

Indian Opinion

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THE INDIAN AKALI STRUGGLE

A SHORT HISTORY

(BY AN 'AKALI' IN "NAVAYUGA")

WE, in South Africa, have been supplied with very little news by Reuter about the recent struggle of the Akalis in India in connection with the management of the Sikh Shrines. The only news supplied was, that the Akalis were taking possession of the Mahant's property and that many were arrested. But the matter does not appear to have ended there. The Akalis felt that the Mahants were mis-managing the affairs of the Shrines and they had decided to take over the management in their own hands. This being a religious struggle, this warrior race observed strict non-violence. The atrocities that they have been subjected to by the British authorities who were on the side of the Mahants, is unimaginable and hence undecipherable. The recent Indian exchanges are full with the reports of the Akali struggle which, indeed, make very painful reading. The Government, of course, have pleaded not guilty to the charges against them, but they have been proved to the hilt by eye-witnesses such as Mr. C. F. Andrews, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Pandit Malaviyajee and other prominent leaders. It seems that a single Jalianwalla Bagh is not sufficient for India's independence—there will have to be many ere independence is achieved and this probably numbers the second or the third. A reproduction of a short history of the Akali struggle from the *Navayuga*, a weekly which has come into existence recently in Gantur (Madras), will, at this juncture, not be out of place.—Ed. I. O.]

To-day, the eyes of every Indian, be he a Moderate or an Extremist, a Co-operator or a Non-co-operator, young or old, rich or poor, are turned towards the noble peaceful struggle that is going in the Punjab. Every reader of daily papers turns involuntarily to the latest report of the struggle from the Punjab and the harrowing details are being read with gravest anxiety and joy for, to-day, we can proclaim before the world, the nobility, the grandeur, the magnanimity, and the success of non-violence in the field of practical politics.

The path to Guruka-Bagh is drenched with the blood of the Sikh martyrs and I think Jallianwalabagh falls into insignificance before Guruka-Bagh struggle. The apostles of brute force, run amok, cannot understand the significance of the struggle, much less the spirit of it. The followers of Guru Nanak and Guru Govind, trained as they are to sacrifice and suffer, cannot give up the struggle—the struggle for Truth and Justice without seeing the end of it. The sufferings and the glorious deeds of their ancestors and their great teachers remind the Akalis to do their duty to-day with dogged perseverance and secure a noble place in the annals of Mother India.

THE AKALI CHARACTERISTICS

After all, what are characteristics of an Akali? Sometime back, the *Swarajya* special correspondent has rightly described our Akali thus:—

"The Akali is essentially religious. Service and sacrifice are the predominant traits of his character.

His clear-cut ideas and simple maxims guard him from the circumspection of the modern times. His habiliments and trappings of which he has the fewest, in this age of continual warfare with and overpowering of nature, approximate most to the Natural state. That is why he is the least circumspect, the most "contented and happiest of beings." That is why he can serve and make sacrifices, is brave and valorous and less immoral and more chivalrous. His bravery of heart is the necessary concomitant of his simplicity of life and candour of manners. It is the cowards who are deceitful and crafty. A simple, plain fellow says his simple thing in a plain blunt fashion and awaits a simple unvarnished reply, and woe betide man or race who resorts to tortuous ways, distortions and equivocation.

"Service, not with the consciousness or egoistic self-satisfaction of having rendered service, but service as a part of his duty towards the Panth and to the Great Gurus, is the aim and object of his life, and the sacrifice of his things and possessions and ultimately of his physical self in the cause of the Panth is his highest consummation. The Akali prides in calling himself Khalsa, "the pure, the undisputed property of his Gurus," and he considers himself a thousand times blessed when, the Guru, his Panth or its cause claim him for their own. The word Akali means, not limited by time, eternal, imperishable.

"The Akali is, by temperament, a lover of peace and order. Respectful and obedient to his elders, he is an affectionate father and an ardently loving husband. He is kind to those placed under him in life. He holds the bond of friendship as a sacred tie and has, perhaps, never betrayed a friend. But, driven to desperation up on the score of religion or 'honour' he knows no ties and whosoever exasperates him in those directions, does so at his worst peril. Father, son, wife and friends, he will bid adieu to all and sacrifice them and his own self when his beliefs or his honour are in jeopardy. Attached to them for a whole life he takes no time in detaching himself from all his kith and kin and his worldly possessions and environments. The moment he is convinced of the necessity of doing so, the moment he finds the call coming to him. He is like the volcano with a heavy thick crust difficult of penetration, but when once a hole is made, the fire and brimstone it emits, sweeps off all coming in its way."

And when such a man of religious tendencies and character comes into conflict with the man-made law of the British Bureaucracy, how could there be a compromise but a complete surrender of the opposing party?

KIRPAN AFFAIR

The present Sikh struggle for religious freedom began with the affairs of *Kirpan*, a crusade against what was launched by the Punjab Government at the end of 1920. The Punjab Bureaucracy pursued a policy of vigorous repression against the Sikhs who wore Kirpans, and Lala Lajpat Rai has said, such injustice was not

heard of even in the times of Czars in Russia. The Sikhs pursued the struggle peacefully and did not surrender their sacred weapon for the mere threats of persecution of the Bureaucracy. Then came, the affair of snatching away the keys of Golden Temple at Amritsar. The Government, after arresting 2000 people in a month, found its blunder and handed over the keys to the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee.

NANKHANA SAHIB TRAGEDY

Then came the horrible tragedy, exacted at Nankhana Sahib on 20th February 1920, of hacking to pieces and burning alive 150 khalsa hordes who wanted to free their sacred Gurudwaras from the polluting hands of the dissolute and immoral Mahant. The Mahant, apprehending of being dispossessed, had collected arms and ammunition and hired men who could kill and murder at his bidding. And as the *Swarajya* correspondent has said:—

"It will serve no useful purpose to repeat all that has been said and written in respect of the interpidity and savage boldness of the Mahant or to trace the slaughter back to its causes. There were currents and under-currents running through the whole affair and some all too patent though hidden influences were at work throughout. Commencing with the open preparations by the Mahant for spilling blood and through a labyrinth of trial, commitment, conviction, reduction of sentence, and ending with the safe and comfortable lodgment of the fiendish Mahant in the Delhi Jail living in a right royal fashion in the European Ward with silk to adorn his delicate body, the whole thing smacks of mystery."

THE GURUKA BAGH STRUGGLE

The present struggle that is going on at Guruka Bagh is surging with life and vitality for the great call, for sacrifice has spread like wild fire throughout the length and breadth of the province. The Guruka Bagh Gurudwara is at a distance of about 12 miles from Amritsar. There is another Guruka Bagh Gurudwara adjoining the Golden Temple at Amritsar. The former Gurudwara is dedicated to the sacred memory of Guru Arjundevaji and Guru Tej Bahadur Sahib.

According to the press communique of Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee dated August 11th, the present trouble arose thus:—

"Sundardass, the Sadhu in charge of the Gurudwaras was leading a scandalous life and among other vices was regularly maintaining mistresses. In January 1921, under pressure of public opinion, he agreed to marry one of his mistresses and to manage the Gurudwara with the advice of a local Committee of eleven members under the supervision of the Shiromani Gurudwara Committee. Sundar Dass formally married one of his mistresses and otherwise completed the transaction. After the Nankhana Sahib massacre, however, when the wholesale arrests and convictions of the Akalis took place, he attempted to defy public opinion and to restart on his career of vice and waste unchecked. This compelled the Gurudwara Committee in August last to take over the management in its own hands. On this the Mahant approached the authorities, and the Superintendent of Police reached the spot with a police force. In face of the above facts, he permitted five Akalis to remain in control and management of the Gurudwara and guaranteed their safety by maintaining a sufficient force of Police on the spot. Later on however, when the fear of a breach of the peace by the Mahant and his friends decreased, the Superintendent of Police, Amritsar, wrote to the Committee to enquire (vide his letter No. 11663, dated the 5th September) if the Police should be withdrawn, and the Secretary S.G.P. Committee replied, vide his No. 1840, dated the 5th September 1921 to the effect that he had no objection to the withdrawal of the police Guard,

observing that he would, in case Police protection was again required ask for it. Ever since the Guruka Bagh Gurudwaras have been under the control of the Gurudwara Committee without any let or hindrance from any one. Suddenly on the 10th August 1922 (about a year afterwards) Mr. Beatty, Additional Superintendent of Police, accompanied by a force of Police in Motor Lorries reached Gurukabagh, arrested five Akali Sewaks, working there under the orders of the Gurudwara Committee. They were at once produced in Court before Mr. Jenkins, 1st class Magistrate at Amritsar who sentenced them to six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 10 each. It is understood that they were charged with theft of a small dry kikkar tree which they had cut from the Gurudwara land, for use in Guru's free kitchen maintained for the poor and the needy. The cutting of the dry trees, Guruka Langer, is a matter of daily occurrence. Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, therefore, fails to understand the significance of this new move."

The news and arrest of the first batch of these five Sewaks and the stoppage of the Gurudwara work spread like wild fire throughout the province and in a few days several thousands of Akalis had collected at Gurukabagh Gurudwara and the work of cutting and storing of fuel was carried on in face of the police force stationed at the Gurudwara. The police did not interfere for a few days but on 23rd August, 65 volunteers were arrested, and on 25th August the number rose to 210. As the people were arrested, great numbers began to flow in and, what is more, there is a great deal of rivalry among the Akalis in claiming precedence for being arrested. A Jatha of ladies also wanted to go and take place of those who were arrested, but there was the obstinate opposition of the men who declared that they would not allow a single woman to fall into the hands of the police, so long as there were men sufficient to do the work."

POLICE BRUTALITIES

After the visit of the Deputy Commissioner to Gurukabagh on the 25th August, the Akalis were mercilessly belaboured with lathis' blows, butt-end thrusts, and as the press communique of S. G. P. C. says:—

"Before his (D.C.'s) visit, the Police had belaboured some villagers one of whom, Ganda Singh, had received a severe injury on the head. Some Akalis too had been ill-treated and beaten at the time of the arrest. After the visit, however, the Police changed their attitude altogether. Almost everyone was brutally attacked and belaboured with fists, kicks and butt-ends of guns at the time of the arrest. Many persons had been injured, some of them very seriously, such as Seva Singh and Inder Singh, Kartar Singh, Amat Singh and Gurditt Singh. Some of them were dragged by the hairs of their head. A bundle of pulled hair gathered from the scene of occurrence has been received in the office of the Gurudwara Committee..... Previously the arrested persons were allowed bread and water which was taken to them from Guruka Langar, but after the above-mentioned visit this was stopped. On Thursday no food or water was permitted them. There is a small dirty pond closeby and the arrested persons had to drink such muddy water as they could find therein."

The Punjab Government, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, gave up further idea of arresting any more persons with the crowning touch of arresting the whole S. G. P. Committee on the 25th August evening. But to nine more Khalsa heroes stepped into the breach and the work of the Committee is carried on as smoothly as ever as if nothing has ever happened. In spite of the arrest of the leaders of the Akali movement, in spite of the terrorism displayed by the myrmidons

of the Bureaucracy, the Akali heroes are sticking to their posts with their traditional tenacity and dogged perseverance.

The *Swarajya* correspondent observes in his communique of Sep. 4, thus :—

"The Magistrate, a Naib Tahsildar, ordered the Jatha after some conversation to disperse but they refused. The Naib Tahsildar ordered his men to disperse the Jatha by force, and they, about 25 in number, began to drag the Khalsa by the hair. Lathi cuts were administered freely after dragging them off the road and throwing them in a ditch. Most of the Akalis had received half-a-dozen cuts each 6 to 9 inches long, principally on the buttocks, the back and the neck. Five or six were seriously injured and had immediately to be removed in ambulance corps after being treated by the energetic scout boys under Dr. Khan Chan Dev of Lahore. The serious injuries consisted mostly of lathi blows on the private parts and severe thrusts and blows on the sides. This beating was rather moderate compared to that administered yesterday, and in about 15 minutes the Jathadar who had received blows of lathis on the anus and more than half-a-dozen cuts on the back was himself again and began to chant Wahigum and Satnam. About thirty one who had comparatively less serious and less painful injuries, began to do the same and soon they were up on their feet and proceeded towards the road."

Mr. Rajendra Singh, M. Sc. Professor of Botany, Khalsa College, Amritsar, had his own bad experiences, which he relates thus :—

"He (a police constable) had hardly turned his face from us and we had had no time to think what to do when we saw a cart with 15 constables driving towards us. As we gazed at it we thought we would be able to do everything through them or at least we would be able to know what the orders of the authorities were. But, to our surprise, as the cart came opposite to us, it was stopped by them and one of them got down. He opened his lips with an abuse and ordered both of us to stop. On being questioned whether he was addressing us, he poured another shower of fowl language and asked us to get into the cart with them. I thought the time had arrived for us to see for ourselves all we had been hearing so far and so we quietly stopped. My brother, on the other hand, most respectfully showed some anxiety to know what the matter was as it was rather hard to leave the ladies and young children without any care. Not a word being returned, he told them in the same tone about my being a Professor and his being my elder brother. No sooner he uttered these words than the man who had alighted from the carriage began to cane him. At the same time, I was also kicked down the carriage and on falling down had my own share of canes from the hands of the same men. After canes came slaps. My brother was, after me, caught by his beard and given slaps on his cheeks and when he was going to fall down after losing his senses he turned to me and used his hands against my face as freely as he could. After he had completed a dozen blows he again resorted to caning and drove us like cattle into one tonga ordering us all to leave at once. But when we were about to start, my eye fell upon my cycle on which I had gone along with the tooga. I got down and happened to catch their eyes. Questioned why I acted like this I replied that I had forgotten my cycle behind me. Another shower of canes and abuses came and I was given strict orders to leave at once.

Personally, I was threatened with dismissal and

the confiscation of my salary and property, and the Akalis were declared as a batch of villains and ruffians whom they had decided once and for ever to extirpate."

In the Press communique (No. 40) the S. P. G. Committee relates another horrid incident :—

"To-day, 95 Akalis started at 12-15 p. m. towards Gurukabagh. Four well-equipped ambulance carts with doctors and assistants followed them. When they reached Guptala bridge at about 3 p. m., they were sat upon by the police who were already waiting for them. After receiving a heavy hammering with lathies, the Sikhs fell down on the ground to prevent themselves from being separated from each other. The police kept raining the lathis on them in this position until most of them became senseless. Then at a signal from a European officer, a body of cavalry men came rushing towards the Sikhs and were ordered to trample the prostrate Sikhs under their horses' hoofs. Two British officers were specially conspicuous in using their horses in that cruel way. The doctor's report says that two of the wounded received grisvous hurts with horses' hoofs.....The motionless bodies of the Sikhs, were dragged away by the sacred hair or legs and thrown into a ditch."

The communique (No. 37) of the S. G. P. Committee says :—

"Mr. Betty, the police, officer had them (the Sikhs) beaten prostrate and then ordered them to be caught by the hair and thrown into the swampy pond nearby. The *danda* police did as they were bidden and dragged all the Akalis into the pond. Having laid them on their faces the police gave them another sound beating on the backs. They used their lathis unsparingly and so thoroughly ducked their unresisting victims that two of them became unconscious. They put peat into their mouths, beat them to their hearts' content, and again caught them by the hair, dragged them over shrubs and left them on the Gurdwara road, as if it were for dead bodies."

There are some of the civilised acts of the British Bureaucracy done in broad day-light in the Punjab in the name of law and order, under the benign rule of an ex-Chief Justice of England. Poor Pandit Madan Mohan, *the Servant of India*, is wandering madly in the Punjab near and around the scene of occurrences, praying to God to put an end to this horrid state of affairs. The situation is serious indeed and the tenacity of the Akali is quite perceptible and he is determined under any circumstances to win religious freedom. His determination may be seen in the appeal Sardar Teja Singh addressed to his men :—

"You are instructed to stick solidly to the Jatha and never to stray from the road leading to Gurukabagh unless you are dragged and rendered unconscious or otherwise unable to move. The moment you are yourself again you should join the Jatha. If you are prevented from proceeding by the road in front of you, you can sit down even though you may have to remain at the place for several hours or for several days. To reach Gurukabagh is your objective and if you are in your senses you are to try to reach the place. You are to remain perfectly non-violent not only in act but in word and thought. As you go, do not think that you are to return alive. May the Akalpurakh shower his blessings on you."

The teachings of their teachers and ancestors, they have well imbibed and as a result we find, complete non-violence prevails in the Land of Five Rivers. They have understood rightly the noble teachings of Nanak and their grim fight for religious liberty will form one of the brilliant chapters in the history of India.

MR. GANDHI'S FIFTY-FOURTH BIRTHDAY**How It Was Celebrated in India****PILGRIMAGE TO JAIL-GATE**

The following are some of the interesting reports in the Indian papers of how the birthday celebration of Mr. Gandhi was observed on the 2nd October in different parts of India:—

The Hindu correspondent at Bombay Oct. 3:—

"Chillion, thy name is a holy place as it was traced by Bonnivard. Let none efface those remarks for they cry from tyranny to God."

Amidst greatest rejoicings, amidst the prayers of millions of his countrymen passed the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi.

Hundreds of ladies even from distant villages made a pilgrimage to Poona and worshipped the Yeravada shrine wherein the Saviour of the Nation is passing his life-time. The week ended in the midst of intensive work. Meetings after meetings were held in the city where thousands of people attended, rich and poor citizens and rural inhabitants on several days. There were 24 hours spinning demonstrations in the city which were highly impressive to those who have not yet taken to the Charka. Respectable persons who might be called princes of Bombay hawked khaddi which was extensively purchased. Many a solemn procession with songs and "Vande Mataram" was led round the city. The enthusiasm in Bombay, the centre of action of Mahatmaji and the late Lokmanya, was really unbounded. We expected Pandit Malaviya in our midst during the celebrations, but he was unavoidably delayed and he sent us an inspiring message from Lahore.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA)

Bombay, October 2.

To-day being the birthday of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, about one hundred Indian ladies of highly respectable families among whom were also a few Parsi and Mahomedan ladies left for Poona with a view to pay homage to Mr. Gandhi. Knowing that the Government would not have granted them permission to visit Mr. Gandhi if the permission was sought for, the ladies proposed on reaching Poona to proceed to Yeravada jail in solemn procession and one by one to make obeisance to the jail gate through which Mr. Gandhi had entered.

AT POONA

Poona, October 2.

A party of hundred ladies from Bombay under the auspices of Rashtriya Stri Sabha arrived here this afternoon and were joined by two hundred ladies of Poona on their pilgrimage to, Yeravada Jail to pay their homage to Mr. Gandhi on his birthday. They formed into a long solemn procession and quietly proceeded at 3 p. m. to the jail gate. Committee members representing all communities went up to the Jail Superintendent and sought permission to be allowed to see Mr. Gandhi. The Superintendent very politely expressed his inability to grant their request as, he said, it was beyond his power. The ladies then requested him to send their offering of flowers and pan to Mr. Gandhi. After this, they gathered at the Jail gate where Mr. Gandhi's birthday song was sung and prayers were offered for his release. This being over, the party mournfully retraced their steps. At this time, some were seen to have actually burst into tears. The party then partook of refreshments provided by Mrs. Captain, at the palatial house of Mr. Khadwani.

AT CALCICUT

Calicut, October 3.

Mahatma Gandhi's birthday was celebrated with befitting solemnity and enthusiasm yesterday at Calicut.

The occasion was unique as it was the first time since the fatal August of last year when the rebellion broke out that the citizens of Calicut gathered together to take part in a national demonstration and to pay their tribute to their great national leader. The extensive premises of the Congress office, where the spinning and weaving institution and khaddar depot are also located, were artistically decorated with evergreens, festoons of yarn, national flags and portraits of national leaders. At 6 p. m. a representative gathering of all estates and parties, including a few ladies, assembled in the quadrangle of the office building where a large portrait of the Mahatma had been placed in a conspicuous position. The whole premises were by this time profusely illuminated. After music and national songs which continued till 7 p. m., Mr. Kesave Menon spoke a few words dwelling on the significance of the day's function which, he said, was above all consideration of party or caste or creed. A remarkable feature of the occasion was the presence of a large number of Tiyya young men to whose active co-operation was due in no small measure the success of the celebration. They had raised subscriptions and distributed seven bags of rice to the poor. A special bhajana had been organised by them in the bhajana kovil which began after the function in the Congress office was over and lasted till the early hours of the morning.

AT SALEM

Hindu correspondent, Salem, Oct. 3.

Mr. Gandhi's birthday was celebrated yesterday. A grand procession started from the Congress Office in the evening with Gandhi photos and national bhajana. Mr. G. Vasudaviah, Secretary, District Congress Committee, led the procession. People assembled in the Victoria Market. Messrs. K. V. Subbarao, Kandswami Pillay and S. V. Subramaniam addressed the audience on Ahimsa, Swadeshi, Akalis, Satyagraha and removal of untouchability. Large crowds of rich merchants, Hindus and Mahomedans attended the procession and meeting.

AT RAJAHMUNDRY

Rajahmundry, Oct. 3

The citizens of Rajahmundry celebrated Mahatmaji's birthday with devotion. In the morning, there was a bhajana party. 2,500 yards of Khadda were sold to the poor at 4 annas per yard. Preference was given to Panchamas and the loss was met by the public subscription. In the afternoon cloth merchants gave a dinner to 3,000 poor people. In the evening there was a procession, and a public meeting with Mr. D. Narayanaraju of Ellore as President. At night there was a Gandhi Harikathakalashapam by Mr. N. V. Narasimha Rao.

AT NARSAPUR

Narsapur, Oct. 3.

Mahatmaji's birthday was celebrated here yesterday. His portrait was taken round in procession on a vahana. A public meeting took place in the Town Hall when prayers were offered for his long life and early delivery from jail. Sriji Vempati Brahmayya Sastry made an impressive speech. The occasion was taken to congratulate Akalis on their non-violent victory.

London, Nov. 8.—An Indian, Mr. J. W. Shore, formerly Premier of Cochin (a Native State), has been appointed High Commissioner for India in succession to Sir William Meyer, deceased.—Ruter.

SUSPICIOUS INDIA

WILL TO MISTRUST

CHARGES AGAINST BRITISH

A Correspondent writes to the *Times* (India) of September 11 :—

In her present hyper-sensitive state, India does not stop to consider whether she may not sometimes give as well as take offence. Nothing said by or for the British Government is credited. No lie is too fantastic for belief, if it shows up the British in a bad light. No truth, however glaring, is accepted, if it touches Indian "amour propre."

India's will to mistrust us has received fresh illustration from her reception of the Prime Minister's speech on the prospects of the Indian Civil Service. If Mr. Lloyd George's remarks to the threatened Service were somewhat carelessly worded, India need not have instantly assumed that the whole Reform Scheme was in jeopardy. The Reforms are now law, and in very different case from the casual utterances even of a Prime Minister. India might have remembered that important point, but the fact that she forgot it shows how nervous and suspicious she has become. She would do well to remember that Britain has voluntarily embarked on the boldest scheme of devolution ever planned by any Empire, and to allow for our not unnatural difficulty in believing that India can assimilate in five years forms of Government which it took us five years to evolve.

But the sting for Englishmen in India's present attitude does not lie in her nervousness or impatience but in her constant jibe at our honesty. Englishmen have perforce developed a protective callousness to imputations of stupidity, selfishness, and want of imagination. The lion has developed the annoying trait of refusing to wince when his tail is twisted. There is, however, one particular kind of twist to which he always responds. He can no more endure to-day than he could in Napoleon's time to be accused of perfidy. "I agree" says the Simla bureaucrat, "that our mistakes have been many and various. The educational system which we evolved (without any help from Indians) was proved top-heavy. The highest posts in the services have been somewhat greedily earmarked for white men. Officers for a national army might have been trained earlier and in greater numbers. We have been backward in developing India's raw materials and industries. But none of these blunders amount to a breach of faith. Stupid we may have been. Dishonest we are not." So runs the British apology.

FOUR GRIEVANCES

Yet the Indian of to-day sticks to his new and favourite epithet "dishonest," and it is worth while to ask whether he has any excuse for so deeply seated a conviction. The counts under which he arraigns the British Government are four in number:—Dyarchy; (2) the Caliphate; (3) Reverse Council Bills; and (4) Kenya.

Dyarchy.—India considers that during the war, she ranked as an equal in suffering; that, to quote Lord Hardinge, she was "bled white" for the sake of the Allies, but that, at the end of the war she received a mere mockery of self-government—namely, the dyarchical system, which leaves to an alien garrison the final control of the purse and the sword. Here the two countries are temperamentally incapable of understanding each other. While England considers that she has been generous to a fault, and progressive to the verge of rashness, India looks on her gift of provincial self-government as almost too paltry for acceptance. She believes that she has been cheated of the equality promised to her under stress of war.

The Caliphate.—Englishmen must cease to think of the Caliphate agitation as engineered and fictitious. It was so at first, but the pro-Islam movement would

never have attained its present strength had the Mahomedans of India not been already strongly disposed to suspect the present Government of an anti-Islamite policy. The Prime Minister is suspected of phil-Hellenism, and, till the Revision of the Treaty of Sevres, was bitterly accused of having gone back on his promise of January, 1918, "not to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor." Our Arab guardians of some of the Holy Places are genuinely suspect to all Mahomedan India.

The Reverse Council.—Its policy was an intricate financial arrangement which few Indians or Englishmen understood. But India is firmly convinced that by means of Reverse Council Bills £85,000,000 of England's debt to India was wiped out. There is, at any rate, no mistake about the hard case of the Indian merchants who ordered vast quantities of goods on the understanding that the rupee was to be stabilized at 2s. and then found it fluctuating between 2s. 10d. and 2s. 3d. In Indian merchants were guilty of repudiating their contracts, they could plead that the Secretary of State had practically repudiated his promises. These unfortunate vacillations give some colour to the accusation that the British Government could not or would not fulfil its obligations when they pressed too hard on the British taxpayer. No single transaction has more rudely shaken faith in British integrity.

Kenya.—Lastly, there is the vexed question of the status of Indians in the Colonies, and especially in Kenya. Indians in East Africa claim complete equality on the ground that they were earlier settlers than the British, that they are suited to the conditions of labour, and have actually greatly helped to develop the country. Yet they are segregated, largely disfranchised, and excluded from "the White Highlands," just when we had loudly asserted the complete equality of status of all His Majesty's subjects within the Empire. India makes Kenya the acid test of our sincerity.

All these major accusations of want of faith, not to mention numerous minor ones, admit of explanation from the British point of view. India forgets that England is not the only country in the world, and that she cannot settle at Westminster the fate of Turkey and of Indians in the Colonies. She forgets, too, that a country which has taken centuries to evolve the forms of representative government is perfectly honest in withholding from an apprentice tools which can only be used safely after considerable practice. India might easily show a more reasonable spirit. Yet, for Englishmen, the sting in the present situation lies in the fact that India's accusations are not all baseless. There have been delays, vacillations, and at least one complete "volte face," which do not leave our withers quite unwrung under the Indian lash. The epithet "dishonest" stings. At least we wish to have the chance of explaining our recent actions.

INDIAN EDUCATION IN TRANSVAAL

(CONTRIBUTED)

For some months past, there has been a marked activity among the prominent Indians of the town to push their way forward for the education of Indian children in the Transvaal.

It was felt some months ago, that the present accommodation in the Govt. Indian School was not sufficient to cope with the ever-increasing number of Indian children. In some cases, several parents were disappointed to find that their children could not be taken into the school as there was no available room for a fresh class to start with. Further, there were inquiries from Indians in the country, whether there were facilities of Boarding Houses under responsible supervision where their children could stay and attend the school. The reply had to be given more or less in the negative. Moreover, attention was drawn by several

visitors both Indians and Europeans to the absence of play-grounds for the boys and particularly to the danger of accident that might any day happen to the boys by the vehicles constantly moving on the other side of the school where the boys usually passed their intervals.

Owing to the lack of accommodation, several Indian children had been taken by their parents to the coloured schools, very much against their will, realising that a mixed atmosphere for their children was not wholesome. But they had no other alternative as they could ill-afford to neglect the education of their boys.

Immediately on arrival from India of Mr. Essop Mia the Chairman of the Building Committee and Mr. Dawood Ismail Patel, men who have been unequalled in enthusiasm and sacrifice in the history of Indian education in the Transvaal, the activity turned brighter, and these two men in co-operation with other prominent Indians of the town set their hearts to make a permanent provision for the ever-increasing number of Indian children.

As a result of their efforts, a block of ground adjoining the present Indian School in Newtown has been taken over at the sum of £1800, and it is desired to set up a building wherein to transfer the Madressa religious School from the present building and to provide quarters for a Boarding House to enable the Indian children from the country to receive the benefits of education.

It is hoped to proceed immediately for the erection of the building and it is believed that when an appeal is made to the Indian community in the Transvaal for collection, they will respond to same and donate with a liberal hand as they have done in the past.

These matters were brought by Mr. Habib Motan the Hon. Secretary, Indian School Committee, to the notice of Mr. M. M. Dadoo the Hon. Secretary of the Building Committee, and a promise was given by the latter to provide space for the above mentioned requirements.

London, Nov. 8.—Sir Benjamin Robertson has been appointed a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India in succession to Sir Murray Hamrick.—Reuter.

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