

broke out, instantly the chivalry of India drew the sword and came and stood by us in the trenches. (Applause.) I remember those days of 1914 pretty well myself, and I remember well how pleased we were when those splendid Divisions from India turned up and relieved us in the trenches. They bled with us and they fought with us. They shivered with cold in those ghastly trenches, and they shivered with cold in the bivouacs, because what to us, born and bred in this raw British climate were able to put up with was a great hardship for them; it was terrible to watch their sufferings.

Now, gentlemen, what is the choice before us? We wish to satisfy our Indian comrades who stood with us in the trenches, and personally I prefer to listen to what my comrades who fought with us and died, my comrades who lie in those graves from Basra up to Bagdad, from Cairo up to Damascus—I prefer to support that man rather than a treacherous man like King Tino. (Loud applause.)

MR. JINNAH'S SPEECH.

MR. M. H. JINNAH (President of the All-India Muslim League), who was very cordially received, said: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Coming from India as I do, and having left India only a short time ago, I think you would like to hear what is the feeling and the opinion of the people of India, and particularly the Mussulmans.

Of course, as our Chairman said, the idea is not to inflame the feelings of the people in this meeting. I should have thought, with the audience that I see in front of me, composed of so well-reasoned and prominent men, that it would be an act of madness on the part of any sensible man to inflame this meeting. The position that I want to place before you is this, and I want to appeal particularly to our English friends who are here to-day standing up for the Mussulmans of India, their feelings and their sentiments, and also who are here to support the cause of Turkey. It is a thing which one feels very strongly, that you have got at least some friends who are fighting the right cause, both for the Turks and for the Mussulmans of India.

THE PLEDGES TO THE MAHOMEDANS.

Now, I will tell you, ladies and gentlemen, how we have got to face that great question in India. In 1914, when Turkey entered this Great War, it was a matter of very grave difficulty for the Mussulmans of India to decide what should be their position. Promptly after Turkey entered the War, the Government of India issued a notification. That notification I will read to you. It runs as follows: I will give you the substance of it. It says this: In view of the outbreak of War between Great Britain and Turkey, which, to the regret of Great Britain, has been brought about by the ill-advised and deliberate action on the part of the Ottoman Government, His Excellency the Viceroy is authorised by His Majesty's Government to make the following public announcement in regard to the Holy Places of Arabia, including the Holy Places of Mesopotamia and a part of Jeddah, in order that there may be no misunderstanding on the part of His Majesty's most loyal Mussulman subjects in the War. Those Holy Place and Jeddah are immune from attack or molestation by the British Naval and Military forces so long as there is no interference with the pilgrims from India to the Holy Places and the Shrines in question. On the request of His Majesty's Government, the Governments of France and Russia have given their similar consent.

After this announcement was made by the Government of India, under the authority of His Majesty's Government, an appeal was made to the Mussulmans of India, and I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, though it is very well known to you now, and I do not want to take up your time—that the Mahomedans came forward to help the British Empire in those dire days of this terrible War. (Applause.) But you know that the help which was furnished both by the people of England to their Government, and by the Mussulmans and the people of India, was not sufficient for the stress of that Great War. It was then that in January, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, speaking on behalf of the British Nation and the British Empire, gave that pledge to which the Chairman of this meeting referred. (A Voice: What was it worth?) That pledge was made further clear, as Mr. Aubrey Herbert stated, that it was to convince and satisfy the Mussulmans of India because we wanted recruiting in India to be helped. And here now I give you what I know of my own knowledge. This was in February. In April, 1918, when the clouds were gathering over the British Empire, we had at Delhi the War Conference, where the representatives of the people and the Princes were invited, under the Presidency of the Viceroy, and in that War Conference, I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that the Mahomedan representatives were told repeatedly over and over again that "you have the pledge of the British Premier and we shall stand by it." (A Voice: A scrap of paper.) It was those representations which made the Mahomedans, against their most sacred feelings of a religious character, come forward to help in this War because they felt secure that their Holy Places would not be touched, they felt secure that the homelands of Turkey would not be demolished and scattered and broken up.

BANKRUPT STATESMANSHIP.

But what do we find? We find that this pledge is ruthlessly broken and we find, to our great regret, that the British Premier has even gone to the extent of wriggling out of it, quibbling out of it. (Cries of "Shame.") This shows that your statesmanship in this country—(A Voice: We haven't any)—is reaching the point of bankruptcy.

But, ladies and gentlemen, what must be the feeling of a Mussulman who poured out his money, who poured his blood, who willingly allowed his sons to go and fight in the different battlefields, when to-day he finds his Holy Places under—I do not speak disrespectfully of any religion—but under a Christian religion? What must be the feeling of a Mussulman when he finds to-day that those dear Turkish homelands are handed over to Greece, and Constantinople to-day stands as purely a mortgage security for the Allies, under the guns of Britain and her Allies? What must be the feeling of a Mussulman? (Hear, hear.) I assure you that you will never get back the goodwill of the people of India or the Mussulmans, you will never get peace, and your reputation for fair play and good faith has been shattered throughout the East, including India. (Hear, hear.)

I know the far more vital question for you to consider here is of expenditure; I know that appeals to an ordinary Englishman far more, because you have yourselves realised—as one of the speakers said—that if you are not careful, if you do not put pressure upon your Government, you may start at Constantinople, but you may not end at Kandahar; you may have to go even farther than that, and that will mean—I speak to you now, ladies and gentlemen, who are English—that means to you absolute ruination. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

For your own interest—apart from those honourable pledges, apart from that reputation for good faith and fair play which you have enjoyed—apart from all those considerations which you ought to hold dear, coming back to the material side of the question, for your own sake, every man and woman who is here should try their very best to put pressure upon your Government to save yourselves and redeem what you have very nearly lost. (Loud applause.)

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS.

MR. CHARLES ROBERTS: But I do support this resolution, and I have protested before now as to the breach, of this declaration of January 5, 1918. I regard it as binding the British nation. (Hear, hear.) It was so uttered; it was a solemn pledge, not given by the Prime Minister alone, but after consultation with the leaders of other parties; a pledge, if ever a pledge was given, on behalf of the nation. This was a national pledge, and it was so interpreted by the Prime Minister himself two years later when the question of Constantinople came up and he referred to this pledge, quoted it, said it was an unconditional pledge given to the Muslims to encourage recruiting; and he depicted, in language as forcible as that used by Mr. Jinnah, what would be the effect upon Eastern nations if our reputation for keeping our pledges broke down. (Hear, hear.) Having done that, by an almost incredible act, he declared that he was bound to keep this pledge in respect of Constantinople, which it clearly covered, and at the same time he was breaking it in respect of Thrace, Smyrna and the homelands of Turkey, which are most emphatically included in the very pledge. He therefore claimed, having made this pledge, having declared that it was unconditional, that he would keep it as to one-third and break it as to two-thirds. (Laughter, and a Voice: "Statesmanlike.") Well, he is the judge of his own statesmanship; but we, I think, who do value England's reputation for pledges, for good faith and for the observance of our promises, are bound upon all occasions to say that this pledge does estop us from action which otherwise might conceivably commend itself to a certain class of opinion.

A TERRIBLE TANGLE.

It is not merely a question of Anti-Waste; there are far more far-reaching questions involved than that. Good faith to India; the relations, the far-reaching relations, of our Empire; our place in the world; good relations between East and West—all these are involved. (Hear, hear.) I am the first admit now—in a white sheet, if you like—that things are in a terrible tangle. For, if you call the Prime Minister to this pledge, he has made other pledges. . . . (Hear, hear, and a Voice: "And broken the lot!") Sir, the questions that are involved are far too serious to be made the subject of any Party interest—(Hear, hear)—but I can see no way except by a change of men. It seems to me that the course of the present Government in this respect is so tangled that there are breaches, whatever they do they will violate promises, that there is no course open to them but to leave the handling of this question to other men. I care not who the other men are, so far as that is concerned; whatever Party is concerned they might have clean hands; these men have none at all.

THE POSITIVE SIDE OF THE PLEDGE

I think at the present moment there are only one or two things quite clear. I have already stated that I do not think we can dispute for a moment that excesses have been com-