

Indian Opinion

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NOTES AND NEWS

COMMENTING on the reference made by Lord Reading on the question of Repatriation of Indians in his speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly at Simla, (which we reproduce in another column), *New India* (Madras) states:—

The Viceroy's references in the course of his address in opening the Central Legislature to the question of repatriation of Indians from Natal cannot but be regarded as incomplete. Replying sometime ago to an address presented on the South African Indian problem, His Excellency stated that the subject was engaging the attention of his Government. Does the statement that "no case has been brought to their (the Government's) notice in which repatriation had been otherwise than voluntary," coupled with absence of any other pronouncement, mean that the Government are satisfied with the present position in this respect? It can mean little else; and if so, public opinion in India will feel disappointed. It is known that the methods adopted by the South African Government have been very questionable and the Government of India themselves made representation to the Union Government on the question recently. Considering the conditions which repatriated Indians have to face in India on their return, it is highly necessary that the Government of India should urge the Union Government to give up their present policy. The Indian problem in South Africa can be solved satisfactorily only if Indians in South Africa are treated as constituting part of the natural population of the country.

The *Natal Advertiser* correspondent in a message from Nairobi states that the proceedings of the Kenya Convention have concluded. One of the main features of general interest, says the message, was a strong resolution "opposing by every means in our power the encroachment of Asiatics on the political supremacy of the European colonists."

In the Indian Legislative Assembly in reply to a question regarding the recent Anti-Indian Legislation in Natal it was stated on behalf of the Government that the Government of India did not consider that it would be in the public interest to lay either their representations or the replies of the Union Government on the table. But as a result of correspondence they are in a position to state that (1) the Union Government have recommended that assent should not be given to the Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance on the ground that the abolition of the Provincial Appeal Board would be contrary to their general policy towards Asiatic traders. (2) That the Township Franchise Ordinance has been reserved for further consideration and the Union Government propose to appoint a special officer to investigate the subject and (3) that the Durban Land Ordinance has received assent but it is proposed to inform the Administrator of Natal that the Union Government consider it reasonable that in giving his approval to the racial restriction introduced into land sales, he should see that, as far as possible, Asiatics are given reasonable opportunity of acquiring adequate residential sites.

The following are some portions of the speech recently delivered by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons which caused great disturbance in the minds of both Moderates and Nationalists in India:—

Whatever their (Indians') success, whether as Parliamentarians or as administrators, I can see no period when they can dispense with the guidance and assistance of a small nucleus of British Civil Servants and British officials in India. Thus in a population of 314,000,000 they only number 1,200. They are the steel frame of the whole structure. I do not care what you build on or to it. If you take that steel frame out the fabric will collapse.

I approach this question from the point of view of one who believes in getting Indians to assist us in discharging the very great trust and obligation which we have inherited and which I hope we shall transmit to our descendants in generations to come. To discharge this great trust it is essential to have the aid of Indian Civil Servants, Indian soldiers, Indian Judges and Indian legislators. But it is vital that we should have the continued assistance of British officials.

I hope it is thoroughly realised that there is no idea of winding up the British Civil Service and that we consider it not merely an integral part of the system but as essential to the very life of the system.

There is one institution which we will not cripple, there is one institution which we will not deprive of its functions or of its privileges, and that is that institution which built up the British Civil Service."

OBITUARY

MRS. S. FAREED

Many will already have learnt with deep regret the sad demise of Mrs. Sheik Fareed of Overport, on Thursday morning the 19th instant, mother of Mr. Sheik Amod, a prominent Indian of Durban and noted for his interest in communal affairs. She was born in 1865, and wherever she went she made friends and was beloved by all for her kind and loving disposition. The funeral service took place at the Overport Cemetery by the high priest of the Grey Street Mosque, Moulvi Fateh Mahomed. Besides those of the relatives who were able to be present, there were all sections of the community at the graveside. Amongst those prominent were Messrs. Moulvi Afrique, A. Christopher, M. A. Kathrada, E. C. Motala, Akbar, Mather Bros. of Verulam, G. Lalla, M. Beethasee Maharaj and several other friends.

There were numerous wreathes, floral tributes, letters of sympathy and telegrams from various parts of the country.

Deceased leaves 5 sons and 3 daughters and several grandchildren to mourn her loss.

"To my own countrymen resident in this land, my parting appeal is—always remember that your future is largely in your own hands. You have by no means an easy position here, and it is not impossible that it may grow even worse. But, whatever happens, do not lose faith or give way to despair. I pray to God that such a struggle as you found it necessary to wage in the Transvaal during the last three years may not have to be waged again. But if it has to be resumed, or if you have to enter on other struggles of a like nature for justice denied or injustice forced on you, remember that the issue will largely turn on the character you show, on your capacity for combined action, on your readiness to suffer and sacrifice in a just cause. India will no doubt be behind you. Such assistance as she can give shall freely come to you. Her passionate sympathy, her heart, her hopes will be with you. Nay, all that is best in this Empire, all that is best in the civilised world, will wish you success. But the main endeavour to have your wrongs righted shall have to be yours. Remember that you are entitled to have the Indian problem in this country solved on right lines. And in such right solution are involved not merely your present worldly interests, but your dignity and self-respect, the honour and good name of your Motherland and the entire moral and material well-being of your children and your children's children."—THE LATE MR. G. K. GOKHALE.

THE PREMIER'S RESIGNATION

MR. Lloyd George's sudden resignation has brought about a crisis in the political situation of England. His recent Turkish policy has unpopularised the Premier in his own circle to a very great extent and his resignation, though regretted by some, has not displeased many. How will India take the Premier's resignation is the question which naturally arises in the mind of every Indian. There can be but one answer to that, viz., that India will not be sorry. The ex-Premier's policy with regard to India has by no means been worthy of praise and it could not win for him the hearts of the Indian people. His breach of promise with regard to the Holy places of Islam has made him an enemy of the Islamic world and that enmity has considerably increased by his policy of backing Greece during the recent war between Greece and Turkey. His recent speech in the House of Commons in connection with the retention of British Civil Service in India has succeeded in alienating the sympathy and feeling of admiration which the moderate section of India has had for him. Mr. Lloyd George's resignation will not therefore, we believe, be received with anything but a feeling of relief in India. But while this is so, India has little reason to hope that her lot will be any the better by the change in the Government. If India could have entertained any hope of receiving consideration it was certainly from the Coalition Government with a Liberal Party member at

its head. But having received the treatment by this Party which has made the heart of every true Indian bleed, India can expect little from the Conservatives.

We in South Africa are situated in a similar position. There is a movement on foot to crush the South African Party. If the movement succeeds the position of the Indian community in South Africa will no doubt be rendered worse than it is at present, and indeed, the present position is by no means an enviable one. It is true, there are members in the South African Party who are our deadliest enemies—who are scheming to crush us out of existence. But, the fact should not be forgotten that if there are any who sympathise with us in our just cause they are also to be found, in a majority, in the South African Party. And yet the S.A.P. has done so mighty little for us; and little still should be expected from any other Party. We can therefore support either no Party or the South African Party.

But the most important point for us in South Africa as well as Indians in India to bear in mind is that we will have to rely entirely on our own strength and expect salvation to come from no Party. The white races who profess the trusteeship of the darker races have miserably failed in their trust. They have completely neglected the darker races. They do not wish that we should progress or rise. They wish to keep us down under their iron heels and rule supreme over the world. We are thus left alone to seek our own salvation. It is perhaps all for the better. It may be that it is ordained that we should be made an example for the world to follow. No nation has risen without great suffering. We have to prove our worth. Let us prove it to such an extent that we may be able to gain the hearts of not one Party but all Parties and the world. That is the task set at present before every Indian; for, it is the sympathy of the outer world that will bring for us a status worth possessing. May we not be found wanting is our earnest prayer.

LORD READING'S SPEECH

ON INDIANS IN COLONIES

At the opening of the Legislative Assembly in Simla (India) on September the 5th, the Viceroy, Lord Reading, delivered a lengthy speech in which he dealt as follows on the question of Indians in the Colonies:—

In dealing with external affairs and our borders, I refer to the position of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies overseas. The Standing Emigration Committee is now advising the Government of India on all emigration matters of major importance. Our policy is embodied in the New Emigration Act which received my assent last March. At present the emigration of unskilled labour is illegal except to Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States to which the New Act will only apply next March. Deputations from Ceylon and Malay are with us, discussing the details of the proposals which, on the advice of the Committee, we have placed before their Government, and the Government of the Straits Settlements are embodying in their local legislation the provision which we are advised to secure in that colony. I desire to acknowledge the cordial spirit in which Colonial Governments are co-operating with my Government to make the conditions of Indian Emigration free from all reasonable objection.

The important aspects of Mr. Sastri's mission were referred to by me in a speech I made on the eve of his departure. We have every reason to be gratified by

the impression which he has made and by the warm reception extended to him. Mr. Sastri has already been successful in obtaining the removal of some minor disabilities affecting domiciled Indians and we trust that in course of time on the larger questions also of which the Ministers cannot immediately extend promises in advance of the mandate of their electorates, the atmosphere of friendly feeling towards India created by his visit may conduce towards the realisation of our reasonable expectations.

My Government has been corresponding with the Government of the Union of South Africa regarding the recommendation of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission. We have not been able as yet to reach an agreement in principle but we are still engaged in attempts to arrive at a better understanding. The Union Government by their recent action in suspending the operation of two ordinances in Natal have given proof of their desire that most careful and imperial inquiries should be made before any step is taken which is likely to affect the position of Indians in any part of the Union. In reference to repatriation from Natal, my Government have made careful investigation. No case has been brought to their notice in which repatriation has been other than entirely voluntary.

The report of the deputation to British Guiana has not yet been received. We have the summary of the recommendations of the Fiji Deputation and their report will be taken into consideration by my Government as soon as it reaches us. The condition of the sugar industry in those islands gives us cause for apprehension that Indians in Fiji may no longer be able to earn a living wage and the Government of India are engaged in arranging at the cost of that colony for facilities for repatriation of all Indians who desire to return.

Conversations are proceeding between the Colonial Office and the India Office regarding the position of Indians in Kenya. The Government of India are carefully watching developments and I trust a satisfactory settlement of the difficult questions involved may soon be reached. I note your anxiety in watching the fortunes of your Indian brethren overseas. Let me assure you that my Government have been and will be unremitting in asserting their rights and urging their cause in all parts of the Empire. If I do not say more upon this occasion, I hope you understand that it is not because I am unmindful of the vast importance of the subject. I shall be in a position to address you more fully when the result of the pending discussion has been reached and can be announced.—*The Hindu*.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S BETRAYAL

Mr. G. A. Natesan in a letter to the Press in India comments as follows on the notorious speech delivered by the late British Prime Minister in the House of Commons with reference to British Civil Service in India :—

If the bitterest foe of Britain had engaged a malignant genius to create mischief in a part of the Empire already seething with grave discontent, he could not have succeeded in his destructive task so well and so effectively as the Rt. Hon. Lloyd George has done by his now notorious speech in the House of Commons. Indian politicians have long been protesting that many solemn promises and pledges made to India by British statesmen have been conveniently forgotten and in some cases shamefully broken. It was the unceasing complaint of Dadabhai. Sixty-two years ago, a committee of five members of the India Council wrote in a confidential Minute :—

"That the British Government was exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope."

Eighteen years later, Lord Lytton, referring to unfulfilled promises, wrote in a Minute :—

"We have had to choose between prohibiting them

and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course."

When an attempt was made to go against the spirit of the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858, Lord Northbrook bitterly broke out :—

"My Lords, I do not see what is the use of all this political hypocrisy."

The Congress since its inception has been agitating only for the fulfilment of Britain's promises and pledges. The split at Surat and the Non-co-operation movement are nothing but the result of the lack of faith of large numbers of the people of India in the integrity of British statesmen. Only the other day, in the presence of the Viceroy, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri bluntly stated :—

"We never have seen in the country such a lack of hope and faith in the Government of the day. I say this in all solemnity. We have never seen such a total lack of faith by the people as to-day."

It is at such a critical juncture that the British Premier has had the effrontery to tell the people of India that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform is "but an experiment," that the Civil Service—"the steel-frame"—is essential to the very life of the system, in effect, that India is to be under perpetual tutelage. This arrogant pronouncement is nothing short of an insult to the Indian people. And it is no use trying to explain it away, even as H. E. Lord Reading attempts to do. The agitation for the Indianisation of the Services is nearly a century old; it is anterior to the agitation for Self-Government. Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement is opposed to the Statute of 1833, that there was to be "no governing class in India," and is undoubtedly a negation of the Declaration of August 1917. Apart from its betrayal, his speech threatens to deprive Indians of their inherent moral right to govern themselves. There can be no peace in this country till an authoritative repudiation of the Premier's speech is made. It is incumbent on the newly-constituted legislatures to fight for an early repudiation of the Premier's policy and at the same time insist on the adoption of further speedy measures for the attainment of our rightful goal. In any case, it is impossible to think for a moment that the destinies of India and of a great Empire should be left to the whims of politicians of the type of Mr. Lloyd George.

PRINCE'S INDIAN TOUR

The *Natal Mercury* writes as follows :—

It was a curious coincidence that while the Prince of Wales was expressing the view that India was calmer, the unofficial members of the new India Legislature were objecting to the small control of Indian affairs now left with the Imperial Government. It emphasises the difficulty of generalising about the future, or even the present state of the Great Dependency. For the moment, the political classes in India are less active, but not since the Mutiny has there been as much sedition existent. The fact is that the country was not ripe for self-government, and the demand came from a limited section of the people. In the opinion of many of the most experienced Indian Governors, the transition should have been more gradual, and the responsibilities conferred upon the inhabitants are too heavy for their shoulders. Even during the Prince's visit there was much disaffection, which was minimised by his tact and urbanity, and also by the natural love that Eastern people possess for display and kingship, for at the heart of things the Oriental does not understand or appreciate representative institutions, since for centuries he has been accustomed to autocratic government. Hence the reason that the Prince was accorded the welcome that he received. He was the visible symbol of the Raj, and was accepted as such by the masses. Whether the free institutions granted to India are right or wrong, premature or otherwise, they cannot now be

withdrawn, and it will be wise for the Imperial Government carefully and authoritatively to define what are the respective powers under the Government of India Act, of the Secretary of State in Council, and the Governor-General-in-Council, in respect of the financial administration, for on financial responsibility the whole status of India turns, and any dubiety leads to confusion, and gives a weapon to those who are dissatisfied with the limitations of the Act. The Government will partially disarm antagonism if it makes the position clear, and thus remove any grievances or hindrances in the way of the smooth working of the Constitution. If that is accomplished, it should pave the way for that prosperity which the Prince predicts for India. His Royal Highness considers that there is a great industrial as well as an agricultural future before India, and that is a question which will have a weighty bearing on Anglo-Indian relations, because the Manchester trade is definitely affected by Indian manufactures, and this fact may have a bearing on the forthcoming elections in Great Britain, as some time ago there was considerable discussion on the increased taxation of cotton goods by the Indian Government.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN PUNJAB

SIKHS AND THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT

The *Manchester Guardian* special correspondent at Amritsar (India) has written the following interesting article surveying the political conditions in the Punjab in which he has dealt chiefly on the strained relations which exist between the Sikh community and the Government of India:—

I have spent a few days in Lahore and Amritsar, and I had better give you my first impressions of the Punjab while they are fresh.

Naturally, I had expected very soon to run up against the scars of 1919, and it was not long before I did so. But the very first thing that attracted my attention in the Punjab was the depth and width of the communal cleavages, far more serious here than anything I have come across in other parts of India.

In the Punjab the Mohammedans are an absolute majority, about 55 per cent of the total population. The Hindus come second, and the Sikhs third. But the Mohammedans, though superior in number, are backward in education, and the Hindus have the lion's share of Government appointments. The policy of the Mohammedan educational Minister is directed towards readjusting the balance in accordance with the Mohammedan idea of equity, and this has led to war in the press and elsewhere. Again, Mohammedan feeling has been stirred by Hindu lecturers, who denounce the atrocities committed by the Moplahs in order to raise funds for the relief of their Hindu victims, and Mohammedans are asking Hindus to show more sympathy for the Moplahs' wrongs. Lastly, the Mohammedans are wakening up to the fact that if the North-west Frontier Province was united with the Punjab their advantage over their rivals would be greatly increased. Some even appear to be inclined to turn their eyes towards their coreligionists outside India. One Mohammedan said to me that the Punjab should be looked on as part of the Central Asian rather than as part of the Indian problem.

THE SIKHS

The Hindus naturally look for support to the rest of India. The third community, the Sikhs, is traditionally hostile to the Mohammedan. It is mainly an agricultural community, and it is therefore less concerned than the Hindus and Mohammedans about the apportionment of Government posts. All the same, it has begun to claim a larger share and also larger representation on the local Legislative Council as against the other communities.

But just at present the energies of this community

are concentrated on its feud with the Government. It is clearly in the interests of the Government to be friends with the Sikhs. It is equally clearly in the interest of the Sikhs to be friends with the Government. But to-day the breach between the two parties is wide and deep. The immediate cause of the trouble was the Akali movement, a puritanic religious revival among the Sikhs, chiefly directed against corrupt vested interests in the control of the endowments of their shrines or *gurdwaras*. Religious enthusiasts are never great sticklers for legality. Bureaucracies are not usually remarkable for their sympathy with the impatience of religious zealots. Hence many tears. After much had been done and suffered, the Government at last came forward with a bill which admittedly seems calculated to enable the religious zealots to achieve their purposes promptly without breach of the law. But this was not done till the Sikh community had been thoroughly roused and filled with distrust of the Sircar and all its works and agents. The Non-co-operators naturally took advantage of this state of affairs to shepherd the Sikhs into their fold, and it is clearly their interest to frustrate any effort to bring about a reconciliation between the Government and the Sikhs.

LONG MEMORIES

Now the Sikh community is a very peculiar one. It remembers the time, not a hundred years ago, when the Sikh army made and unmade rulers and was the only government in the Punjab. It has vigorous democratic and martial traditions, and these have religious sanction. For example religion commands a Sikh to wear a *kirpan*—i.e., a dagger or sword,—and the Government have had to concede this privilege.

This fierce democracy got thoroughly out of hand. The Punjab countryside has never been a remarkably law-abiding tract, and the rough element in the villages attached itself to the Akali movement as soon as it saw that the Sircar hesitated to interfere with anything calling itself an Akali. The Non-co-operators were undoubtedly anxious to keep this rough element within bounds and to prevent it from disgracing the cause. They taught the Sikhs the tactics of non-violence, and succeeded in persuading them that, for the present at least, those tactics are expedient. But the Government and its officers may be pardoned if they think that this conversion is only skin-deep. "I can say we have taught the Sikhs the political, if not the spiritual value of non-violence." That is what one prominent Non-co-operator said to me.

And while the Non-co-operators deprecated violence, they attached great importance to displays of independence. The *kirpans* of the Sikhs grew longer, village panchayats arrogated to themselves the right of inflicting criminal punishments, Government officers on tour were boycotted, bands of Akalis travelled on the railways without paying the fare, and in general the Sircar had to go into hiding.

A THOUSAND ARRESTS

In March the Government judged it necessary to strike just when they were negotiating with the Sikhs about the details of the bill for the better management of Sikh *gurdwaras*. They arrested over a thousand Sikhs in different parts of the province. Most of these men are now in gaol. A large percentage of them are very rough diamonds, and many of the acts done by them can hardly be classed as political offences. For all that, most of the men were acting, and most of the acts were done, under the stimulus of the Akali movement.

To-day the Sikhs will not look at the Government's *gurdwaras* bill till these prisoners are released, and the Government will not release the prisoners. Things are thus at deadlock.

Suppose the Government put their pride in their pocket, released the prisoners, and pressed on with the *gurdwara* bill, would the Sikhs be pacified? Some prominent Sikh leaders said "Yes," but I doubt it.

These leaders struck me as tame men. I have seen also some of the rural minor leaders and some of the rank and file. They were not tame, and I think I know what would happen to leaders who tried to bring about a reconciliation. The *gurtwara* grievance was the immediate cause that brought the Sikhs into collision with the Government. But it is not the only cause, and there are other forces at work strong enough to prevent the Sikhs from accepting any peace-offering. That is the opinion of most of the Hindus and Mohammedans whom I questioned, and it appears to be the opinion of the Government.

For, the Government are apparently determined to maintain law and order by imprisoning all those who endeavour to stir up the Sikhs, and by using their legal power to levy a punitive police tax on those villages which they hold responsible for the growth of lawlessness throughout the province. This punitive police tax is, of course, like revenge, a wild kind of justice. Regarded as a kind of policy, it again appears to be a wild variety. The task of determining how the tax should be apportioned among individuals is a delicate one. Sikhs tell me that in a certain village the rule followed was Rs.20 from each landholder, Rs.60 from each notorious criminal, and Rs.80 from each Akali or religious reformer. This may or may not be true. But it is what the Sikhs believe.

A DIFFICULT COMMUNITY TO OVERAWE

Will the Government succeed in this effort to overawe the Sikh community, to make it feel that it is powerless to overthrow the Government, and that it is its interest to submit and make friends? A neutral Indian says: "Yes, if the Government stick to their policy and do not change it too soon for a policy of potting." It is true, I believe, that many weaklings among the Sikhs have gone over to the Government since they saw that it was prepared to hit out. All the same, I think it will be difficult to overawe the Sikh community into submission, and impossible to overawe into friendship. That is, of course, only a first impression, but I have had two or three opportunities of seeing gatherings of Sikh villagers and talking to minor leaders. Among the men I met there was a remarkable number of returned soldiers and one survivor of the men who sailed for Canada in the *Komagata Maru*. It seemed to me that these men had been in contact with the outside world and that they had a real desire for freedom and the right to manage their own affairs. Certainly they had any amount of pride and obstinacy.

There is another thing we have to remember in estimating the probable results of the repressive policy upon the Sikhs. Governments can only act through their agents, and they rely on them for information. Once the Government is committed to a policy of repression the subordinate police becomes its eye and hand. There are many honourable exceptions, but, speaking generally, the subordinate police in India is unintelligent, incompetent, corrupt, and sometimes cruel. The result is that when the Government strikes, it often strikes the wrong man. Instead of instilling awe it merely rouses anger and makes men feel that the fight for freedom is not an empty phrase.

THE MEMORY OF 1919

Leaving the Sikhs and looking at the province as a whole, it is easily seen that Non-co-operation scored a point last winter when it forced the Government's hand and induced it to take action against the passively-assisting volunteer organisations, imprisoning some men and dispersing others with the help of police truncheons. Prison life in India is no joke, and it is easy to guess how much bitterness is in the minds of the men who were beaten or shut up for six months in gaol.

And in the back ground is the memory of 1919. The people here know what real injustice is. They have seen a deliberate effort to humiliate the Indian,

to make their best men feel themselves inferior in status to the meanest white. The wounds have skinned over, but under the surface I doubt they have not healed.

The difficulty and danger of continuing the present system of government is terribly plain in the Punjab. There are too many people here who have seen the inside of a gaol. Unluckily, the difficulty and danger involved in changing the system is no less obvious. If I understand the Sikh aright, he will be as awkward a problem for Swaraj as for the British Raj, and the Hindu-Mahomedan quarrel is here, too, with the Afghan looking on from over the border.

I put this to a Co-operator who is also a strong nationalist, the best man, I think, that I have yet met in the Punjab. He answered: "What you say is true. But we must take the risk some day, and we are as ready for it now as we ever shall be. Our communal quarrels are not going to grow less under your administration. If we are responsible for the country we may be wise enough to recognise that we can't afford to carry our quarrels to extremes. Now that Non-co-operation has suffered a defeat it is the time for you to act if you are wise. Give us four years in which to prepare ourselves for Dominion Home Rule, with a guarantee that we will get it at the end of that period. Do that, and there is a fair chance that we may make a success of Home Rule. But if you don't act now I don't think anything can save us from disaster."

That is the opinion of a man with a considerable stake in the country, a wealthy man with a large family, a lawyer with an independent and vigorous mind, but experienced and cautious.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER

VS.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR

STATEMENT OF PLAINTIFF'S CLAIM

The following is the material part of the Plaintiff's claim in the above case to which we drew our readers' attention some time ago:—

Throughout the months of March, April, May and June, 1922, the Defendant in the said book (which was widely and extensively circulated throughout India and the British Isles) falsely and maliciously wrote, printed and published, and caused to be written, printed and published, of and concerning the Plaintiff, and of, and concerning him in the way of his said office, and in relation to his conduct there, in the following words:—

"The recruitment of non-Mahomedans also went up and both were due to the terrorism of Sir Michael O'Dwyer (meaning the Plaintiff) very useful in this instance."—(Page 26.)

"THE PUNJAB ATROCITIES"

"Before the Reforms (meaning a period during which the Plaintiff held his said office) it was in the power of the Lieutenant Governor, a single individual (meaning the Plaintiff) to commit the atrocities in the Punjab we know only too well."—(Page 47.)

"Above all, it will be remembered that it was necessary to pass an Act of Indemnity to save the delinquents (meaning the Plaintiff and his subordinates) from proceedings in civil and criminal courts"—(Pages 47-48.)

"Many high-handed proceedings (meaning proceedings by the Plaintiff) were taken under the Regulations of 1818 the provisions of which were applied for which they were never intended" (Page 48.)

"I realise that the eulogium passed by the English Cabinet on Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer (meaning the Plaintiff) was an outrage on Indian public opinion."—(Page 49.)

By the said words the Defendant meant and was understood to mean that the Plaintiff in his government

of the said Province had employed methods of terrorism and had enforced illegal orders and had been guilty of crimes for which but for the passing of an Act of Indemnity to protect him, he would have been convicted and punished and that his methods of government were vicious and oppressive and were in fact the cause of the said disturbances and that he had grossly misconducted himself in and proved that he was unfit to hold the said office.—*The Tribune.*

વેચવાના પુસ્તકો

હાલી ચોપડી	૨	૬
આતમી "	૩	૦
બાળચોથી	૦	૬
પદ્ધતી ચોપડીના અર્થ	૦	૬
શીશુ "	૦	૬
શ્રી "	૧	૦
પ્રાચીની "	૧	૬
હાલી "	૧	૬
આતમી "	૨	૦
સેન્કુ ઇંગ્લીશટીચર	૩	૩
ગુજરાતી ઇંગ્લીશ પોકેટ ડિક્શનરી	૫	૬
ઇંગ્લીશ ગુજરાતી " "	૫	૬
આંકની ચોપડી (દિથી વીસાળ)	૧	૬
પરમાર્થસાર	૧	૬
કૃષ્ણ ચરીત્રી	૩	૬
ખતિશતા સતીઓ	૬	૬
અનસુયા નાટક	૩	૬
હૃદયિક માળા અને ગોધ વચન	૨	૦
હસપત્રીતી ભાગ ૧	૨	૦
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