

# THE Servant of India

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## TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

WE extend fraternal greetings to Babu Kali Nath Roy and welcome him back to the ranks of Indian journalism of which he was one of the finest and noblest ornaments, but from which he was torn away three months ago by a Fate which was as cruel as it was perverse. He has suffered unjustly and suffered grievously, but he has not suffered in vain. His sufferings as much as his writings have enriched his country, quickened the pulse of our people, and made our hearts beat even more passionately than ever for that Freedom which alone will save us from future O'Dwyers.

THERE appears to be no limit to the ways in which District Magistrates misuse the Press Act. Sometime ago, the District Magistrate of Hyderabad (Sind) held back the security amount of the *Hindvasi* Press, although Mr. Jethmal Parsram, who had ceased to be its keeper applied for its return and was entitled to its return under section 24 of the Press Act, and the amount was only returned when the Government of Bombay intervened. Two instances have recently occurred which disclose even a more flagrant violation of the provisions of the Press Act on the part of some Magistrates. Under the proviso to section 8 (1) of the Press Act, "if the person registered under the said Act as printer of the newspaper is also registered as the keeper of the press where the newspaper is printed, the publisher shall not be required to deposit security so long as such registration is in force." This makes it quite clear that where the keeper of a press is also the printer of a newspaper, the publisher is exempt from security. And yet, as our readers know, unmindful of this clear direction of the law, the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay called

upon the publisher of *Young India* to deposit a security of Rs. 1000, although its printer was also the keeper of the press where it was printed and had as keeper already deposited a security of Rs. 1000. Had it not perhaps been for the disclosure of this fact during the proceedings, the publisher of *Young India* might have illegally been asked to pay an additional security. We have now learnt of another similar case—again from Hyderabad (Sind). The publisher of the *Alamin*, a weekly vernacular paper; in which the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri is interested, while making a declaration, was asked to deposit Rs. 2000 as security, although the printer of the paper, as keeper of the Bharatvasi press where the *Alamin* was to be printed, was made to pay a security of Rs. 2000 only a few weeks previously. The result is that the *Alamin* has not yet come out.

IT is a most disconcerting development that the exchanges of the world have been violently disturbed at a time when a return to normal conditions after the termination of the war had been expected. The tremendous destruction of life and property and the utter dislocation of industry and trade caused by the struggle are as much responsible for this state of things as the disturbed conditions which still prevail in large parts of Europe. The position in India with regard to the sterling exchange has gone from bad to worse instead of improving. Every rise in the value of silver was regarded, as it occurred, as a record, and an advance beyond it was not thought to be very likely. It was believed that the war having long ceased, the demand for silver would diminish and that the exchange troubles of India would at last come to an end. But silver has already attained the height of the 60d. an oz. rate, and all export business has come to a standstill. No body knows to what altitudes the white metal may mount and what rate of exchange Government will fix in sympathy with the increasing price. Remitters will naturally wait for better rates, and export bills are unsaleable for want of cover. Export business is, therefore, in a parlous state, and the Secretary of State is being appealed to to come to its rescue and to fix a rate that may be relied upon for some definite period of time. The Currency Committee has suspended its sittings, and though no final decision may be arrived at without its advice, the Secretary of State will have to take some action to relieve the present

almost intolerable situation. The India Office has certainly handled the Indian currency problem very badly, but it is difficult to see what useful purpose the *Times of India* has served by dragging the relationship of Mr. Montagu with the proprietors of the famous firm of bullion dealers who purchase silver for our Government, into the discussion, though we must strongly support the idea of changing the whole of our existing system of silver purchases.

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THE Government of India have at last decided to offer a quantity of gold for sale. The impossibility of getting gold has been one of the causes of our unsatisfactory exchange situation. Exchange with America is adverse to England and gold is not available there for remittance to this country. Some time ago, the Secretary of State authorised the Ottawa Bank to receive gold and sell telegraphic transfers on India, and we now learn that he has instructed the Bank of Montreal to invite weekly in New York competitive tenders of a limited amount of immediate T. T.s on Calcutta. During the war the U. S. A. received large quantities of gold and the production of South African mines is also going there. Some of this gold is being released for foreign use, though little of it will go to England on account of her adverse trade balance. But there is no reason why India should not be able to share in this gold and that it should be diverted to other quarters. India has long been starved in the matter of the supplies of the precious metals. The gold which the Government of India is doling out will not be a sufficient remedy, and it is necessary that free imports of the metals should be allowed forthwith. We are told that it is the reluctance of America to part with her silver which is responsible for the extraordinary rise that has just taken place in the price of that metal. India's creditors ought surely to be able to send her gold for the commodities they take from her, and South African and other gold may be diverted to this country. The Government of India's sale of gold is a second-hand operation in the supply of that metal, and it must be replaced by free imports.

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A SUMMARY of the M.-C. reform proposals appended to the Government of India's Administration Report for the years 1917-1918 interprets the provision in the Reforms Report as to the twelve-year commissions thus: "Equally with the provincial machinery, the central machinery will be subjected to periodical revision by the commission approved by Parliament." Since this explanation finds place in a publication issued with the Government of India's imprimatur, such must have been at least the intention of the authors of the Reforms Report, though the Report itself is by no means so clear. Para. 261 only speaks of the progress of responsible government in the provinces and leaves the popularisation of the Government of India severely alone. This evoked

comment in the Indian Press at the time, and it was hoped that the omission which could only have been due to inadvertence would be supplied in the Bill. Strangely enough, however, the Bill too limits the scope of the commission's inquiry to provincial Governments. In the light of what the Administration Report says of the commission's mandate, as intended by the authors of the Scheme, we hope that the Government of India will press for the inclusion of the central Government within the mandate. It may be added that even in the summary of recommendations attached to the Reforms Report it is said that the periodical commissions are "to review the constitutional position both as regards the Government of India and the provinces." When the purpose of the authors is so clear, there should be no difficulty in giving effect to it in the Bill.

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IT is our duty to protest against the supreme folly of the Supreme Council's decision to internationalise Constantinople and cede Thrace to Greece, Turkey's and Islam's hereditary foe—a decision taken in the teeth of the opposition of the whole Moslem world and flying in the face of the warning sounded by such well-informed students of international affairs as Sir Theodore Morison and against the earnest advice of such sincere friends of the British Empire as His Highness the Aga Khan. If the Turks are driven out of Europe "bag and baggage," the ghost of Gladstone may feel happy, but Moslems all the world over—including the British Empire which has been called the greatest Muhammadan Power—will pause and ask, "Are the British really the friends of Islam?"—and who shall blame them? It may be replied that the British Government are not responsible for this far-reaching decision, but that it was arrived at by their Allies. In that case, the phenomenal loyalty of the Indian Muhammadans during the last five years of storm and stress entitles them to know exactly what steps British statesmen took in order to avert the greatest catastrophe that has yet befallen Islam. Nothing less than a definite assurance that they did all they could to avert it, can satisfy Indian Muhammadan opinion at this juncture, and we hope British statesmen are in a position to give that assurance.

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MR. TILAK'S memorandum submitted to the Joint Committee is full of self-contradictory and mutually destructive statements. Asking that the full development of self-government should be reached within fifteen years, it goes on to demand that the intermediate stages shall be decided upon on the principle of self-determination. After this one expects to find mention of the way in which he desires the principle to be applied, but one is greatly puzzled to see that, later on in his note, Mr. Tilak accepts the statutory commission, which is to survey the achievements of our councils and recommend

future progress. Thus, beginning with a demand for self-determination he ends with accepting other-determination. The desire to shove in the phrase self-determination somewhere and somehow, was obviously responsible for this inconsistency. Again, asking for full provincial autonomy, he goes on to say that some functions would still be reserved, and these functions, moreover, are not to disappear at one blow, but "gradually." There is not much of consistency here either. It is difficult besides to understand why the legislative councils should be only partially elected (Mr. Tilak does not ask for wholly elected bodies) when they are to control all the governmental functions. Speaking of a second chamber, Mr. Tilak says that since the Governor-General can exercise his veto, a second chamber is unnecessary till full responsibility is attained in the central Government, as the Governor-General with his overriding power will himself be a second chamber. But the same reasoning will apply when the Government of India will be fully popularised, for even then the Governor-General will have a veto.

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SIR MICHAEL SADLER is the Chancellor of the Leeds University, the Chairman of the Calcutta University Commission and one of the greatest educationists of the world, whose name was recently suggested for the post of Minister for Education in the place of Mr. Fisher. His evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Committee has considerably strengthened our case for the transfer of the whole of education to popular control and fills us with the hope that the whole of it will be transferred in the event. Lord Sydenham asked him whether education in India was not top-heavy and whether primary education was not being unduly neglected. We commend the beautiful answer which Sir Michael Sadler gave his Lordship to the attention of our Anglo-Indian journalists. Said he, "The base of the pyramid should be broadened, but its apex should not be blown away."

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ON Monday last His Excellency Sir George Lloyd performed the ceremony of unveiling a portrait of the late Mr. Gokhale which was presented to the Poona Municipality by Rao Bahadur Hanmantram Ramnath. The Governor, though he was personally unacquainted with our late leader, paid a warm tribute to his work and memory. He emphasised the fact that Mr. Gokhale, by his joining the Deccan Education Society in the beginning of his career, disarmed all imputation of self-seeking. Mr. Gokhale had the statesmanlike quality of seeing both sides of a question, and His Excellency who quoted very freely from Mr. Gokhale's published speeches said of one that it happily showed the duty of both Indians and Englishmen towards India and the Empire. In another of his speeches Gokhale had made an earnest appeal that the words "too late" may not be written across the history of India; and His Excellency after quoting this said that this was

the very opinion that he himself had given in regard to the present scheme of reforms immediately on his arrival in India and almost in these very words. Altogether it was a brilliant effort, and showed how Sir George had fully grasped the secret of Mr. Gokhale's greatness.

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PRIMED by some choice spirits among the Congress delegates as we have every reason to believe, Mr. Ben Spoor, the Labour member on the Parliamentary Joint Committee, asked Mr. Banerjea whether he had not supported a proposal for a definite time-limit for the grant of full responsible government at the Calcutta Congress. Some Indian papers, ever prone to pick holes in every Moderate move, have sought to make capital out of Mr. Banerjea's reply. They have made it a peg on which to hang one more sermon on the inconsistency of the wicked Moderates. They conveniently forget that Mr. Banerjea supported the proposal at the Calcutta Congress which met in the year 1917, that is to say, long before the Reform Scheme had seen the light of day. But the case was surely altered when the Scheme was actually published, inasmuch as the Scheme itself definitely provided for periodic Parliamentary Commissions of Enquiry with a view to determine the pace of our progress, which was all that could be reasonably expected of the British Parliament from a practical point of view.

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YET another case of grave injustice has been brought to light by Mr. Gandhi. A young lad by name Karamchand was sentenced to capital punishment for his alleged complicity in the assault that took place at the Hafizabad Station. The sentence has now been commuted to rigorous imprisonment of one year, but it only serves to bring into relief the monstrous miscarriage of justice which has occurred in this case. Not a tittle of evidence was adduced to show that he was connected with the assault, and it is more than doubtful if he was at all present on the spot when the outrage took place. And yet he was convicted of waging war against the king!

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AT the Madras Provincial Conference attended exclusively by the Nationalist party, the Liberal and the Besant parties not being represented in it, an amendment, demanding the recall of the Viceroy, was proposed to a resolution protesting against martial law in the Punjab. The President appealed to the Conference to let the subject drop, calling to his aid the opinion of Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari and Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar that it was "unnecessary" and "imprudent" to pass such a resolution. The delegates, however, persisted with the motion and the President arbitrarily ruled it out of order. One can understand the characterisation of the amendment by the Nationalist leaders as "imprudent," but what do they exactly mean by calling it "unnecessary"?

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### THE CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

THE address of His Excellency the Chancellor of the Bombay University at the last Convocation was interesting as it was the first public appearance of Sir George Lloyd in that capacity and has called forth very various opinions as to its suitability and worth. The few formal words addressed to the new graduates asked them to look beneath the surface, to see the underlying human relations between the master and the servant, the teacher and the pupil, the lawyer or the judge and the accused and exhorted them to devote themselves to increase the industrial prosperity of the country. He, needlessly we think, asked them to distrust theories though in spite of all such advice we still think that humanity will be guided by the theorist rather than by the so-called practical man. A certain minimum of comfort is of course necessary for all, but a people given merely to the multiplication of the comforts of life have not done much in the world.

The greater part of the address was devoted to a consideration of the influence of sea power on history, a thesis which may have been somewhat new before Admiral Mahan's works but is rather commonplace in these days. It is understood by all that the British navy played a very important rôle in the great war and that the silent pressure exerted by it hastened its conclusion. It must however be understood that the influence of the navy was on the whole passive and that the war could not have been war without the activity of the armies and the air forces. Each arm of the service did its best towards the attainment of the final end and each was indispensable. An Englishman has a right to panegyrisé the deeds of the navy, though one does not quite see why an Indian can feel the glow of an Englishman when its deeds are recounted. It is perhaps natural to an Indian to feel that he has no direct part or lot in the navy, and that the whole policy of the rulers has been to keep it altogether uncontaminated by the people of this country so far as its personnel is concerned. Till about a hundred years ago India had its own ship-building yards and its rulers maintained powerful navies. The Angria or the Siddis of Janjira were very considerable naval Powers on the west coast and made the Portuguese look small and gave the British many years of anxiety. But it is a commonplace of India's industrial history that the Indians were deliberately shut off from the whole field of naval activity and that they have now to depend for the smallest steamers on foreign nations. The trade and industries of India about which His Excellency waxed so eloquent is dependent on the freight supplied by other countries, and we trust that his powerful voice will be on the side of the advocates of a great Indian mercantile marine.

There have been writers of repute who have maintained with a considerable degree of truth that the British came by their naval supremacy in

a blind manner and that the great seamen of the Tudor period were not actuated by any high ideas of State policy but were hardly better than pirates who are now regarded as heroes simply because they were successful. It is to the credit of great statesmen like Henry VII., Elizabeth and Cromwell that they utilised the pirates for their national ends. There were other factors also which helped these statesmen, as, e. g., the insular position of England which enabled her to concentrate on the navy and not to fritter away her resources both on land and sea as the continental nations had to do. France tried it a hundred years ago, Germany tried it during the last decade and they failed in the double job. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that Holland, which had not an insular position like England, was not saved by her navy from extinction as a great power. His Excellency's address did not take cognisance of these other factors and was thus a good deal one-sided. Again, if it was Sir George Lloyd's object to advocate concentration on the naval arm in future, he was rather wrong in not once mentioning the influence of the aerial arm in modern warfare. Many have gone so far as to say that aviation has largely diminished the importance of navigation, and that the submarines and torpedoes and mines have to a large extent discounted the value of the navy.

After all when you have got your powerful navy the world will in general be interested in seeing how you are going to use it. But on this point the address was most disappointing. The whole tone of the address was of the pure Jingo type and would not have called for much emendation from the leaders of the German Navy League before the war. As we have mentioned already, His Excellency has supreme contempt for all idealists, for men who are led by theories. The occasion of the Convocation was one when high ideals should be impressively placed before the youthful graduates, but it was used only to enlarge upon the wickedness of human nature. Nobody believes that the present war has once for all ended all wars, but it does not mean that high ideals should be so aggressively poohpooed. A statesman has not only to see actualities, but also to work with a steady eye to some ideals; if he does only the former he descends to the level of a mere politician. Perhaps His Excellency was in such mortal fear of being called an idealist that he courted the appellation of a Philistine. Said he: "Believe me—though bookmen whose living is bounded by the covers of their books may call me a Philistine—that James Watt did more to make Britain what she is than Burke, Carlyle or Mill." In other words he would call the high principles of a Burke or a Mill by the name of "cant," but one may venture to say that this intense anxiety to avoid the charge of cant may itself degenerate into another kind of cant. La Rochefoucauld has an aphorism which aptly illustrates our remark: "*C'est une espèce de coquetterie, de faire remarquer qu'on n'en fait jamais.*" (If a woman so behaves that other people remark

of her that she is not coquettish, that very fact makes her out to be but a coquette of another kind.) Cant is to be condemned quite as much as Philistinism. The gravamen of our charge against our enemies in the recent war was their intense Philistinism. If this is not to be condemned, one can only say that the one fault of Germany was her failure. Everything would have been excused to her or even counted to her glory, if she had been successful. We would like to remain under the old-fashioned belief that the British Empire stood for high principles, that a Burke pleading the cause of the American colonies or the despotically ruled Indian, a Mill or a Spencer heading the agitation against Governor Eyre of Jamaica, Byron fighting for Greece, or even a Campbell-Bannerman giving self-government to the African colonies, are the men who have made the British Empire what it is, and that it does not merely stand for the steam engine, the telegraph—though this is a German invention, the wireless telegraphy—which is mainly Italian, or the aeroplane—the credit of whose discovery is shared alike by the English, the French and the American. Had it not been for this vein of Philistinism, we would have had nothing but praise for His Excellency's exhortation to young students to devote themselves more to industrial pursuits, to develop new lines of work and to aid in making India "trade on equal terms with the sister nations of the Empire." But it is only an ignorant preacher of a religion that seeks to enforce his own faith by a copious abuse of other religions.

## THE LATE K. VIRESALINGAM PANTULU.

### I.—HIS LIFE-SKETCH.

THE death of Rao Bahadur Pandit K. Viresalingam Pantulu has removed from our midst the most eminent man among the Andhras of the modern times, who for nearly half a century devoted himself with untiring energy to the advancement of his people. He was thinker and worker, man of letters and ardent social reformer. His manifold activities mark quite an epoch in the history of the Telugu people. Born in the year 1848 in a respectable Brahmin family at Rajahmundry, he received his high school education in that town, and after passing the Matriculation examination was appointed as a Pandit in the local Government College. From boyhood, he had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and an unbounded love of Telugu literature. After attaining a considerable scholarship in that language, he started and conducted the Telugu journal, *Viveka Varthani*. His position as teacher and journalist drew around him men of light and leading, and with their co-operation, he established institutions like the Prarthana Samaj and the Social Reform Association of Rajahmundry. With an ardent desire to achieve practical results and for the propagation of the reform initiated by his famous contemporary, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of

Bengal, he entered into a solemn compact with a number of friends and started a Widow-Remarriage Association at Rajahmundry. But though in course of time most of his comrades deserted him and the Association itself had but a nominal existence after the first few years, Pandit Viresalingam himself remained true to his pledge. And be it said to his credit that, though passing through some of the worst trials, and notwithstanding great changes in circumstances, he stood loyal to his word, and was able to celebrate a large number of widow re-marriages in his life-time.

Though he was thus actively engaged in one movement, he saw the necessity of reform in other directions as well. Mention has already been made of his great taste for Telugu literature which he cultivated with assiduous application. He attained a proficiency in that language which not only enabled him to write works of outstanding merit, but also helped him considerably in the advocacy of the many reforms he started. Essay and lecture, farce and fable, were all laid under contribution. He addressed himself to female education and to the enlightenment of the masses. To stimulate social life among the educated classes, he built a Town Hall at Rajahmundry. About the year 1898, he accepted a panditship in the Presidency College at Madras, in order to widen the sphere of his activities and to secure a larger measure of influence. While in Madras, he greatly contributed to the vigorous life of the Madras Social Reform Association, whose Secretary and President he came to be in course of time, and for whose benefit he also built, at his own expense, a suitable hall. On behalf of the Association, he conducted an Anglo-Vernacular journal, and opened a Home for the residence and education of young widows. After retirement, he transferred the Widows' Home to Rajahmundry, where he purchased large grounds, reared a garden, and provided quarters for the Home. At Rajahmundry he established a high school for girls and another for boys. The latter is now in a flourishing condition under the name of the "Viresalingam High School," though on account of certain difficulties, the former had to be given up. Ever since his youthful days of enthusiasm for reform, the Pandit had advocated a change in religion also. But his active association with the Hindu Widow Re-marriage movement had precluded him from an open declaration of faith. Now he wanted to quiet the qualms of his conscience by acting up to the beliefs cherished during a whole life-time. So the year 1906 saw him become a practical Brahmo. But change of religion, in his case, only widened the sphere of his activities, as he now began to celebrate re-marriages of widows under Act III. of 1872 as well.

Many were his benefactions to the public. Reference has already been made to two of his charities. Seeing that the poor but earnest Brahmos of Arulapet, Bangalore, had no place of public worship, he built a Mandir for them, and made an endowment of it to the Brahmo Samaj

there. He contributed largely towards the construction of the Mandir of the Rajahmundry Prarthana Samaj, and also of the Hall of the Viresalingam Theistic Library which was recently opened at Rajahmundry. But by far the most princely of his benefactions is the bequest of all his property, worth half a lakh of rupees, to the Hitakarini Samaj of Rajahmundry, who are constituted trustees to the charities mentioned in his will.

Two events happened which were calculated to exercise his mind considerably in his latter days. The first was the death of his wife in 1910, which gave occasion throughout the country for a great outburst of sympathy for the veteran reformer. The incident seems also to have opened fresh springs in his own nature. Mr. Viresalingam was generally supposed to be of a highly intellectual cast of mind. But now the demise of his loyal partner in life touched the emotional side of his character. To perpetuate her memory, he placed a marble stone over the place where her ashes lay buried, and around it sprang up a beautiful garden of choice flower plants which the venerable pandit was never tired of showing over to his visitors. The other event referred to is the bitter opposition headed by one or two of his former friends and followers, resulting in civil and criminal proceedings in which the poor old reformer was put to the necessity of vindicating his own character. But despite these cases and an indifferent and fast failing health, Pandit Virasalingam maintained the vigour of his mind to the last. It is to the latter part of his life that we owe the two volumes of his Autobiography and the revised and enlarged edition of the "Telugu Poets." So great was his devotion to work, that but two days previous to his death, he corrected the proof of an important article he contributed to the annual number of the *Andhra Patrika*. Thus a noble and strenuous life came to a close on the morning of the 27th May, when Pandit Viresalingam breathed his last.

R. VENKATA SIVUDU.

### THE LAHORE CONSPIRACY CASE.—III.

BY VERITAS.

#### THE CONSPIRACY THEORY AND ITS COLLAPSE.

THE veracious Anglo-Indian chroniclers of the time indeed lauded Sir Michael O'Dwyer up to the skies and verily described him as the one administrator in all India who knew how really to govern. But it is not difficult to anticipate the verdict of history in this case. Even since the "strong man of the Punjab" was compelled to eat the humble pie on the floor of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla, he had never forgotten nor forgiven the so-called agitators. In his warped vision, he saw in the incident a cloud no bigger than a man's hand at the time, but which seemed to him to carry portents of a terrific storm. It is an open secret that the drastic provisions of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, many of which went

far beyond the actual necessities of the case, as well as the Rowlatt legislation, were due to his suggestion and the influence he brought to bear upon the Government of the country. And there can be no doubt that to his abnormally constituted mentality the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills, culminating in the Satyagraha demonstrations, appeared as incipient acts of rebellion just as the aspirations for Swaraj or Home Rule appeared to his blurred vision as a subtle or insidious move for independence or revolution. The unfortunate happenings that followed on Mr. Gandhi's arrest, the riots at Amritsar, Gujranwala and Kasur, coupled with the unreasoning panic that suddenly took possession of certain high-placed officials, who received their cue from the ex-Lieutenant Governor, appeared to him to confirm his diagnosis of the trouble, for which martial law seemed to be the only specific. A pliant central Government was easily induced to promulgate the necessary Ordinances proclaiming parts of the Punjab to be in a state of open rebellion, and to enmesh the agitators. Clause 7 of Ordinance No. I of 1919 sought to give it a retrospective effect and to make it apply to all persons, who were charged with any of the offences described in the Bengal State offences Regulation, 1804, which were committed on or after the 13th April, 1919. But as it was afterwards found that the retrospective effect thus given was not sufficiently wide-reaching for the purpose in view, another Ordinance, Martial Law (Further Extension) Ordinance, No. 4 of 1919, was promulgated, by which the local Government was empowered to direct that "any Commission appointed under the Ordinance I of 1919 shall try any person charged with any offence committed on or after 30th March, 1919." This Ordinance further directed that "thereupon the provisions of the said Ordinance (No. I of 1919) shall apply to such trials accordingly." The retrospective effect given by these Ordinances, particularly that allowed by the later Ordinance making the court martial procedure applicable to all offences committed on or after 30th March, 1919, is at present, as Lord Haldane said in delivering the orders of the Judicial Committee allowing special leave to appeal, a matter which will be duly considered by His Majesty's Privy Council. The point that awaits adjudication by that august tribunal is whether the emergency powers conferred upon the Governor-General by Section 72 of the Government of India Act, 1915, for the peace and the good government of British India or any part thereof are or are not subject to the restrictions put upon him by section 65 (2) of the same Act, and whether those emergency powers can affect "any part of the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom," and, further, whether the retrospective effect of the Ordinance has in this instance affected any part of the aforesaid unwritten law and constitution. The question is one of great constitutional



importance. If the emergency powers conferred by section 72 of the Government of India Act, 1915, can really override any part of the unwritten laws and constitution of the United Kingdom, then the Government of India easily fits in with the characteristics of the most absolute forms of government that the world has seen. And in that event, it is of the highest importance that special provisions are made, as the SERVANT OF INDIA suggested in a recent article, in the new reforms "by which such an invasion of individual freedom is made statutorily impossible in like circumstances."

But to return to the point in hand. Having got the Government of India to promulgate the necessary Ordinances extending the operation of the Martial Law procedure to any offence committed on or after 30th March, 1919, the ex-satrap of the Punjab proceeded to gradually unfold his magnificent *coup*. He wanted to kill several birds with one stone, *viz.*, first, to break the neck of political agitation (as well as the Montagu-Chelmsford diarchy scheme of reform) by making short work of the so-called agitators; secondly, to set an example of a "government that can really govern" for the benefit of the weak-kneed administrators of other provinces and of the central Government, who had been parleying with the political agitators; and, finally, to add a crowning laurel to his diadem of glory. He had already been acclaimed, and quite rightly so, as one of the greatest recruiting sergeants of the Empire and was determined to add to it the distinction of being regarded as the saviour of the Indian Empire, though in an altogether different sense from a similar designation which was applied to Clemency Canning. Here was, he thought, a revolutionary conspiracy of an all-India magnitude, and who but he, the greatest administrator of the generation, was competent to unravel its ramifications? The faithful law-officers of the province would prepare the necessary charges relating to an India-wide conspiracy, while the even more obliging and faithful C. I. Department can be relied upon to supply, by means of approvers and confessions, all the missing links—however numerous they be—in the chain of prosecution evidence. From the spectacular point of view, nothing better could be desired. It almost seemed like a stroke of genius. From Mr. Gandhi at one end to the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the other, all the patient and impatient idealists and their brood, all would be enmeshed. Thus will the Simla apology incident be avenged. But unfortunately this magnificent scheme, like "the best-laid plots of mice and men," miscarried. The indispensable approver was nowhere to be found, notwithstanding the vehement efforts of the C. I. Department and indiscriminate arrests and all their 'fishing' for evidence. I am speaking of the Lahore conspiracy case only. In the Gujranwala and the Amritsar conspiracy cases, there was, of course, the inevitable approver, and no difficulty

was in consequence experienced to supply the missing links. And thus it was that a Martial Law Commission, presided over by a Judge who had just returned from military duties in an atmosphere saturated with militarism, was constrained to give up the idea of an all-India conspiracy and to record its finding, as we have seen in the preceding article, that "the charges of sedition on what occurred before the time of the second *hartal* (10th April, when news of Mr. Gandhi's detention was received) must fall to the ground." There was no agreement to start a conspiracy, no common purpose to commit sedition or any other offence, no criminal intent up to the *hartal* of 10th April evening. When and how, then, did the criminal conspiracy originate? Did it spring, like a full-fledged Minerva in complete panoply from Jove's head, all of a sudden? The Commission, as we have seen in our last article, gives no answer to these questions. It assumes the factum of rebellion by taking judicial notice of it and construes every subsequent act as an overt act of waging war, for which the minimum punishment is transportation for life and forfeiture of property. It rests its entire finding on the bare wording of the Ordinance, stating Lahore as being in a state of open rebellion. After this, it was not so difficult to construe every innocent act of the accused, done in a spirit of perfect good will and co-operation, sometimes at some personal risk, into an act of rebellion or waging war by connecting with it the stray words and deeds of one or other irresponsible members of the crowd, who might be altogether strangers to the accused leaders. And this is precisely what the Commission has done.

#### (INCIDENTS OF 10TH APRIL EVENING.)

We have thus seen that in spite of the Commission's finding at one place that "the prosecution has established that there was an active conspiracy in Lahore to bring about the repeal of the Rowlatt Act by criminal means," the conspiracy theory has collapsed altogether in view of their recorded finding in the most unequivocal manner that "the charge of sedition on what occurred before 10th April evening must fall to the ground." We must look to the events of 10th April evening and subsequent happenings in order to appreciate the Commission's finding.

To start with, we have a recorded finding of the Commission to the following effect:—

The *hartal* of the 10th of April was certainly spontaneous in the sense that it started as soon as the news arrived of Gandhi's detention, and we have no evidence on which we care to rely that it was initiated by visits to the city of any of the accused. . . . Nor have we any evidence that any of the accused instigated the mob to proceed up the Mall.

It is really difficult to reconcile the above finding with the finding of the Commission at another place in which they observed that "these men (principal Lahore accused) knew, none better, that the state of rebellion was largely due to their own efforts." Even assuming the factum of rebellion, how could they be held responsible for

it when they had admittedly not instigated it? The evidence of the leading prosecution witnesses on the record, however, shows that so far from the excitement (magnified as rebellion by the Commission) being due to their own efforts, the principal accused did their level best to allay it and would have certainly succeeded but for the firing by the authorities, which was regarded as unjustifiable.

As regards Lala Harkishen Lal, he was, as his written statement which has not been controverted on this point by the prosecution shows, not aware of the happenings of 9th and 10th April as he had just then returned from Jammu. It was from a Police Sub-Inspector, who went to his place to fetch him on the 11th April morning for the meeting at the Telegraph office, where the Deputy Commissioner was then holding his office, that he learnt of the incidents on the Mall of 10th April evening. In fact, Lala Harkishen Lal came on the scene for the first time on the 11th April at the express invitation of the Deputy Commissioner.

As for Mr. Dunichand, he was, as his written statement which is not traversed by the prosecution on this point shows, suffering from piles trouble on the 10th April. Still hearing that firing had taken place on the upper Mall, he went to Mr. Broadway, Senior Superintendent of Police, and offered his assistance. Mr. Fyson, Deputy Commissioner, P. W. 65, also admitted that "he (Mr. Dunichand) was asking people to go back into the city."

Pundit Rambhaj Dutt was the only leader who took a prominent part in trying to allay the excitement on the 10th April, 1919. The following excerpt from his written statement, every word of which is borne out, as I shall presently show, from the prosecution evidence, fully explains the part taken by him in the affair:—

I was getting ready to go with them (my clients) when a young man rushed in with the news that I was sent for by the police officers on the Mall to persuade a crowd to go back to the city. I agreed, and just as I was getting I met Rai Sahab Kashi Ram and Rai Bahadur Sunder Das Suri who said firing had taken place on the Mall. I took a tonga in the way and went through Temple Road to the High Court Chauk. There was no crowd, only police officers and constables. I asked them in what way I could help them. Then one of them, I believe it was Seth Dwarka Nath, Deputy Superintendent of Police, said: "There are four wounded at Charing Cross Chauk; try to find some doctor to attend to them and try to disperse the mob which has gone towards Anarkali." Mehta left me at the beginning of Anarkali Bazar. About half a mile away near Keshri's shop I found a crowd. I got down from the tonga and got up on an empty victoria which was standing on the road and exhorted the mob to disperse. Just then, Messrs. Clarke and Broadway came up, the latter on horse-back. Mr. Clarke said: "Use your influence to disperse them." Mr. Broadway said: "My orders are to fire and disperse any assembly of more than five."

I told them, "Give a little time and they will disperse," and asked for a horse to be able to throw out my voice to the crowd from a height. A horse was brought, which was too unruly, so I had to get down and then I mounted on an iron (electric) box near Puri's theatre. I remonstrated with them and had nearly persuaded them to go away when Messrs. Clarke and Broadway again advanced and fired two or three shots. This excited the people. I

folded my hands to the police officers and entreated them to stop firing and have patience. They said: "All right. Mr. Fyson is coming; meanwhile you disperse them. If they don't go we will fire the moment he comes." I said, "For God's sake, put off Mr. Fyson's coming," and went to the crowd and made them sit down. Except about a hundred men on the outer circle, all the crowd was seated, was well under control, and were nearly persuaded to go back home quietly. Just then, Mr. Fyson came on the scene on horse-back, and a portion of the crowd got excited; a young man came with a message that Mr. Fyson says that if the crowd does not disperse at once, he will order fire. I ran to him and pleaded for time as it is not easy for a large number of men to move away. He gave two minutes only. I requested him to give time. I ran back to the crowd and I informed them of the orders, and in the name of God, *Rasul* and *Guru*, appealed to them to go to their homes. On this, the people got up to go, and while doing so were fired upon, and the crowd then dispersed and I went home."

This is the plain, unvarnished story of the beginning of "open rebellion," so far as Lahore was concerned. Let us for a while examine the prosecution evidence and find if there is anything in corroboration or contradiction of this version. I leave out of account the defence evidence, including evidence of such highly respectable persons as R. B. Sunder Das Suri, retired Inspector of Schools, D. W. 2/1, R. S. Kaushi Ram, a Brahma missionary, examined through interrogatories, Seth Dwarka Nath, Dy. Superintendent of Police, and Mehta Dwarka Prasad, Reporter of the *Punjabee*, P. W. 18, and Mrs. Daim, examined on commission, which corroborates the above version in everything that relates to them. I propose to confine myself to the evidence given by high European officers about the part played by Pundit Rambhaj Dutt Choudhri on the 10th April evening.

Mr. Broadway, Senior Superintendent of Police, P. W. 13, says thus in his evidence:—

At that stage, Rambhaj Dutt appeared. He asked us to have patience and said that he would try to disperse the mob. He said something to them but I could not hear what he said, as the noise was too great. . . . At one particular place, we were heavily stoned from roofs and from the front. I ordered three shots to be fired. That checked stone-throwing. . . . Mr. Fyson rode up to the mob and gave them a few minutes to disperse. He was received with yells, the crowd leaping and shouting in front of him. Mr. Fyson fell back and some of the crowd sat on the road and said they would not move. After five shots were fired and the crowd dispersed. . . . Near Lahori Gate Rambhaj Dutt asked for loan of a horse in order to be able to address the mob better. He mounted the horse, but dismounted at once because the horse was restive. I told him that if the crowd did not disperse it would be fired upon when Mr. Fyson arrived.

Thus Mr. Clarke, Deputy Superintendent of Police, P. W. 23:—

Further on, I met Rambhaj Dutt. He told me that he would try to disperse the mob. He got on to an electric box which I pointed out to him and waved some kind of cloth, but I could not hear what he said.

And finally Mr. Fyson, Deputy Commissioner Lahore, P. W. 65, stated as follows:—

The mob on the 10th (April) only had a standard. I saw no weapon. A dozen police were across the Mall to keep back the crowd.

Some of the crowd at the Lohari Gate sat down after arriving. I gave the crowd two minutes to disperse. Rai



bhaj Dutt asked for more time, but I declined having had experience. . . . He (Dunichand) was asking the people to go back into the city, so was Rambhaj Dutt.

From the foregoing excerpts, it is clear that this "tumultuous and revolutionary" crowd was kept well in check and in fact turned back by a dozen policemen on the Mall, that at Lohari Gate Mr. Fyson was unwilling to allow them more than two minutes further time to disperse, although Pundit Rambhaj Dutt made them sit, that the Pundit, with the alertness usual in a virile nature like his, first got up on a restive horse, then on an electric box, at a time when shots were being fired, at great personal risk to himself, and tried his best to get the crowd to disperse to their homes. There are scores of witnesses for the defence, who deposed to the commendable part played by him on 10th April night and the evidence on this point is so overwhelmingly strong that the Commission themselves are constrained to admit that he tried to get the people to go back to their homes.

Though in order to prevent a collision at that particular moment, Rambhaj Dutt did no doubt try to get the people to retire through the Lohari Gate, he certainly did not advise them to end the *hartal*. We have no hesitation in believing the statement of Martab Ali Shah, P. W. 29, that even while telling them to retire, he also told them to assemble the next day.

This is one of the most unkindest cuts in the whole judgment. If any one deserved commendation for assisting the authorities in a critical situation during those fateful days, it was undoubtedly Pundit Rambhaj, who did all that a man could do on that night of excitement. But the judgment taunts him for not advising people to end the *hartal*. Was that the hour or the occasion for tendering that advice? Pundit Rambhaj and other leaders did not shirk their duty, as I shall presently show, in dissuading people from continuing the *hartal*, but 9 P. M. in the night when the shops had mostly closed and were not in any case expected to re-open till the next day was certainly not the most suitable hour to give that advice. The *hartal*, we must remember, had begun only about a couple of hours earlier and no one had any reason to suspect that it would continue the next day. Indeed, but for the firing, as Raja Narendra Nath, D. W. 2/6, said, it would have ended the next day. Where, then, was the occasion for giving that admonition on the 10th April evening? Pundit Rambhaj's immediate business was to get the people to disperse to the city, and no one can deny that he did that part well and in a manner worthy of recognition.

( To be concluded. )

#### FUN AND FACT.

LORD SYDENHAM asked Mr. Sastri if the Servants of India Society which Mr. Gokhale had assured him would never be political, had become so. Dead men tell no tales, but this is enough to have made Gokhale squirm and turn in his grave. If the shades in Hades are in the habit of reading this world's news—which should be the case if the psychiatrists and mediums know their business pro-

perly—how Gokhale's spirit would have laughed at Lord Sydenham's "cheek!" Was he not the greatest Indian politician of his day, and was it not primarily "a society of political Sanyasins" (his own favourite expression) which he founded and bequeathed to his people as his last great legacy? Was Lord Sydenham only joking? It is too good to be true, for it is well-known that his Lordship lacks a sense of humour. Was he inventing a fact? Probably, but I believe it is a nasty thing to have to say of a British peer who happens to be an ex-Governor of Bombay. Besides, the invention is so grossly palpable that it would do but little credit to his Lordship's undoubted intelligence. The most charitable construction one can place on his statement in these circumstances is that he was so bewildered by Mr. Sastri's evidence that he lost his wits for a moment.

THIS reminds me of a charge often levelled at the Servants of India Society in this country, that it has swerved from the path marked out for it by its great founder and that it has abdicated its legitimate political functions in favour of co-operation, women's education, social service and what not. The only answer that I can think of to this charge is Lord Sydenham's question. The fact is the Society cannot afford to ignore politics in order to please Lord Sydenham any more than it can afford to ignore social reform order to please Mr. Tilak.

SIR EDWARD CARSON is the greatest coxcomb that ever crowed and strutted on the political platform of any country. His public speeches are those of a bully. His recent Belfast utterance was a compound of bravado and vulgarity. His attack on Sir Horace Plunkett was in execrably bad taste. His allusion to British politicians who would gladly allow American statesmen "to brush their boots on their heads" was a piece of exquisite Billingsgate and the highest refinement of scurrility. Yet he goes "Carson free" as Mr. Devlin complained in the House of Commons, though men have been sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture of property here in India for saying very much less. One of poor Babu Kalinath Roy's crimes was that he had dared to call an act of Sir Michael O'Dwyer "a blazing indiscretion," was it not? The Attorney-General's defence of Sir Edward Carson took my breath away and opened my eyes for the first time to the possibilities of that wee little word, "if." Suppose I take his interpretation of the law quite seriously and indite the following sentence: "If the Reform Bill is cut down, I will call out "I. D. F."—will this land us in trouble, Mr. Editor?"

THE Hon. Mr. M. C. Rajah, the first Panchama representative in the Madras Legislative Council, is reported to have said that Brahmana social service is a sham and a delusion. I see that Mr. K. V. Reddi, a member of the non-Brahman deputation, has said the same thing in his evidence

before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. In the opinion of these gentlemen the Brahmans are educating "the depressed classes" in order to keep them in ignorance, freeing them from the trammels of caste and custom in order to keep them enslaved, and elevating them to the position of equals in order to perpetuate their inferiority. The absurdity of this is patent. They can just as well say that men demand votes for women with the sinister motive of keeping the latter in everlasting subjection. Such vulgar views may pass muster in the market place, but they are entirely out of place in the mouth of the first Panchama legislator in the Madras presidency (and in Indian history too, I believe).

"THE natural intellectual superiority of the Brahmans," is a phrase that occurs in Mrs. Besant's latest *communiqué* from London. I am willing to believe that this is but one more instance of her characteristic looseness of statement. The two pre-eminent Indians of the day—Lord Sinha and Mahatma Gandhi—the one representing the height of worldly greatness and the other embodying in himself the very acme of moral and spiritual perfection—are both of them non-Brahmans; the former is a Kayasth and the latter a Bania. It may be replied that Mrs. Besant's statement had reference only to Madras. But what about the splendid Dravidian civilisation which, according to some historians, had reached its zenith when Aryan civilisation was still in its swaddling clothes? What about Tamil literature which is second to none in the world in range, richness and variety? Is it not a product of the non-Brahmin intellect? I think it is the late Mr. Rajam Iyer a great scholar and himself a Brahman, who considered Kamban as the greatest poet of the world and as superior to Kalidasa and Shakespere, and Kamban was a non-Brahman, a Vellala. The fact is the vaunted intellectual superiority of the Brahman is a myth. It is as much a fable as the boasted superiority of the white men over brown and black men (including Brahmans). According to Emil Reich, it is a wicked legend invented by the successful nations in order to scare away the nations that wish to succeed. It is a trick of the "upper classes" of a society who wish to keep the "underdogs" always under, in an attitude of prostrate awe. Anthropology, ethnology and history have proved beyond the suspicion of a doubt that the differences which we observe among the various races and classes of mankind are *accidental* and not *essential* (as Aristotle would say), *extrinsic* and not *intrinsic*, *adventitious* and not *inherent*. It is only ignoramuses and the inmates of Bedlam who any longer entertain the theory of "natural superiority" of a class or race with anything like seriousness.

OF all the shocking cases tried by the shocking Martial Law Commissioners in the Punjab, the most shocking is the case of Dewan Mangal Sen of Gujranwala who "is second to none" in his re-

cord of loyalty, as he himself says in a written statement submitted to his judges. The loyal services which he has enumerated form a formidable list which bears out his claim to the letter. He contributed some thousands of rupees to the War Fund. He spent "a lac of rupees" "in promoting and promulgating loyalty," by publishing pamphlets and prize-essays on that theme and freely distributing them among the population. He gave Rs. 10,000 to the Punjab Aeroplane Fund (and had the satisfaction of seeing bombs dropped from an aeroplane on his own native-place Gujranwala. I hope *his* money was not in that aeroplane.) But the culminating point in his loyal sacrifices was reached when he gave up his "own son-in-law" to serve in the war. He is the recipient of no less than "500 letters of appreciation" from Viceroys from Lord Lansdowne to Lord Hardinge (including Lord Curzon) and also from ever so many Governors, Lt. Governors, Commissioners, Chief Commissioners, etc., etc., etc. He does not say whether he has received any certificate from Lord Chelmsford, but I should not be surprised if he has, for (and this is the strongest part of Mangal Sen's woful tale) the strong man of the Punjab himself, "His Honour the late Lt. Governor, Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer, made *special* mention of my loyal services in his Durbar speech at Gujranwala on the 8th of August, 1917."

THEN, one fine day, Dewan Mangal Sen was suddenly arrested, tried by a Martial Law Tribunal and sentenced "to transportation for life and forfeiture of property" for "criminal conspiracy and an attempt to wage war against His Majesty," in spite of all his loyal services, in spite of his 500 certificates of loyalty and in spite of his son-in-law. Of course, it was not the fault of the Martial Law Judges, for has not Mr. Montagu satisfied us that this is the mildest sentence in the law for such tremendous offences as criminal conspiracy and waging war against the King? I understand that now Sir Edward Maclagan has "tempered justice with mercy" and commuted the sentence passed on Dewan Mangal Sen to one of 2 years' rigorous imprisonment without forfeiture of property. Two years in jail may be but a poor reward for a record of loyal services such as poor Mangal Sen has got to his credit, but, then, he ought to be thankful for small mercies. One might indeed laugh at the irony of his plight, were it not that the sentence passed on him is more monstrous than ludicrous. His case affords the most striking illustration that has *as yet* come to the knowledge of the public of the scandalous and frightful way in which the Martial Law Tribunals passed judgments without the slightest reference to their character and antecedents of the accused and of the all-too-disproportionate sentences which they delighted to pass. So far as one can see Dewan Mangal Sen has done nothing to deserve such a sentence. He has done nothing to deserve even the tender "mercy" shown by Sir Edward Maclagan. But he

has done as much as mere man could do to deserve a "C. I. E." or at least a "Rai Bahadur." I hope that he will be set at it liberty immediately and that his name will be included in the next Honours' List.

PUCK.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## DELAY IN THE PUNJAB INQUIRY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—In your article on "Our Duty to the Punjab," published in your issue of 7th August, occurs the following:—

"Already it is feared that some of the evidence which is vital in the interests of justice may have been lost and may be difficult of reconstruction."

I am glad you have sounded this note of warning in time, and I hope the Government and the people would both pay heed to it. Why? I know on reliable authority that already the whitewashing process has begun. In Amritsar, the police have made efforts to remove the bullet-marks of their shots from the scene of "riots," as they would have it, while the buildings damaged by the mob in a fit of provoked fury have been kept intact. To what end? That the members of the proposed Commission of enquiry may be convinced of the "enormous guilt" of the people by looking at the latter's "hideousness." If this is how truth is to be sought after and revealed, then we had better be spared the farce of investigation. Perhaps, the bureaucracy will not worship Truth unless she is veiled and blindfolded. The Punjabees are helpless. They are being cowed down to the point of dumbness. If they open their mouths, the almighty baton is dangled before their eyes. Result? Submissiveness to the degree of timidity. And it is common knowledge that lately when Pandits Madan Mohan Malavya, and Motilal Nehru were in Lahore they made some enquiries into the Punjab affairs. But no sooner had they shaken the dust of Lahore off their feet than some of those who had given some facts to them were sought after and snubbed by the police. Since then, it is well-nigh impossible to get at the facts, for people refuse to utter a single syllable on the subject of their suffering. "Do not reopen our wounds," that is the common answer to one's query.

What should be done? I would humbly request some of our true patriots to go over to the Punjab and carry on their investigations, undaunted by the frown of officials. Else only one side of the shield will be presented to the Commission of Enquiry.—Yours, etc.

Bolepur, Aug. 19.

FAIRPLAY.

## SELECTIONS.

## INDIAN DELEGATIONS IN LONDON.

AT THE CAXTON HALL.

The London Correspondent of the *Hindu* writes under date 31st August:—

As Mr. Srinivasa Sastri pointed out at the Caxton Hall meeting on Tuesday, when representatives of all the Indian Deputations spoke, the device recommended by the Government of India means complete bifurcation and endless friction as a result. If Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues want to damn diarchy altogether they cannot do better than persist in the preposterous expedient of a divided purse. It has been publicly stated, even by the Moderate delegates, that if this is to be the price of diarchy they will not make the purchase. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has stated emphatically that diarchy in this form cannot be tolerated. He drew the picturesque analogy of a newly married couple being advised by the clergyman immediately after the wedding to live apart

as a divorced couple in order to avoid all causes of friction? It is even worse than this because according to the scheme of the Indian Government, as unfolded to the Committee by Sir James Meston, one party to the contract would be left in a position of hopeless inferiority. Then indeed the diarchy would become unworkable, and the whole scheme of reform would be reduced to a mockery.

BEFORE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

Mrs. Besant writes under date 31st August:—

At 4 P. M. (on the 31st July) several of us were in the lobby of the House in answer to an invitation to tea on the terrace from Mr. Roberts, M. P. I met various old friends, and was introduced to several members not previously known. At 5 o'clock we left the terrace with its wonderful pile of buildings, one on side and the river on the other, for Committee Room No. 7, where we were to address members of the House. The number who came aroused general surprise, 60 making their appearance, whereas from five to twelve is the usual number; a division in the House called them away early in the proceeding, but they soon returned, and members came and went as they could escape from Committee or debate, 42 being the maximum present at any one time. Four deputations were represented by the Hon. Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. Jinnah and myself. Mr. Roberts was in the chair, and the members sat round the tables, on the side-tables, and stood where they could. They seemed to be earnestly interested and listened intently to the short clear speeches made on the various points selected: A very appreciative vote of thanks was moved by Mr. A. Williams, Liberal, and seconded by Mr. W. Smith, Labour, and Mr. Roberts added a few warm words. Altogether a very pleasant and, I think, useful function.

EDUCATING THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

Messrs. Sastri and Ramachandra Rao are doing much quiet educational work, devoting many hours to the instruction of members of both Houses in Indian problems. Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar is also devoting much time to long discussions with leaders of opinion. Work of this kind is most valuable, and my old theories of the work of negotiation on one side and of popular educational work on the other proceeding side by side are being fully carried out.—*New India*.

## MR. SASTRI'S EVIDENCE.

The *Bombay Chronicle* comments thus upon Mr. Sastri's evidence in its editorial columns:—

MR. SASTRI AT HIS BEST.

The Hon. Mr. Sastri's evidence before the Joint Committee seems to have been a triumph of exposition. From the brief summary cabled to us, it is clear that he covered almost the whole ground of the reforms question, that is, so far as it is shaped in the Bill before Parliament. Dealing with the Government of India, he rightly insisted on the introduction of responsibility and the appointment of Indians in the Executive Council to half its strength. In the Bill there is a serious gap regarding the future liberalisation of the Government of India. There is no provision that the statutory commission should go into the question of the further liberalisation of the Central Government. Mr. Sastri asked for express provision for the purpose to be included in the Bill itself. Speaking of the Provincial Governments he laid great stress on the principle of the joint purse. For the Council to cease to be an official appanage, one of the first essentials is power to regulate its own business and the election of its own President. Mr. Sastri seems to have discussed the matter with lucidity and effect. The proposals of the Government of India concerning the Grand Committee were opposed. We are glad that Mr. Sastri asked that the draft rules should be disclosed and that rules, not of constitutional importance, should be alterable by the Council. It is a very modest proposal, but we cannot depend on the support of the Government even in these small concessions.

LORD SYDENHAM'S TRIBUTE.

On the whole Mr. Sastri's evidence was so impressive that it profoundly agitated Lord Sydenham. His Lordship tried to discomfit Mr. Sastri with an uncorroborated reminiscence of his own. Mr. Gokhale, it would appear, assured his Lordship that the Servants of India Society would never become "political." Hitherto he was happy in that alleged assurance, but now he groaned that he was deceived! The object of the Society is "to train national missionaries for the service of India and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people." And Mr. Gokhale's brilliant political career is the best repudiation of Lord Sydenham's apparently apocryphal story. Anyway Lord Sydenham's pose is a good tribute to Mr. Sastri's success.

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