greater than it is to-day.

"It cannot be denied that in the recent past the bigger and the smaller States have tended to drift apart. It will serve no useful purpose now to hold a *post-mortem* into the reasons or to apportion the blame for it. It is, however, obvious that this unfortunate development has detracted from the prestige and utility of the Chamber as a joint tribune of the bigger and the smaller States, and, if I may say so without any offence, that has helped neither the one nor the other.

"The problems facing us do not discriminate between the bigger and the smaller States and in their solution we shall sink or swim together. As such, it is a matter for genuine gratification to welcome at this Conference to-day accredited representatives of all the 21-gun States, of practically all the bigger States and of a substantial majority of the smaller States.

"I can confidently assure our friends from the bigger States that they have nothing to fear from a joint plank, where, on matters of common concern, they and the representatives of the smaller States may work together. I hope I can with equal confidence assure my friends of the smaller States that none of their legitimate interests need be sacrificed and in fact that they should be strengthened by their collaboration with the bigger States.

"Nor need this plea for unity among States be interpreted as an ultimatum to others. We mean no dictation or interference to others, just as we need submit to no dictation or interference from others. The Rulers and the Governments of the Indian States—I speak with a full sense of my responsibility—are fully alive to their obligations to the Crown, to India and to their subjects; and, God willing, they shall not be found wanting in whatever may legitimately be demanded of them in the discharge of this triple obligation.

"No false notions of prestige or expediency need stand in the way of our redressing, where necessary, the legitimate grievances of our subjects, whose loyalty and affection continue to be the sacred trust and the proud heritage of most of us.

"The Indian States would, as in my opinion they should, co-operate within their limitations with all healthy movements for the progress of their motherland, just as they would not be found wanting to combat effectively and strongly any unwarranted mischievous attempts to interfere with their ordered progress."

That was a speech to which no exception would possibly be taken. It set forth in the most precise term the sentiments of the Indian Princes and defined in a highly satisfactory manner their attitude and policy in regard to the rising tide of Indian nationalism. It is clear enough that the charge is utterly without foundation that the Indian Princes are inimical to the aspirations of the Indian people. As the Jam Saheb has pointed out, he and his colleagues of the Princely order are fully alive to their obligations and are resolved to fulfil them in the letter as well as in the spirit as honour and duty may demand. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Princes owe a duty to themselves as well as to their subjects and the States over which they rule, and the essence of that duty consists in the proper preservation of the integrity of their historic sovereignty, which in many cases goes back into the dimmest

past and has its roots in the original "glory and the grandeur that was Ind." Accordingly, nobody can blame the Princes if they show high spirited resolve to defend their ancient heritage by every means within their power. They would be unworthy of their noble ancestry if they did less than that. Admittedly, they must move with the times. It is clear that they are endeavouring most earnestly to do that. The new Constitution itself is guarantee and witness of that assertion, since the reforms scheme which was later enacted as the Constitution was framed practically under the inspiration and with the constant guidance of the Princes themselves through their official representatives at the Round Table Conference and throughout the subsequent proceedings which led to the present reforms. Progress must be allowed to grow and shape itself in the Indian States without let or hindrance from persons and influences outside their borders. That is only proper and that is precisely what the Princes want. It follows, therefore, that if agitators, who have nothing to do with the States or are inspired to unlawful or undesirable activities from outside the State, create trouble, the Princes must perforce take measures to stop the spread of disaffection among their subjects and to protect their own authority and privileges against the insidious operations of such agitators. They have made it clear again and again that they will do so, and indeed it is very clear that they can do no less.

Indian States were carved out at a considerable sacrifice of blood and treasure of their rulers. They belong to them. They regard themselves as trustees of their people. They all wish well to the Indian National Congress. They have done nothing and intend to do nothing to impair its power. But they do hope that they and their subjects will not be molested by outsiders who have no interest and no stake in the States. The Princes hold firmly to the position guaranteed to them by their treaties which successive Viceroys have solemnly declared will be scrupulously observed. Changes will come no doubt, for all institutions must move to meet changing conditions but as Lord Reading declared in Jamnagar none affecting the position and privileges of the rulers should receive the approval of the Paramount Power without regard being paid to local sentiment and feeling. A great deal of apprehension is created in the minds of Indian Princes that the Government of India is pursuing a policy of "surrender" in regard to those who stood by it in critical times. What is the policy of the British Government in regard to the position and privileges of the Princes? The Princes are anxious that the Government should declare its policy in unequivocal terms. It was Colonel Tod, the famous author of *Rajasthan*, who in the

he said that the future of Indian States would be bright indeed if the Princes followed in the footsteps of that great ruler and he wished every success to His Highness Maharaja Pratapsinhji in his new career, which he hoped would be as brilliant as that of his illustrious grandfather.

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow visited Mysore, Cochin, Travancore and Kolhapur at the end of 1938 and saw for himself the striking progress introduced in the States for the promotion of welfare and prosperity of their subjects. The Viceroy noted with considerable satisfaction the signs of prosperity which are manifest among the populations of these States and was convinced of the hollowness of the agitation that is being conducted by interested parties particularly in Travancore and Kolhapur, where extremists have been creating trouble. In the beginning of 1939, the Viceroy found occasion to visit Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur. In Jaipur, Lord Linlithgow congratulated the young Ruler on the results which he and his administration have been able to achieve in several matters directly related to the well-being of the people by pursuing a determined policy calculated to develop the state along the path of progress in the direction best suited to its character and destiny. At Jodhpur, the Viceroy noted with pleasure the generous liberality of an administration which has for its prime objectives, the uplift of the people by social reform, the provision of educational facilities and the introduction of various rural amenities calculated to develop an intelligent, healthy and prosperous community. The Viceroy paid a well-deserved compliment to the rule of H. H. Maharaja Umedsinhji and referred in glowing terms to the beneficial character of the administration of the State.

At Udaipur, the most renowned and ancient of Rajput States, which, at enormous sacrifice, preserved its independence through centuries of invasion, the Viceroy paid a warm tribute to H. H. Maharana Shri Bhopal Sinhji Bahadur on his qualities, referring to him as a ruler, who was happily alive to his responsibilities in regard to the happiness and contentment in particular of cultivators in the State. After alluding to the general progress which the Maharana Sahib had been able to achieve in all departments of the State administration during the last few years the Viceroy said: "It has been made clear by the pronouncements recently made in the Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and by myself on various public occasions, that the adoption or the development of the particular form of constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State is a matter primarily and essentially for the Ruler himself and one the decision in regard to which must be left to his own wisdom and his own foresight."

In the meeting of the Indian Princes Chamber held in New Delhi in March 1939, the Viceroy assured the Princes that the Paramount Power would be ready to support the Princes in the fulfilment of their treaty obligations and that the Princes remain the primary custodians of their ancient and illustrious rights.

Referring to the recent agitation in Indian states by irresponsible people from British India, who has no stake whatsoever in the States, the Viceroy said: "I am not ignorant that in recent times the Rulers of India states have been passing through, in many cases, a period of stress and difficulty. Far be it from me to deny that there have been many cases in which states have been subjected to attacks which were entirely unjustified, attacks in which one has been unable to trace any scrupulous regard for strict accuracy, or any real desire to promote the welfare of the State or of its people."

A reply worthy of the high traditions of Princely India, reflecting a sincere desire on the part of enlightened Rulers to play a dynamic and hopeful rule in the progress of India, was made on behalf of their Highnesses by the Chancellor of the Chamber to His Excellency the Viceroy's forceful address. This clear and unequivocal declaration must finally dissipate the atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust which has been threatening good relations and smooth advance.

His Highness the Jam Saheb, as he was fully entitled to do, drew a definite distinction between the need for States' administrations to be placed "above criticism," and the manner or method of constitutional arrangements under individual Princes. He avowed that the Rulers of Indian States would not be found wanting in promoting progress among their subjects as well as in British India, and "unequivocally" repudiated allegations of any desire to be reactionary or repressive.

The Jam Saheb naturally had other things to say which may not have been so palatable to hostile politicians in British India but which, so long as the sovereignty of the States is recognised, His Highness had every right to assert. There was an obvious reference to Mr. Gandhi's fast at Rajkot on grounds of a breach of pledge in the Chancellor's insistence that just as the Princes regarded their obligations as a "sacred heritage," the Crown's pledges to them should be recognised as sacrosanct. By implication it was inferred that just as the Paramount Power acknowledged the integrity of the Ruler in regard to internal constitutional arrangements, the same condition must apply to any other outside party.

The Jam Saheb boldly asserted that the Princes were alive to their duty and they would not tolerate outside interference in their

States. At the conclusion of the session of the Princes Chamber, the Viceroy paid a warm and well-deserved tribute to His Highness the Jam Saheb, who, incidentally, has been likened by the Aga Khan to Asoka and Akbar.

At a time of critical importance His Highness as Chancellor has succeeded where others, older and more experienced, too often failed in achieving unanimity. In the result the reorganisation scheme, providing for Standing Committees of Princes and Ministers far more representative than hitherto, was carried through without a hitch. The Indian Princes have always stood by the British Empire and they have the right to expect in return that the Government of India will stand by them in repelling unfair and violent attacks made on them by extremists from British India.

APPENDIX B

AN EMPIRE BUILDER

His Highness The Aga Khan

Reproduced from "Ismaili."

On a summer day soon after the end of the Great War, a country clergyman shared a first-class railway carriage with a gentleman of early middle life whom he would have taken for a fellow Englishman but for the impress upon his face of warmer skies, and he assumed that he came from one of the Latin countries of Europe. The conversation turned in the most natural way on ecclesiastical topics. The padre found that his interlocutor, though not born and bred in England was singularly familiar with the distinctions between the various types of Churchmanship, between the Anglical and Free Church community; that he knew a great deal regarding the characteristics of bishops and other Church dignitaries; that he had a fair acquaintance with the differences in Scotland which led to the disruption of ninety years ago, and that he had followed the movements which were then in progress to bring about union between the Established and United Free Presbyterian Churches.

Religious questions also came under discussion, and the clergyman's surprise at the knowledge of Christian theology shown by his chance acquaintance was increased when he discovered by accident toward the end of the journey that he had been travelling with an illustrious Indian dignitary, himself the religious head of a community of Muslims numbered by the million, and yet known to all the world as a great sportsman. The acquaintance thus made ripened into friendship, which soon extended to a brilliant son of the clergyman, now and for many years past editor of one of the most important daily newspapers in the British Dominions overseas.

This incident in the life of His Highness the Aga Khan illustrates his remarkable versatility and knowledge of men and things derived from wide reading, travel and observation and contact with the leading figures of our time in many countries both of the East and West. One of his favourite studies is psychology; he delights to think out why people known to him do this or that. He has an inquisitive mind, but never trenches in his talks with friends beyond the bounds of an instinctive courtesy. His natural gifts of keen intelligence and interest in affairs have been quickened by the discharge of responsibilities which came upon him at an early age. It will soon be half a century since as a lad of eight he became Aga Khan III. Though he went neither to public school nor university college, since he was under private tuition, he is one of the most widely read and cultured men of our time.

The Aga Khan regulates his time in such a way that all requirements both of a many-sided personality and of duty as a leader of his people and a man of great influence in affairs, are met. At an hour when most men of affluence are still in bed, the Aga Khan has risen, performed his religious duties as a Muslim looked over the morning papers, opened much of his large correspondence and gone out for air and exercise on the golf links or at the tennis court. One reason for the comparatively short time which he spends in bed (for he reads late into the night) is that, like Napoleon, he has the gift of taking snatches of sleep when intervals in his many pursuits permit, and usually he has a few minutes rest in the afternoon. He gives much time to social engagements; and yet can keep abreast of current English books, and continue his study of both Oriental and Occidental classics, and often read French and German works.

Bacon wrote that reading makes the full man; but the Aga Khan's fullness and variety of mind is also made by his conversational powers. With his linguistic facility, instinctive tact, and zest in affairs he can be at home in the most varied circles, and can contribute a fund of information and ideas to almost any topic that may be brought up. His talk is the more agreeable by the breadth of judgment and generosity of view which it discloses. He can discuss matters of international consequence with crowned heads and presidents no less readily than he can talk of racing problems at the Jockey Club.

The Aga Khan, who has played so influential a part in public affairs for half a century and is the councillor and confidant of statesmen of many lands, is in fact simple, in the best sense of the term, in his life and habits. The ties of family affection are strong in him: as witness his constant correspondence with and deep attachment to his venerable mother and his pride in and solicitude for his heir Prince Aly. Most men filling a comparable position in public and social life would be surrounded by a staff of secretaries and servants. But His Highness believes in travelling light, and recognises that a big staff may multiply the cares of its chief. In London he is accompanied only by a trusted Indian valet and by a secretary; but both are well chosen and by long experience understand the brief decisive instructions given, sometimes when crossing a room or walking along a corridor. He could not suffer fools about him. While he is the most generous and considerate of masters, there could be no greater mistake than to regard his affability as an indication that he is easy-going. When he trusts he trusts completely. He knows how to keep away the humbug and adventurer who hopes to exploit his good nature and his wealth.

While the British Government has no stauncher or more consistent friend, he never hesitates to be faithful in expostulation or criticism when he is convinced that some serious mistake has been, or is about to be made. This outspokenness is the more impressive since the Aga Khan has no trace of the egotism which leads a man to persist stubbornly in a mistaken path. It is his breadth of view, side by side with a consistent British and Indian patriotism which has given him so much influence with leading statesmen in Europe and Asia.

The comprehensive mind of His Highness is mirrored in his work for the Turf. As Mr. Sidney Gaultrey, the "Hotspur" of the "Daily Telegraph," has written, he came into racing not alone to win races, but to breed the winners of big races, and to show that it could be done by close study and deep thinking after the foundations had been securely laid. He approached the subject not as an amusement merely, but almost as a science. He regarded the breeding of blood stock as a form both of useful public activity and of investment. It is largely due to him that the totalisator has found its place in British races, though not to the exclusion of the book-maker from the course which he recommended. He is one of those owners who do very little betting and promote the "sport of kings" for its own sake. In this field as in many others he recognises that one can never stop learning. To again quote from Mr. Gaultrey, he has realism as well as vision. He has earned to the full the succession to the place the late Jam Saheb "Ranji" held in the eyes of the British public as the most popular Indian sportsman of the day.

Everyone knows that the Aga Khan can speak with greater authority than any contemporary upon the thoughts, ideas and aspirations of the Islamic world. Of his place as the Pontiff of the Ismailis in many lands, and as the peace-maker in Indian Islam, his work is most enduring. But it may be remarked here that following in the steps of Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College (which he did much to raise to the status of a university) he has led the way from the obscurantism which formerly induced the Muslims of India to set little store by secular education so long as their children were taught Islamic principles. He has thus helped to fit the Muslim community for a fair share in the Indian public services and to pull its due weight in the work of Indian advancement. Yet all the time he has been trusted and admired by far-sighted Hindus, and notably by Gokhale, who confided to him, for publication when he thought desirable, his last political testament. A remarkable example of the confidence shown in His Highness was that at the three sessions of the Round Table Conference and at the Joint Select Committee of Parliament

on Indian Reforms, he was the elected Chairman of the whole British Indian delegation. This was a fitting tribute, as Sir Akbar Hydari said in London, to his steadfast endeavour to adapt communal claims and policies to the interests of India as a whole.

As the Right Honourable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked at a gathering in London, His Highness had brought East and West together.

The Aga Khan would have even a greater place in society and in the history of our time had it fallen to him, as it does to most Western public men of comparable influence, to make frequent speeches in Parliament or on the platform. As the youngest member of the Governor-General's Legislature in Lord Curzon's time he made a very good impression by his occasional learned speeches. But in later years he has rather shunned the platform, perhaps unduly so, since he can always state a case effectively and with cogent logic. In the discussions at the sessions of the Round Table Conference he seldom intervened for he preferred his customary role of influencing opinion behind the scenes. Indeed a great deal of his life's work has taken the form of " influence by talk. " What he did in this connection to shorten and limit the horrors of the Great War, not only in diplomatic missions, but also in private contracts, will never be fully known, for His Highness has been indifferent about the keeping of records, is not prone to writing long letters, and has never given himself time to write a diary. Not only has it suited his type of temperament and also his abundant hospitality, whether at Geneva or in London or Delhi, to influence by interview and conversation ; but he has acted on the belief that talk of the right sort is one of the most important imponderables which, as Bismarck said, are more than half of life.

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To present an accurate and illuminating picture of His Highness is a stroke of temerity ; and the present writer who has known His Highness intimately for nearly fifty years and watched his unique and eminent career has always regarded His Highness as his Master and Guru. He is conscious of the inadequacy of his power to do justice to the most eminent character and brilliant achievements of the great man. The life of his Highness has been one of service—service not only to Islam and his own far scattered community but to his sovereign and to the highest ideals of humanity. May God spare His Highness long to guide Islam and his followers to the path of sanity and wisdom and may he live long to labour for the advancement of Islam and India and to make India a strong and dominant partner in the Empire of His Majesty King George of England.

APPENDIX C

THE AGA KHAN HONOURED

Indian Tributes at Reception.

A reception in honour of the Aga Khan was given at the Dorchester Hotel, Park Lane, on 25th July 1933 by all his fellow delegates to the Joint Select Committee on Indian Reforms, and their regard for him was expressed by Sir Akbar Hydari on behalf of the States Delegation, and by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on behalf of the British Indian Delegation.

Sir Akbar Hydari said :

It is a very great pleasure and indeed an honour to me that I should have been called upon to speak about one who is respected not only wherever Indians meet, but wherever Englishmen and Indians come together. I think that there is no one in the public life of India who holds quite the unique position which is held by His Highness the Aga Khan. Illustrious lineage alone would not have given him the position among Muslims in India which he occupies at present, a position which enables him to act in a very real sense as their leader.

It is not for me to speak of that aspect of his activities, but I will say this that I doubt whether the Muslim Delegation to successive Round Table Conferences and now to the Joint Select Committee would have done such remarkable team work had it not been for the wise guidance of their leader.

His Highness has, however, an even greater distinction. It has always been his endeavour to adapt communal claims and communal policies to the interests of India as a whole, and it is surely remarkable that, notwithstanding that he is the leader of the Muslim Delegation, His Highness has been elected as the Chairman of the whole British Indian Delegation.

But it is not only in times of Conferences and Committees that His Highness gives proof of his great value to India. When Committees cease from troubling and Conferences are at rest there is His Highness always available in England as a most acceptable ambassador of India. His varied interest include not only politics, but sport, and it is not too much to say that he could not have done a greater service to India than he did when he won the Derby.

Perhaps in no other country in the world are politics and sport so intermixed as they are in Great Britain, and it has been an

inestimable asset to India that one who is, as I have said before, her unofficial ambassador in England, should not only be a great politician but also a great sportsman.

We are now within sight of the end of Constitutional discussions which have occupied the attention of so many of us for the last three or four years.

In these deliberations His Highness has played a great but unobtrusive part. He has not made many speeches nor has he asked many questions, but he has been behind the scenes directing with all the wise judgment which he has all those who have been working for an honourable settlement between England and India in the matter of the future governance of our country.

I think it is but fitting that at this the almost last stage of our work we should have gathered together, men and women of all parties, whether of Britain, of British India, or of Indian States, to do honour to one to whose sagacious and genial personality we all owe so much. His Highness, as is only natural to a great man of the world that he is, might, when he was approached to honour us with his presence to-day, have felt that this was just an act of courtesy on our part. I hope that he will have realised, now that he is amongst us and has felt the warmth of our welcome, that this function was not a mere act of courtesy but an expression of the deep respect and affection we all feel for him.

The Aga Khan, who was received with hearty cheers, said that there had been no occasion in his life—not even when he won the Derby—on which he could look back with more pride and satisfaction. They heard much, especially from quarters which were slow to recognize the great changes taking place in India, of the differences in that sub-continent of caste, race, creed, language and outlook. But he defied any informed thinker to point to any part of the world of the same vast extent and the scene of so many historical developments in which there was so much essential unity. Nothing could afford stronger proof of that unity than that they had been able to bring their discords into the remarkable measure of harmony which was summed up in the White Paper policy. They had been helped in this task by the experience of British statesmanship, now moving with deliberate purpose toward that proudest day of British destiny of which Macaulay spoke so eloquently a century ago—the day when India would not only seek but secure the management of her own affairs.

As a loyal British subject and a life-long believer in the British connexion, he appealed to the British public to be guided on this great issue by statesmen like Sir Samuel Hoare who in his examination by the Joint Select Committee had shown such mastery of every detail of this complicated issue and whose steady patriotism as

an Englishman could not for one moment be questioned. He appealed even more strongly to his own countrymen to set aside jealousies and exclusively sectional aims, and to keep away from the sterile fields of fault-finding and mere destructive criticism. They should make the best use of the powers and responsibilities they were to be given in the confidence that by this means, and when they showed themselves capable of it, India would ultimately attain to the full attributes of a dominion.

APPENDIX D

LEADER OF BRITISH INDIAN DELEGATES

Tribute to Aga Khan's Services

The Aga Khan, on completion of his work as Chairman of the British Indian delegation to the Joint Select Committee, left London for France on November 16. At Victoria Station he was garlanded by Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi, a fellow delegate, on behalf of the Orient Club of London, and presented with an address on vellum. The address stated that the Club is composed of men of all castes and creeds of India, and referred to the forthcoming visit of His Highness to India. In the past three years His Highness had combined together for the first time in modern history, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and other delegates, and all the delegates had shown complete confidence in their Chairman.

The Aga Khan in reply said that he was much indebted to his fellow-countrymen from different provinces and belonging to different communities for the farewell they were giving. He only wished he deserved the kind things they had said of his work as Chairman of the British-Indian delegation. He looked to his young friends to take their part in the work of building up a better and a happier India.

In a subsequent statement to the Press, His Highness said that after more than three years of work in London the Indian delegates had now finished their task of active co-operation with British statesman in planning a new constitution for India. As Chairman of the British Indians he was happy to think that as time had gone on, the Indians had drawn nearer to each other. They were most grateful for the assistance and co-operation they had received from Sir Samuel Hoare, the permanent officials of the India Office, and the British statesmen with whom they had conferred at the three sessions of the Round Table Conference and in the Joint Select Committee.

They particularly acknowledged the consideration shown them by Lord Linlithgow as Chairman of the Committee. He had given them every opportunity of being heard. The Aga Khan added that he sincerely hoped and believed that the constitution they had assisted to frame would be such as would satisfy Indian opinion, and would be capable of being worked as a Federal system through the transition stages towards India taking her full place in the great federation of Dominions which made up the British Empire.

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