

THE Servant of India

Editor: S. G. VAZE.

Office: KIBE WADA, BUDHWAR PETH, POONA CITY.

VOL. III, No. 24.]

POONA—THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1920.

[ANNUAL SUBSN. : RS. 6

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	277
ARTICLES:—	
The Punjab Debate	280
Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Defence	280
SPECIAL ARTICLES:—	
International Labour Conference, By N. M. Joshi	282
A LETTER FROM LONDON	284
REVIEWS:—	
The Punjab Disturbances, 1919	285
CORRESPONDENCE:—	
A Missionary Manifesto	286
The Khilafat Question. By Abdulwali	286
SELECTION:—	
The Jallianwala Bagh Meeting	287

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

IN its Educational Supplement of June 17, the *London Times* gives a *résumé* of the position as regards the movement for a conscience clause in Indian education. The missionary attitude in this matter is the same as the official attitude towards reform—resist as long as you can, then yield as little as you must. No recognition of the justness of a demand, of fairness between people. The usual cry is raised that there is no real demand except from a few discontented trouble-makers or uninfluential idealists, the single school area compromise will do just now. It has been pointed out *ad nauseam* that the principle of the single-school area applies now in all areas, for these are all so congested, educationally speaking, that there is no real option to the parent in them any more than elsewhere. If you wait till discontent gathers momentum, the remedy of the conscience clause will then be no longer adequate.

THE *Times* of London protests against the increase in the numerical strength of the judges in England alleged to be the only remedy for the heavy arrears in the courts. If the strength be increased, certain conditions are laid down for the future. Judges must not be taken away from their proper functions and appointed to committees and commissions for helping the executive out of their difficulties. The long vacation must be curtailed. Further the appointments must not be made for political or personal reasons but solely with the object of securing efficiency from the class of highly competent lawyers. These cautions have their application in India as well.

SINN FEINERS are not in Parliament, it is true, but exert an indirect and unconscious influence on the shape of the Home Rule Bill. Government propose to amend it by requiring that candidates should take the oath of allegiance at the time of nomination. Also if half the seats in the Irish Parliament are not validly filled up or if half the members returned have not taken the oath within 14 days from the date for which Parliament is summoned, the King may, by order in Council, dissolve Parliament and make arrangements for the carrying on of the executive administration. The news may interest Mr. Yakub Hasan and others who are keen on non-co-operation.

THE low-paid employes of the Bombay Improvement Trust struck work on the 24th of June last to get some of their grievances redressed. Two days after, i. e. on the 26th, Mr. Devadhar was approached by both sides to intercede with a view to find out a *via media* satisfactory to all concerned. At his instance the strikers returned to work on the 27th, leaving the settlement of their demands in his hands, and thus gave a proof of their confidence in Mr. Devadhar. After negotiations he was able to formulate the men's demands which were eventually accepted by the Trust authorities. The settlement was facilitated as much by the disciplined attitude of the men as by the readiness on the part of the employers to take a reasonable view of the situation. That Mr. Devadhar was able to secure for the strikers half-pay for the days of the strike is really very important and indicates how tactfully Mr. Devadhar managed the affair.

THE real significance, to our mind, of Mr. Devadhar's settlement lies in the fact that he was, by his intercession, able to avert a strike—surely a great thing in these days of labour unrest. This happy result would have been an impossibility but for the good sense and the spirit of reasonableness and of compromise shown by all concerned, and they deserve congratulations. Could not a similar remedy be successfully applied in the case of strikes now in progress? Everything of course depends on the strikers selecting a mediator in whose judgment they have the fullest measure of confidence and who is equally acceptable to the employers. Mr. Devadhar would have failed, had both sides not shown the spirit of give and take that they actually did. Arbitration boards as a means of settling labour troubles should, in our

opinion, be tried as a condition precedent to the adoption of the extreme measure, *viz.* strike.

* * *

WE are glad the citizens of Bombay have entered a vigorous protest against the scheme of the Financial Relations Committee so far as it takes away from the Government of this Presidency its share in the proceeds of the income-tax and hands over the whole source of revenue under this head to the central Government. Had it been merely a question of a financial contribution to be made by the provincial to the central Government for one year or for a period of years, for the purpose of enabling the latter to meet its deficit, the matter would not have been serious. The people of Bombay do not object to such a contribution. But in redistributing the sources of revenue between the Government of India and the Government of Bombay, the Financial Relations Committee has assigned the whole of the income-tax to the Imperial exchequer and this Presidency is expected to make up for the loss of its share in the proceeds of that tax with land revenue which is entirely provincialized and with the natural increase in the other sources of revenue. For a province like Bombay, with its growing financial responsibilities, and with its other resources almost fully developed, the loss of the income-tax must be a disaster. The case is so clear that it has only to be placed before any reasonable body of people to convince them of its reasonableness. And the wonder of it is that the Meston Committee should have brushed aside the contentions of the Bombay Government and the public, and deprived this Presidency of its only growing source of revenue. The Secretary of State and the Joint Parliamentary Committee, we trust, will not accept the recommendation of the Committee and will leave the income-tax to Bombay.

* * *

A TELEGRAPHIC summary of the Joint Committee's report on the Draft Rules submitted to it for examination by the Government of India has now been received. The changes proposed by the Committee, though not numerous, are important. It takes away from the Mahrattas in Bombay City (South) the one seat reserved for them, the Committee agreeing with the Bombay Government in thinking that their numbers do not justify this special provision. The two seats for wage-earners in Bengal originally proposed to be left open to election are to be filled by nomination. The Committee has met the popular demand for reduction in the representation given to Europeans in Bengal by reducing the number of European seats from six to five. We are sure this will not satisfy public opinion in that province. Punjab is given six more seats; while Delhi's claims have been recognised by providing one elective seat in the Assembly for the Imperial capital. We are glad that the agitation in this behalf has borne fruit. The Committee have also provided that the resolution of either Chamber of the Indian legisla-

ture in favour of enfranchising women as voters for that Chamber shall have effect in the province only if the province itself has already taken this step for its own Council.

* * *

WE understand that a public announcement will shortly be made by the Bombay Government extending the franchise, after the manner of the Bengal, Madras and Behar and Orissa Governments, to those persons who, being born in the territory of the Indian States, would otherwise have had to take a naturalisation certificate with a view to rendering themselves eligible to become voters. Such a certificate should be regarded as superfluous in the present case, and we welcome the decision of the Bombay Government. A point bearing on the rights of the Indian States subjects may be here noted. Rule 8 of Schedule II is: "In the constituency of the Bombay University a person shall be qualified as an elector who, on the 1st day of April next preceding the date of publication of the electoral roll, had a place of residence in the Bombay Presidency (excluding Aden)," etc. Some doubt was felt as to whether the Bombay Presidency included Indian States as well, like the Southern Mahratta States or those in Kathiawad. We learn that the expression does not include Indian States. The rule would therefore exclude such graduates of the Bombay University living in any of the Indian States as have no place of residence in British India. In the case of the University, too, as in that of other non-territorial constituencies, no residential qualification ought to be prescribed. The Landholders constituencies and the Commerce and Industry constituencies, for instance, are exempt from such a qualification. Nor should the qualification be imposed in the case of the University constituency. The Madras rule in this matter is already as we would like the Bombay rule to be.

* * *

IMITATION being the best form of flattery, H. H. the Thakoresaheb of Limbdi has indirectly shown his appreciation of Mr. Montagu's constitution-making powers by copying his model of the beginnings of responsible government for his State. The "Rajya Sabha" which is soon to come into being in that State is to have full control over the nation-building departments, *viz.* education, medical relief and local self-government, it being invested with the power of legislation, so far as these transferred departments go. The necessary funds will be found by the Thakoresaheb by earmarking a fixed proportion of State revenue for these subjects. For the experiment to be successful, the popular assembly must contain a substantial majority of the people's representatives elected on a wide franchise, such as is proposed to be done in British India, and we hope that at the time of putting the scheme into final shape the Thakoresaheb will improve it in this direction.

* * *

MR. PARANJPYE'S candidature for the local

council on behalf of the Bombay University is to be welcomed for more reasons than one. As Principal of the Fergusson College and as one closely associated with the University for nearly twenty years, he knows our educational needs as perhaps very few do. His work as legislator is before the public all these years and has always been characterised by independence of judgment regardless of official frowns or popular applause. With education transferred to popular control, our University member must be an educationist of a very high order with plenty of initiative in framing and driving power in executing his schemes for the spread of education. What is needed in our University representative is Indian even more than European experience in educational matters. Mr. Paranjpye combines both to an eminent degree. It is because we feel that Mr. Paranjpye is by reason of his scholarship and attainments coupled with his faith in the possibilities for good of the reforms best fitted to represent the University in the new Council that we offer him our full support and wish him every success.

* * *

THE general feeling of dissatisfaction at the disproportionate representation proposed to be given to Europeans in the reconstituted Legislative Council of that province found vent in the debate on Mr. A. C. Dutt's resolution, praying for the reduction of four out of the six seats now provided for that community. The Franchise Committee which carefully considered this question proposed only two seats; while the Government of India, charged by the Joint Committee with a reconsideration of the matter in consultation with the local Government, have now added four more. This provision for a community, numbering only 0.04 of the population of the province, in a Council consisting of about 100 elected members argues a lack of sense of proportion. Sir William Marris's defence of the Government position during the last legislative session in Delhi was, to our mind, anything but satisfactory. Would Indians, say in Canada, situated as the Europeans are in this country, receive the same indulgence? We think Mr. Watson Smyth in standing up for his community was wrong in attributing such a demand to an anti-British spirit. Apart from the fact whether the mover of the resolution was an Extremist or a Moderate, the general consensus of opinion is that the Europeans should get their due share of representation, but no more. In keeping with the current fashion, Mr. Smyth did not fail to appeal to the Moderates "not to sacrifice all chances of our working together to the fear of losing a few votes at the coming elections". How strong was the feeling on both sides may be seen from the fact that the motion was defeated by the very narrow majority of one.

* * *

THAT the certificate of honesty and good faith given by the Government of India and the Secretary of State to General Dyer cannot protect him

from the legal consequences of his action is perfectly clear, nor will such a certificate protect other officers if it should appear that they have exercised undue severity in the use of force. When martial law was declared in 1835 in the Cape of Good Hope, the local legislature passed an act indemnifying all acts, matters and things whatsoever during the existence of martial law, "so only, and provided that, such acts, matters, and things shall have been done, ordered, directed, or authorised *bona fide*, in furtherance and in the execution of the objects for which martial law was proclaimed as aforesaid." When this measure was submitted to the Colonial Office, Lord Glenelg took strong exception to the too wide proviso in the Act quoted above. He said: "Those words indemnify all persons for all acts done by them *bona fide*, in furtherance or in execution of the objects for which martial law was proclaimed; but many acts of wanton and unnecessary rigour, or even of injustice and cruelty, may possibly have been done *bona fide*, in furtherance of those objects. The expression ought, therefore, to have been 'all acts necessarily or properly done,' &c." That the action taken in quelling a disturbance should be *bona fide* is but one of the requirements of the Indemnity Act, the other being that it should be necessary and proper or reasonably believed to be so.

* * *

IN the Island of St. Vincent the Colonial Secretary in 1864 again strongly objected that the indemnity provided by an Act by the legislature of the Colony was too wide and directed that the indemnity clause should be moulded on the legislation of the Cape of Good Hope which we have discussed above. In Jamaica the local legislature passed a law in 1865 indemnifying all *bona fide* actions taken in suppressing the rebellion, but the Imperial Government expressed the following opinion as to its effect:—

Her Majesty's Government have been advised by the Law Officers of the Crown that the effect of the Indemnity Act will not be to cover acts done either by the Governor or by subordinate officers, unless they are such as (in the case of the Governor) he may have *reasonably* and in good faith considered to be proper for the purpose of putting an end to the insurrection, or such as (in the case of subordinates) have been done under and in conformity with the orders of superior authority, or (if done without such orders,) have been done in good faith and *under a belief, reasonably entertained*, that they were proper for the suppression of the insurrection, and for the preservation of the public peace in the island.

If an Act using the wider phraseology is interpreted by the law officers to mean that protection is available only to those who have acted both in good faith and under a belief reasonably entertained as to the propriety of the action taken, there can be no question in regard to our Indemnity Act which expressly limits indemnification to such an officer or person as "has acted in good faith and in a reasonable belief that his action was necessary for the said purposes."

* * *

THE PUNJAB DEBATE.

IT is a cruel irony of fate which decreed that the first debate on the vote for the Secretary of State for India's salary should be devoted to the barbarities practised in the Punjab—barbarities which have shocked the conscience of humanity. Apart from this, as a means of eliciting the British democracy's judgment upon the whole policy adopted by the Punjab Government in quelling the disturbances of last year, a debate on the vote for a minister's salary must be accounted a very unsatisfactory way of dealing with the question. It is inconceivable that unless the minister himself has pursued a wrong-headed policy or showed a culpable remissness in meting out justice to the offenders, the motion for a reduction of the vote would be adopted by Parliament. In the present case it is well-known that Mr. Montagu upheld the principles which ought to be observed in dealing with a situation such as arose in the Punjab, though in eulogising Sir Michael O'Dwyer who was the *fons et origo* of all mischief and the Government of India who gave him a blank card Mr. Montagu failed in his duty. Few would have anticipated, however, that this failure on his part would seem to members of Parliament a sufficient cause for passing on him the vote of censure which is implied in the carrying of a motion for the reduction of his salary. Besides, the question before Parliament appears to have been the narrow one of the Amritsar massacre; but the messages that have come here are so meagre and unenlightening that one cannot be sure about it. The incident of the massacre, though such as to cast an inefaceable blot on the British administration, is even surpassed in inhumanity by many orders inflicting unnecessary humiliation on Indians as Indians. The massacre itself has already been condemned by every authority called upon to pronounce upon it, and the Army Council's decision to retire him from the Army has removed the question outside the province of controversy. It was inevitable that Parliament should endorse this decision and vindicate the principle of the exercise of minimum force which General Dyer violated in such a non-chalant manner. Mr. Churchill's speech on this topic appears to have been very weighty, and in reiterating the axiom that the officer opening fire must confine himself to a limited definite objective, he gave a striking contradiction to the ridiculous plea that Dyer's action helped in the restoration of the public peace in the districts of the Punjab by reducing the *morale* of the "insurgents." There is nothing novel in this principle; it runs through the whole of British history. But it required emphatic vindication at the present moment, and we may well own that this it has received. The policy of racial humiliation which inspired the many acts of officers, both civil and military, has also received severe condemnation at the hands of Mr. Montagu. In this respect we expect to find his speech all that we

desire. As to the further action that is necessary in punishing official culprits, the cabled summary of Mr. Montagu's speech does not disclose any particulars. It is inconceivable that the Government would condone the various acts of oppression which they themselves and the Hunter Committee have censured. Exemplary punishment must be meted out to those who are proved to have done wrong. Besides General Dyer, General Campbell, General Beynon, Col. Johnson, Capt. Doveton, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, and Mr. Jacob are among the officers who have been censured by name or whose acts have been condemned more or less by the Hunter Committee, the Government of India or the Secretary of State. Major Smith, Col. Macrae, Major Braid, Mr. Marsden, Lala Sri Ram Sud, Capt. Flowerdew, Major Carberry, and Lt. Dodkins are others who have been condemned by the Minority Commissioners. We hope, for the good name of Britain, that all these wrongdoers will be visited with stern official punishment. It is such punishment more than any amendment of martial law to which the people look for an effective guarantee against the repetition of such atrocities in the future. Above all, Sir Michael O'Dwyer the inspirer of the policy pursued during the martial law régime, must be dealt with in a deserving manner. There is nothing to show that His Majesty's Government has yet seen the enormity of the mischief wrought by him, or the share of responsibility which must rightly be assigned to the Government of India. Public opinion in India will not be appeased till all the principal miscreants receive condign punishment and Sir Michael and the Government of India's responsibility is brought home to them in a suitable manner.

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER'S DEFENCE.

A PERUSAL of the full text now available of the letter contributed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer to the *Times*, the summary of which, cabled by Reuters recently formed the subject of comments in our columns, is interesting only in so far as it shows that like the school master in the *Deserted Village* he, though vanquished, would argue still. For the rest, it throws no fresh light on questions of substance, and betrays only the peevishness of a self-conceited man who knows not how to take defeat with dignity. It is a long tissue of as many untruths and misrepresentations as his ingenuity could suggest or his malice invent.

As an instance of his unscrupulous mendacity the scurrilous attack on Pandit Jagat Narain may with fairness be cited. His reason for questioning the Pandit's impartiality and suggesting that he was inspired in his work on the Committee by personal grudge against Sir Michael is as mean as it is false. It appears that in the course of his speech criticising the notorious O'Dwyerian oration in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1917, the Pandit misstated the number of persons arrested by Sir Michael O'Dwyer within a week at the time of the *ghadr* conspiracy. On the error being point-

ed out to him, the Pandit wrote a letter to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow correcting the mistake. This trivial incident has been dragged out of well-deserved obscurity to create prejudice against the Pandit; and Sir Michael deliberately perverts the facts of the case by saying that the Pandit was reluctantly willing to publicly withdraw the misstatement but that the Local Government of his province would not hold him to his word.

When an allegation is made that the Pandit acted more like a prosecuting counsel than as an impartial member of the Committee, one rubs one's eyes in wonder and searches in vain for the fitting words to describe the examination of official witnesses by such impartial members as General Barrow and Mr. Rice. Did Lord Hunter examine with equal impartiality official witnesses like Captain Doveton and non-official witnesses like, say, Sardar Amar Singh? Did Justice Rankin's examination of Indian witnesses differ in any way from the Pandit's examination of official witnesses? If the Pandit was acting like a prosecuting counsel, then these non-Indian members behaved as if they had been briefed for the defence. His impertinent libel that the Indian members of the Hunter Committee belong to the very classes which had largely participated in the disturbances only shows the essential weakness of his case.

We need not advert at any length to his remarks on the change of opinion on the part of the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi and the alleged dangerous character of the Jallianwalla Bagh meeting, as we commented on both these points some time back. We then showed that the addresses were in no way spontaneous, but were literally forced on the so-called leaders by the Government House staff, including the Private Secretary to H. H. (as he then was) Sir Michael O'Dwyer. As regards the dangerous character of the Jallianwalla Bagh meeting, the resolutions then adopted or proposed to be adopted, which are reproduced elsewhere in this issue, give a lie direct to his allegations. Similarly, he seeks to confuse the issue by referring to what Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gandhi thought at the time. What matters is not what they thought then, but what they think now, after they have fully informed themselves of all the relevant facts bearing on the case.

In regard to his complaint that the Hunter Committee did not avail themselves of the profound wisdom embodied in the judgment of the various martial law commissions, it should not be forgotten that Lord Hunter and his colleagues could not in justice and fairness have treated these decisions as evidence before them, for the simple reason that the witnesses who appeared before the martial law commissions were not before the Hunter Committee, that, consequently, the Committee had no other option but to ignore the findings of the Commissioners, based as they were on the evidence of those witnesses. Leaving aside, for the moment, the impropriety of such a course, it is per-

tinent to point out that as the various martial law commissions took judicial notice of the fact that there was open rebellion on the ground that Government had said so, an attempt to invoke their authority is tantamount to an appeal from Peter sober to Peter drunk. More relevant is the testimony of Mr. Orde, Superintendent of Police, Delhi, Mr. Guider of Ahmedabad, and Mr. Tomkins of the Punjab Police, who, after due inquiry, came to the conclusion that there was no such conspiracy. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and other Punjab officials were given every possible latitude to satisfy the Committee on this point, but they, one and all, failed to adduce any facts in support of their belief. A lie does not cease to be a lie because it is believed in by a number of persons. It is further contended that the exclusion of Calcutta and Peshawar from the scope of the Hunter Committee's inquiry prevented the elucidation of the truth regarding this matter. This argument betrays the frantic attempts of a drowning man to clutch at a straw. Where Delhi, Ahmedabad and the Punjab are found wanting, Calcutta and Peshawar cannot be expected to turn the scale in Sir Michael's favour.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer has essayed once again to urge the plea of justification on behalf of General Dyer. He points out with considerable gusto the alleged concurrence of the Cabinet and the Government of India with his opinion that the shooting down of unarmed and innocent persons in thousands saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the Mutiny. He expresses his chagrin at the perversity of the majority finding that it did not appear possible to draw such a conclusion. How mistaken Sir Michael O'Dwyer and other supporters of General Dyer are in holding this opinion is susceptible of an easy demonstration. In the course of Colonel Johnson's examination by the Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain, it was proved that more than 60% of the outrages in the Punjab took place after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. Mr. Bosworth-Smith, in his written statement, says: "Crowds flocked down to meet every train that passed through, and the wildest rumours were afloat. The outbreak was immediately preceded by the *Baisakhi* festival. A large number of Sikhs and others went to Amritsar. Some of them were shot or wounded there, and the wildest tales came back of Government oppression, which further inflamed the population, particularly against the Europeans." In the face of these facts, any attempt to prove that General Dyer's action was justified by the necessity of the hour is futile. Even if it were otherwise, the murder of innocent men for reasons of State is on a par with the frightfulness committed by the Germans in France and Belgium; and those who are supporting General Dyer on one ground or another are simply proving their spiritual kinship with him.

The last point which we propose noticing refers to his complaint against Mr. Montagu for not publishing all the facts at the time. He affects to

believe that only if the facts had been freely published at that time, the moral conscience of the world would not have received so severe a shock from the tale of the barbarous methods adopted by the Punjab *Junta* for the suppression of disorders. Whether Mr. Montagu was or was not a party to this game of hide and seek, is not half so important as the responsibility of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government in the matter. He gagged the press of his province, he prevented outside newspapers from publishing independent reports, and he, long after the disturbances were over, went on manipulating the news from the Punjab. Even so late as the month of September, 1919, Mr. Andrews was constrained to protest in a letter to the *Tribune* against the action of the police who were, by fair or foul means, attempting to prevent the investigation of true facts. On or about the same date, the workers of the Allahabad Seva Samiti at Gujranwala were being subjected to moral persecution by the police for no other crime than that of helping the distressed. The Congress Sub-Committee was hampered at every turn in the collection of the material, and threats were held out to those who had the temerity to give statements to the Committee. A veritable reign of terror prevailed in the Punjab, and people there were in such mortal dread that they preferred silent suffering to open protest. This was the condition to which the loyal Punjab had been reduced by the beneficent rule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Under these circumstances, not one hundredth part of the full tale of cruel oppression practised there in the name of law and order has received publicity. Notwithstanding this, Sir Michael O'Dwyer is pleased to bewail the sad lot of a Dyer or an O'Brien. Such mock tears will avail them not. At the bar of public conscience they stand branded with the mark of Cain on their forehead. Let Sir Michael O'Dwyer cease from engaging in a fruitless controversy. Let him slink away into obscurity and allow the world to slowly forget his black record.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE.*

LIMITATION OF THE HOURS OF WORK IN INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS.

ALTHOUGH the Managing Committee of the Social Service League would like to see the hours of work in industrial undertakings limited to 8 hours in the day and 48 hours in the week as early as possible, still considering all the circumstances in the country they are satisfied for the present with the Draft Convention introducing sixty hours in a week, adopted at the Washington Conference as a step towards the attainment of the general standard of an eight hour day.

But while accepting the limitations proposed in the Draft Convention they offer the following observations for the favourable consideration of

*A statement submitted by Mr. N. M. Joshi as Secretary of the Social Service League expressing the League's views on the letter of the Government of India No. L-812 dated the 11th May 1920.

the Government, when they introduce legislation on the subject:—

The Committee think that the hours of work should not only be limited to 60 hours in the week but that there should be a further limitation of 10 hours in the day. Even the period of 10 hours for daily work is too long, hardly leaving any leisure for recreation and education. The harm done to the health of the workers by working 12 hours in the day for five days in the week cannot be compensated for by having two off-days. Under the present circumstances even a half-holiday on Saturday will not be worth having to the workers if it is to be obtained by more than 10 hours' work in the day for five days in the week. Moreover, before the system of half-holiday on Saturday is introduced, it is necessary to provide facilities for recreation and education which at present are lacking.

The Committee suggest that for women the hours of work should be limited to 8 hours in the day. As women working in factories have to do household work in addition to work in factories, it is necessary that their hours of work should be less than those of men. The Committee think that until the hours of work for men are reduced to 8 in the day, the differentiation between the hours of work for women and men must remain. As the demand for industrial labour is bound to be very great for many years to come, there is no fear of women being handicapped by the imposition of the restriction suggested. At present the work done by women is generally different from that of men and there is no competition between the two in the labour market.

The Committee are of opinion that the hours of work for children should not exceed 5 in the day. There is no reason for discrimination between textile and other factories in this respect as is done in the present Factory Act.

The Committee are of opinion that children between 14 and 16 may be constituted into a new class of "Young Persons" and their daily hours of work should not exceed 8.

As the actual hours of work in Indian mines do not exceed 54 in the week, this limit should be legally enforced.

As regards the application of the Convention to some branches of railway work, the Committee would like to suggest that in deciding the branches to which the Convention should apply, the workers should be given an opportunity of expressing their opinion before the final decision is taken and the rules framed.

The Committee are of opinion that it is not desirable to continue exceptions to the limitation of the hours of work as mentioned in sections 21 and 22 of the Indian Factories Act allowing some parts of a factory to work beyond the period legally fixed for the working of the other parts. To do so gives an easy opportunity for illegally working even those parts of the factory, the working of which is prohibited beyond a fixed period. No

amount of factory inspection can prevent these abuses if the exceptions continue.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN BEFORE AND AFTER CHILD-BIRTH.

Although the proposals arising out of the employment of women in factories before and after child-birth are now in India, still the Committee are of opinion that the Draft Convention regarding this subject prohibiting women's employment in factories six weeks before and six weeks after child-birth and providing maternity benefits should be immediately adopted by the Government of India. The responsibility of providing the maternity benefits may be either thrown wholly on the employers or may be accepted by the Government and the employers made to contribute towards them. The Committee hope that the provision of maternity benefits at least in the limited field of factory work will no longer be delayed.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN DURING THE NIGHT.

The Committee favour the adoption of the Draft Convention prohibiting the employment of women during the night. The Committee do not see any reason for suspending the application of the Convention to mines.

ESTABLISHMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES.

The Committee are of opinion that the appointment of some medical officers to supervise health conditions in factories will be of great service to the workers. The present factory inspectors are not generally drawn from the medical profession. Moreover, the subject is of such great importance that the appointment of special officers to look after the health of the workers is very necessary.

MINIMUM AGE FOR CHILDREN'S EMPLOYMENT.

The Committee are of opinion that the Draft Convention regarding the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment prohibiting their employment in factories before the age of 12 should be immediately adopted. The number of children employed in factories shows a tendency to decrease; and as the Government of India themselves state, many employers of labour are gradually replacing children by adults. No harm will be done to the industries by raising the minimum age of employment of children to 12. The Committee do not agree with the views of the Government of India expressed in sub para 3 of para 18 that children between the ages of 9 and 12 would, if prohibited from employment, while there are no facilities for their education, lose the advantage of the training which they would receive by working in a factory. The Committee believe that the cause of the education of working classes will be facilitated by preventing the employment of children in factories between the ages of 9 and 12. The Committee are of opinion that even from the physiological point of view the employment of children before they are 12 years old is ill-advised. Even in India neither the boys nor girls may be said to attain a suitable age for employment in industrial under-

takings before the age of 14. But as children between 9 and 14 are for a long time being employed in factories, the Committee do not ask for the prohibition of the employment of children below 14, but are content for the present with raising the age of employment to 12. The Committee are inclined to think that educated public opinion in the country will generally favour this change. Even the workers will generally welcome it. No doubt some short-sighted individuals will be always found amongst them who will not mind sacrificing the permanent interests of their children for some immediate advantage. But the Government ought not to pay any attention to the narrowness of such individuals, but should do their duty towards children required in public interests.

DEFINITION OF A FACTORY.

The Committee are strongly of opinion that the time has come for changing the definition of "Factory". The number of persons required to constitute a factory should now be reduced to 10 instead of 50. At present there is a very large number of small factories in India the workers in which require protection of the law as much as the workers in larger factories. The Committee would also like to suggest that Government should now consider the question of giving legal protection to workers in some industrial undertakings in which mechanical power is not used.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Committee do not see any objection to the adoption of the Draft Convention regarding unemployment establishing free public employment bureaus and making it obligatory upon Government to provide statistics about unemployment to the International Labour Office. The Government of India seem to have been pressed too much by the difficulty of supplying information to the International Labour Office regarding unemployment in the country according to article one of the Draft Convention. As in ordinary times there is not much unemployment in the country it should not be difficult to supply rough statistics although it must be recognised that to collect very accurate statistics is not practicable under the present circumstances. As for article 2 of the Draft Convention concerning the establishment of free public employment, agencies or bureaus, the Committee believe that in large industrial centres like Bombay the establishment of a free public employment agency will prove very useful. Although it is not difficult to find employment at present, still an ignorant worker has to go unemployed for some days before he finds suitable employment. In many cases he has to make some payment to the middlemen for securing employment for him. The other articles of the Convention do not contain anything to which the Government of India need take any exception.

N. M. JOSHI.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, JUNE 17.

O'DWYER, DYER AND THE PUNJAB.

THERE is a great deal of electricity in the air over the Dyer matter and the withholding of information regarding the Punjab disturbances, and it is beginning to be questioned whether Mr. Montagu will prove an efficient lightning-conductor. The reactionaries, led by Sir William Joynson-Hicks, are endeavouring to slide away from the Dyer affair by emphasising Mr. Montagu's responsibility in the matter of alleged concealment of information. They point to his declaration, as late as the middle of December last, that he had known nothing of the details of the disturbances until he read of them in the Indian papers just to hand. It was a little difficult to believe that the Government of India could have been altogether so remiss as not to have communicated a fairly full summary of events, especially when it was known that prominent members of the various deputations here a year ago had come especially to inform him of what had been happening in the Punjab. Besides, Sir Michael O'Dwyer is explicit in declaring that he personally gave to Mr. Montagu and to other high personages at the India Office very full details on the main facts. It is not easy to see how Mr. Montagu is going to escape from the tangle. Sir Michael seems to have shifted the onus of explanation upon Mr. Montagu from the Government of India. I am confident that he has not done this out of any love for that Government, but rather because he is determined, if possible, to embarrass the Secretary of State, whose successful efforts in the direction of constitutional reforms he and those who hold his point of view find it difficult to forgive. Be that however as it may, it is clear that the reactionary elements here are determined, if they can do so, to divert attention from "affaire Dyer," whom they wish the general public to regard as an aggrieved victim, who by his "splendid brutality," as the one and only Mr. Bottomley describes it, saved India to the British Empire. Were it not for the grim tragedy of the situation, it would not be wanting in humorous elements.

DYER'S DEFENCE.

It is, meanwhile, interesting to see how Sir William Joynson-Hicks is endeavouring to make people believe that General Dyer had no opportunity to rebut other people's evidence against him and that he was unfortunate enough to be cross-examined by three astute "native" lawyers (he does not mention, of course, the cross-examination to which he was subjected by the lawyers among his own countrymen on the Committee), without the aid of his own counsel. He thus carefully veils the fact that General Dyer has been condemned upon his own admissions, and that it was the plain duty of the three "native" lawyers to cross-examine him upon statements that he had volunteered. It is a little amusing to observe how Sir

William and his friends are endeavouring to arouse sympathy for the "blunt soldier," tortured—that is Sir William's own phrase—by the "native" lawyers when Sir William is himself a member of the legal profession, and would not scruple to use his professional gifts in the same way were he to be in the same position. It is nevertheless extremely unfortunate that there has been this unexpected delay in debating the Punjab issues in Parliament, for it has given the reactionaries the opportunity of whipping up a fictitious and artificial campaign both in favour of Dyer and O'Dwyer and against Mr. Montagu. These things are not being done at all on their merits. If that were all there is against Mr. Montagu, for example, it is doubtful whether we should have heard anything very much of the matter. It would not have been thought worth while to waste so much powder and shot. But Mr. Montagu has committed the unforgivable offence of pressing on the reforms, and, as Sir William Joynson-Hicks thinks, had these details been then known which are now known, the British people would not have passed the Bill last year. So, because India ought not to have had the reforms and Mr. Montagu said that she must get them, he is to be driven, if possible, out of public life.

COMMITMENTS IN PERSIA, ETC.

The secrecy observed in the Persian and Mesopotamian matters has given rise to a great deal of alarm and anxiety in wide circles in this country, and people are beginning to ask, with much perturbation, what our commitments are in these countries, and how far they will affect our relations with our Allies, and bring us into conflict with those who, if not our enemies, we seem determined to convert into enemies. One of the most remarkable things in the history of our times is the way in which the Bolsheviks are taking over the foreign policy of the Tsarist Government. In Central Asia, in Asia Minor, in Constantinople, the same phenomenon is to be observed. It is not a little enlivening to read, for example, that M. Krassin, who is still endeavouring to negotiate some sort of an *entente* between Soviet Russia and Great Britain, is reported to have declared that one of the conditions upon which the Soviet Government will be prepared to accept the financial responsibilities of Tsarist Russia towards the Allies will be the revival of all the secret treaty rights of Russia, which have so far been vehemently and righteously repudiated by the Bolshevik leaders, including the reversion of Constantinople. That will not make very encouraging reading for the Turks, whom Tchitcherine is endeavouring to bring into an anti-Allied alliance, or to those Indian Mussulmans who may, in a moment of justifiable anger, have had thoughts of coquetting with the Bolsheviks, because they represented in a concrete form an anti-Allied influence. We still do not know how far we are committed in a military sense in Persia. It is known that the bulk of the British forces there are Indian troops.

It has been said that they are being paid for by this country and not by India. But what say has India had in the disposal of these troops? Is it to be believed for a moment that the Dominions would have tolerated the use of Dominions troops without consultation and the power of public opinion behind the Government that so employed them? And as to Mesopotamia we are in a very difficult position, for we stand to lose a good deal of the friendship of France because of the transfer of Mosul and its oil deposits to the British zone, whether by M. Clemenceau or M. Millerand, is not quite clear.

MESOPOTAMIAN POLICY.

Lord Islington, who has been asked to postpone his motion until next Wednesday is interpellating the Government upon their Mesopotamian policy and was to ask what form of civil administration will be set up in the country; the number of officers now engaged in civil administration, and the number of troops stationed there; the cost to the British tax-payer of our present occupation of the country; and under which Department of the Government the country is now being and will be administered. The *Times* does not think that any questions will elicit all the information that is to be known, because the Government's statements upon Mesopotamia "have long been vitiated by evasions, concealments, and half-truths," and the paper is of opinion that Lord Islington's questions should be on a wider basis. Persia and the local adventurers there cannot be isolated from Mesopotamia, and it is suggested that the British tax-payer is paying for nearly 400,000 people in these two countries. The *Times* also wants to know how far the War Office has been dabbling in the question of oil-concessions—General Cowans has lately been looking around, after his very recent retirement from the Army—and what promises have been made to various oil-interests behind the back of Parliament. I suppose that France will also wonder how it is that we are to get the oil lands around Mosul, of which she is to get only 25 per cent. of the product. It is a somewhat sordid transaction, when all is said and done, and, as in the case of the guano deposits on the island of Nauru, the allegation is made that, in making special arrangements for the peculiar advantage of particular nations in mandated territory, we have committed a breach of the letter and also of the spirit of the Convention of the League of Nations under the Peace Treaty. But the League of Nations is being sedulously treated by the Supreme Council as a thing of no real value, and what wonder is it then that the splendid principles for which we were supposed to have fought have been reduced by individual governments to mere squabbles for material concessions?

THE TURKISH PEACE TREATY.

The Turkish Treaty is not making the progress that its authors had hoped. For one thing, the Nationalists are getting dally bolder and more powerful, and a prominent press correspondent at

Constantinople is moved to remark that, under present conditions, the peace terms, as seen from that city, seem more unreal, the more one looks at them. This is due, he says, perhaps to the fact that one is too close to events to see them in the right perspective. Yet he wonders whether the statesmen who apparently desire to impose upon them as they stand upon the reluctant Turk realise their military implication. For a moment, he remarks the question whether they are just or unjust is less important than the question: Can they, or will they, be enforced or not? And to-day their enforcement is not a diplomatic but a military problem. The *Temps*, looking at the matter from another angle of vision, says that if things go on in Asia Minor and Turkey as they are now going on, we are on the eve of another war, which will break out first of all in Eastern Thrace, and be capable of the widest extension. The journal sums up the French objections to the Treaty by saying that the Allies are trying to dismember Turkey, although it has not been properly disarmed, and that the Allied policy has accomplished the miracle of fusing all the Eastern forces which formerly could be played off one against another. Thus, the Bulgarians, Turks, Persians, Arabs and Russians are all interested now in upsetting the Allied plans. What, the paper asks bitterly, is the sense of concluding a Treaty with a Government which does not exist or with a Grand Vizier who has neither arms nor authority?

REVIEWS.

THE PUNJAB DISTURBANCES, 1919.

AMRITSAR AND OUR DUTY TO INDIA. By Mr. B. G. Horniman, with four illustrations. (T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd.). Price 6 shillings net in Great Britain.

MR. HORNIMAN'S zeal in India's cause is well-known and though a deportee in England under the orders of the Bombay Government, he has been ever active in promoting the welfare of the Indian people according to his lights. His services are many and varied, and he has added one more to them by the publication of his book dealing with the Punjab disturbances of last year.

The book, which is evidently intended more for the English than for the Indian reader, is written in Mr. Horniman's usual-vigorous and popular-style. The Punjab disturbances, in Mr. Horniman's opinion, with which the Indian people generally agree, were the result of the popular discontent created by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's unsympathetic administration in general and to his harsh war loan and recruiting methods and unwise political repression in particular. The Rowlatt legislation, which is known as the 'Black Bills,' aggravated the situation and the deportations of Drs. Satyapal and Kitohlew served like matches in a powder-magazine. Mr. Gandhi's arrest while on his way to the Punjab on a mission of peace and good-will added fuel to the fire with the regrettable results with which we are but too familiar. The appointment of the Hunter Committee in response to the public demand for an enquiry by the Government of India, whose actions during those critical days also formed the subject of its investigations, was, in Mr. Horniman's opinion, not sufficient to meet the requirements of the situation and its refusal to allow facilities for the Congress side of the picture being placed before it made its proceedings wholly one-sided. The author therefore demands a fresh enquiry by an impartial Parliamentary Commission, which will according to him, go

some way in reassuring the public mind. As safeguards against the recurrence of similar happenings in the future, the author suggests that the Government of India should be deprived of its ordinance-making power and that the Indian people should be given full freedom to manage their own affairs.

Mr. Horniman does not seem to have had the Congress-Sub-Committee's report before him when he sent his book to the press, else his condemnation of what he terms 'Dyerarchy' and its iron rule would have been still stronger. In view of the forthcoming debate in Parliament over the Punjab happenings of last year, the publication of the book is, we think, very opportune and will go a great way in assisting the British democracy to a better understanding of the problem, with which she is faced.

AN IMAGINARY REBELLION AND HOW IT WAS SUPPRESSED. By Pandit Pearay Mohan, B. A., LL. B, Vakil, High Court, Lahore. with a foreword by Lala Lajpat Rai. Khosla Brothers, Lahore. Price Rs. 6 cloth bound Rs. 7.

THE Indian public has every reason to feel grateful to the author for bringing out the above book so soon after the publication of that white-washing document, we mean the Hunter Committee's report. The book contains an amount of valuable information, not known before, with regard to its subject-matter and the development of what in popular parlance is called the 'trap theory' in regard to the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre is its special feature. The life-sketch of the approver Hansraj, makes interesting reading and leads one to suppose that he was in the know. But what in our opinion enhances the value of the book is the collection of martial law documents given therein. The ordinary reader who has a mind to study the problem is handicapped by the difficulty of getting all the more important martial law literature in one place. The book removes this difficulty. The Martial Law ordinances and other notifications, etc. judgments of martial law commissions, proceedings in Privy Council in the famous Amritsar National Bank murder case and portions of debates in the Imperial Legislative Council bearing on the problem—all this is included in the appendices and will certainly be of more than passing interest, even after the Punjab incidents are forgotten, if ever they are forgotten. Lala Lajpat Rai's testimony that the author is 'a man who knows what he says and who says it on the strength of facts within his knowledge' should serve as a guarantee for the reliability of the information contained in the book.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A MISSIONARY MANIFESTO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—It appears to be commonly supposed that European opinion in India approves of the methods adopted by the military authorities during the recent disorders in the Punjab.

We desire to express an opinion which we believe to be shared by many of our fellow countrymen.

We deplore and condemn the excesses of the mob and recognize the extreme gravity of the situation with which the authorities had to deal.

We are not prepared either to affirm or to deny on the evidence that has been published that the proclamation of Martial Law was necessary. We would strongly maintain, however, that the sole justification for the proclamation of Martial Law is the welfare of the people of India of every race and creed. It is not sufficient to urge, as has sometimes been urged, that Martial Law was necessary for the retention of India as a 'place fit for white men.' Such an argument is fundamentally disloyal to the spirit of the recent Royal Proclamation and to the best traditions of the British Empire.

But while we abstain from expressing an opinion as to the necessity for Martial Law, we have no hesitation in condemning some of the methods by which it was administered. The indiscriminate firing on the crowd at Jallianwalla Bagh prolonged even during their flight in order "to create a wide im-

pression"; the crawling order, the flogging of school boy chosen at random for punishment these things are beyond excuse; they have grievously stained the British name in India.

Worst of all, in our judgment, is the mentality of those who adopted these methods. By their evidence before the Commission, they have shown how contemptuous is their attitude towards the people of India, and how arrogant is their assumption of racial superiority. The slaughter of some 400 Indians evokes only a mild expression of regret. The imposition on the ground of alleged seditious tendencies in their Colleges of daily roll-calls for a thousand students, involving a 16 mile walk a day, is cynically described as "a mild form of physical exercise." The imprisonment in the fort of sixty-five students and the staff of the Sanatan Dharma College when some unknown persons tore a notice on the compound wall, was inflicted because the officer in command of Lahore "was looking for just such an opportunity." These methods have been rightly described by one of the questioners in the Hunter Report as 'frightfulness' and underlying the whole policy is the belief that "force is the only thing that an Asiatic has any respect for." (Hunter Report, pp. 136--158).

We feel bound, both as Englishmen and as Christians, to express our indignation that such methods should have marked British rule in India. As Englishmen, we regard "Prussianism," wherever practised, as damnable and futile; for no Empire can be securely built on a foundation of terrorism and hate. As Christians, we hold that the condonation of such methods would involve the repudiation of the teaching and example of Christ and the rejection of those Christian principles of co-operation and friendship without which there can be no true progress for the peoples of the world.

- Beatrice Budden, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Punjab.
 P. N. Bushill, Baptist Mission, Delhi.
 E. C. Dewick, Principal, St. Paul's College, Calcutta.
 J. J. Ellis, Wesleyan Mission, Trichinopoly.
 A. G. Fraser, Principal, Trinity College, Kandy.
 T. N. Gardiner, Hislop College, Nagpur.
 R. M. Gray, United Free Church of Scotland, Bombay.
 J. S. Hoyland, Hislop College, Nagpur.
 D. G. M. Leith, Wesleyan Mission, Triplicane, Madras.
 N. G. Leather, Principal, Krishnath College, Berhampore.
 J. H. Maclean, United Free Church of Scotland, Coonoor.
 N. Macnicol, United Free Church of Scotland, Poona.
 R. L. Pelly, Acting Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta.
 C. H. C. Sharp, Lecturer, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
 Ed. J. Thompson, Wesleyan Mission College, Bankura.
 S. H. Thomas, Lecturer, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
 A. H. Tilt, Cambridge Mission to Delhi.
 F. J. Western, Cambridge Mission to Delhi.
 C. Kingsley Williams, Principal, Wesley College, Madras.
 J. Winterbotham, Medical Missionary, Chikbalapur, Mysore.
 C. B. Young, Baptist Mission, Delhi.
 Edith L. Young, Baptist Mission, Palwal, Punjab.
 N. Young, Baptist Mission Palwal, Punjab.
 P. N. F. Young, Cambridge Mission to Delhi.
 Ruth Young, Baptist Mission, Delhi.

THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—Your "historical review of the position of the Mohammedans of India in regard to the Khilafat" in the article on "Non-Co-operation" published in the issue of THE SERVANT OF INDIA dated 17th inst. is, to say the least, about it, very misleading. You say on the authority of Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar that the present attitude of the Indian Mussalmans towards Khilafat is the nineteenth century development. The Muslim Emperors of India never claimed to be the Khalifa of the Musalmans, and there never arose a case in which the religious authority of the Khalifa was denied by them. In the absence of such instances it will be incorrect-

to assert that "religious overlordship of Turkey was not recognised by the Mohammadans of India during Moghal rule."

At the close of the eighteenth century some correspondence took place between Tippu Sultan of Mysore and Sultan Selim of Turkey in which the latter advised the Indian King to desist from the friendship of the French who were the enemies of the Sublime Port. Tipu Sultan in his reply observed as follows: "As the French nation are estranged from and are become the opponents of the Sublime Port, they may be said to have rendered themselves the enemy of the followers of the faith. All Mussalmans should renounce friendship with them." This clearly shows the respect in which the Sultan of Turkey was held in India in the 18th century on account of his religious position in the Muslim world.

You quote the views of Sir Sayad Ahmad on the Khilafat question, and in this connection eulogise the services he rendered to the Muslim community. But you must also be aware of the fact that the majority of the Mussulmans did not share his religious views. In fact he was denounced by the bulk of the Muslim people of India for holding such views. Putting forward Sir Syed's views in this connection will, I am sure, weaken your case instead of adding strength to it.

At the end you speak of the two influentially signed memorials sent to the Premier in which, the retention of Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia under Turkish control was not claimed as essential to satisfy the requirements of Islam. But I think you are not unaware of the resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in Delhi in December, 1918, and submitted to the Premier and the Secretary of State for India earlier than the memorials mentioned by you. The resolution clearly says: "In the territorial and political redistribution to be made, fullest consideration should be paid to the requirements of the Islamic Law with regard to the full and independent control by the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of Prophet, over the Holy places and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as delimited in Muslim books."

The general question of the overlordship of the Khalifa is, in my opinion, quite irrelevant as far as the present aspect of the Khilafat question is concerned. Our claim in behalf of the Khilafat simply is that Jazirat-ul-Arab should remain under the control of the Khalifa. Does your reading of Muslim History show that there ever was a time in Muslim History when the territories known by the name of Jazirat-ul-Arab were allowed by the Mussulmans to remain for long under the control of a non-Muslim or of a Ruler who was not a recognised Khalifa. I do not quite see the use of the academic discussion of the Khilafat institution in general.

As for the question of the invasion of Afghanistan, this is beyond the pale of practical politics, having in view the present military strength of that country and the fact that those non-Muslims in India who bring this question under discussion are really seeking an excuse for not helping the Mussalmans to get their grievances regarding the Turkish question redressed.—Yours, etc.

ABDULWALLI.

Lucknow, June 24.

[Prof. Jadunath Sarkar states in his "History of Aurangzib" (Vol. III, p. 134) that in the letters exchanged between Delhi and Constantinople in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, the Turkish Emperor "is spoken of merely as the Caesar of Rome . . . and never as Khalifa . . . though his title fills five lines in the Khuda Bakhsh Ms. where the letter (sent by Shah Jahan) is given in full." And he goes on to say, "In fact, the ruler of every Mohammedan State (including the orthodox Aurangzib) called himself the only lawful successor of the Prophet and the *Khalifa of the Age*, without admitting the least superiority, spiritual or temporal, on the part of the sovereign who held the holy places of Arabia. The theory that the Sultan of Turkey is the spiritual head of the Muslim world is fiction of the late nineteenth century . . ." And we understand that even in the twentieth century no prayers are offered for the Sultan of Turkey in the Nizam's dominions.

The fact that the memorial referred to by us was sent

after the Delhi Session of the All-India Muslim League strengthens rather than weakens our position.

It is a fact that since the Mohammedans conquered the Jazirat-ul-Arab (probably in the time of Omar) it has been in Muslim hands, but after the destruction of the Abbaaside dynasty for nearly three centuries Caliphs, who were pensioners at the court of the reigning monarch, exercised no temporal authority there.

We want no excuse for dissociating ourselves from the non-co-operation movement. We have never countenanced it in any connection during the last two years. Besides, the position of non-Muslims is quite clear. Islamic injunctions are not binding on them. They cannot regard the question raised by the Turkish peace terms as other than secular, and in their efforts to solve it they are morally bound to refrain from doing anything which will injure the best interests of their motherland.—Ed.]

SELECTION.

THE JALLIANWALA BAGH MEETING.

We reproduce below exhibits 7 and 8 in the Amritsar Conspiracy case, which give the text of the draft resolutions that were to be submitted to the fateful meeting held at the Jallianwala Bagh on April 13 last year:—

RESOLUTION No. 1.

That this meeting of the citizens of Amritsar, while placing on record its emphatic and unqualified condemnation of detestable outrages and deeds of violence which occurred as an inevitable consequence of the unjust, incivil action of the Government of shooting loyal and peaceful citizens, expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a grave character calculated to cause great injury to the interests of the British Empire.

Proposed by — Dr. Gurbux Rai.

Seconded by —

RESOLUTION No. 2.

That this meeting records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the Government, after there had been compelled to resort to the passive resistance as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing of attention of the British public to the unjust action of the Government of India in passing the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, No. 1 of 1919, and the Criminal Law (Emergency Power) Bill, No. 2 of 1919, commonly known as the Rowlatt Bills, in utter disregard of the public.

Proposed by — Hans Raj Bedi.

Seconded by — Abdul Azaz.

(Sd.) A. SEYMOUR,
Magistrate, 1st Class.

RESOLUTION No. 3.

(Expression of sympathy with the families of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal.)

That this meeting places on record its emphatic protest against transportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal to an unknown destination having regard to the grave consequences which will be the inevitable result of these repressive action of the Government based upon *ex parte* and untested information, pray that all persons who are interned and deported be set at liberty without further detention.

Proposed by { Brij Gopi Nath.
Seconded by }

RESOLUTION No. 4.

That copies of the resolutions be sent to:—The Satyagrah Sabha, Bombay; Press; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, Secretary of State for India; the Viceroy; Lieutenant Governor of Punjab and the District Commissioner, Amritsar, and copies of resolution No. 4 be sent to the families of the deported.

Proposed by:—Chair (Hans Raj B. D.).

Seconded by:—

(Sd.) A. SEYMOUR,
Magistrate, 1st Class.
23-4-1919.

Ladies and Gentlemen.

Have you ever heard of the world-renowned "Actina" instrument; the restorer of lost vision, the deaf man's best friend, the eradicator of Catarrh, and the avowed enemy of doctoring, drugging and probing? If not, just drop a post card to us, and obtain, *free and for nothing*, our 100 page illustrated Booklet called Prof. Wilson's Treatise on "Disease". It will tell you all about this wonderful Messiah of the age.

Thousands have been sold in India, and people universally acknowledge it to be a marvellous God-send boon for all diseases of the Eye, Ear, Head and Throat. It is priced at Rs. 25-8 only, packing and postage charges extra, but is worth its weight in diamonds.

Write to:—**Raj B. S. BHANDARI, M. A.**
Batala (N. W. R., A. P. Ry.)

Dr. BAILUR'S MEDICINES.

HIVA-JWAR.
Ague pills.
Price As. 8.
Per bottle.



**BALAGRAHA
CHURNA.**
Epileptic powder.
Price Rs. 1.
Per bottle.

Ask for our catalogue for other medicines & Particulars.

Liberal commission for Merchants.

Dr. H. M. BAILUR,
Dispensary, BELGAUM.

BOOK OF THE HOUR.

Currency Reform in India

BY
Prof. V. G. KALE.

The author has made out a very strong case in favour of a sound currency and exchange system for India. Every one who wishes to understand the exchange problem should read the book, which is extremely instructive.

Price Re. One.

Copies may be had from booksellers or :—
The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City

CUT ME OUT

and mail me, with your name and address, to
Good Luck Co., Benares City.

I will bring you, per V. P. P., one COSSI SILK SUIT length for Rs. 12 only. These pieces are economical, hard wear and handsome ever made.

Test them any way you please—Why not give it a trial?

Name.....
Address.....

M. K. GANDHI.

An Indian Patriot in South Africa

BY THE REV. J. DOKE

With an Introduction by Lord Ampthill

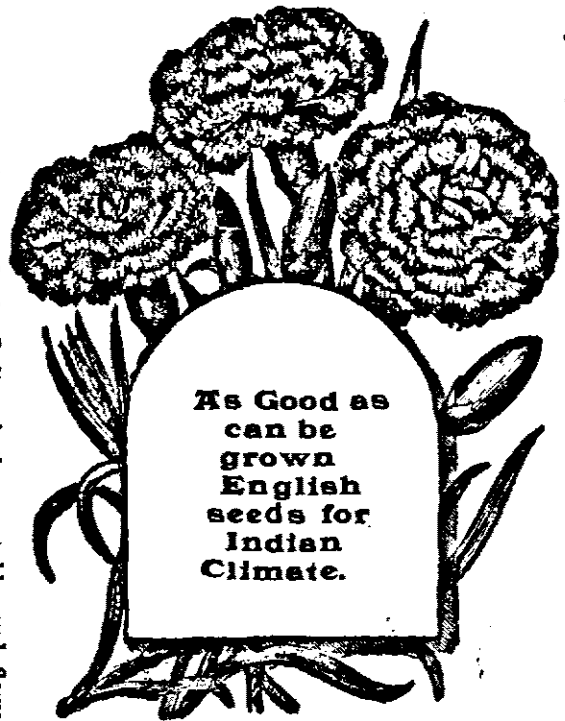
A cheap, popular edition of this inspiring book written by a great Christian friend and admirer of Mr. Gandhi and his work in South Africa is now for the first time published in India in a handy form

Price Re. 1. To Subscribers of the "Review" As. 18
When ordering mention if you are a subscriber to the "Indian Review;" otherwise please note that concession rates will not be allowed.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers,
George Town, Madras.

GOOD SEEDS.

We have the best seeds in India,—both vegetable and flower—suitable to your climate. Sow the right kind of seeds at the right time and save disappointment.



Large descriptive catalogue with numerous illustrations free on application. Mention this paper when writing.

Pestonjee P. Pocha and Sons,
Seed Merchant Poona,
Bombay Presidency,
INDIA.

GOOD OPPORTUNITY.

The India Advertising Agency are the sole advertising agents for several newspapers, journals, and periodicals in India. Rates of advertisement very moderate and reasonable. For particulars, apply to—

The India Advertising Agency,
POONA CITY

Self-Government for India.

IN TAMIL.

The "Hindu says":—"This is an adaptation in easy Tamil of the Honble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's pamphlet bearing the same title. Mr. S. M. Michael of the Servants of India Society has done a useful service to South India by making it available to the Tamil-reading public. The book is priced at 8 as.

Apply to:—*The Secretary,*
Servants of India Society.

The Madras Co-operative Leather Goods Factory, Ltd.,

STARTED & MANAGED
BY

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY

Will make all kinds of Boots, Shoes, Sandals, Belts, Bedstraps, Handbags, Hold-alls, etc., to your complete satisfaction.

It is a workmen's Society. Workmanship
Excellent. Rates Moderate.

THE SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY,
ROYAPETTAH—MADRAS.