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TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

THE Hunter committee and the whole of India have now before them the opinions of Colonel Frank Johnson, the cane-cure specialist of Bechuanaland, on many matters Indian. Colonel Johnson seems to have a supreme contempt for anything like evidence and facts; and his opinions are all, therefore, presumably intuitive. "Hardly four or five students had committed any offence between 30th March and 15th April, but he would maintain that the whole body of students were seditionists." The lawyers fare no better. "If all the lawyers had been deported there would have been less trouble," was the Colonel's grateful appreciation of leaders who, other witnesses had emphatically declared, had the people under excellent control, till the authorities made the grave and uncalled for blunder of deporting these their best allies. "He was not aware of any attacks on the police between 30th March and 10th April. There was not a single instance of fire-arms being used or stolen by the people throughout the disturbances." But he held that the people were all rebels. As to the use of *langars* for alleged 'sedition propaganda,' he was generally told so, but he had no evidence. He defiantly remarked "he may not have any fact, but "he could form his opinion as he liked." Certainly nobody has any objection to the Colonel's hugging his precious views; but the mischief begins when he proceeds to act on them by applying his patent cure, to wit, flogging to an unlimited extent.

ACCORDING to him, *hartal* "was organised demonstration against the Government, with the object of paralysing the whole community." Of course, as usual, he has no evidence, but "appealed to commonsense." "No measure," this intuitive

colonel of common-sense went on to say, "was too severe for breaking this *hartal*. The drastic action of shooting people who interfered with the opening of shops was necessary." Presumably not many made any such interference: otherwise, with this firm conviction in his mind, the colonel would have repeated in Lahore the exploits of his gallant *confrère*, General Dyer, at Jallianwalla.

* * *

A POSTER put up in the Sanatana Dharma College was torn up. The Colonel's order was that "all male persons found on the premises should be arrested" (the Colonel is too brave to have any craven fear of women-seditionists). 500 persons, including professors, were arrested and marched three times away from the college. Did the brave man himself honestly think that the tearing up of the poster by an unknown man was the signal for the overthrow of the British Empire? No such thing: here is his frank explanation. He promulgated this atrocious order, not because there was any harm in the disappearance of a poster, but because "he was looking for such an opportunity. He wanted to make an example of somebody. He was longing for an opportunity to bring home to the people the might of martial law." (Observe the poetic alliteration of the phrase.) We suppose we have only to be thankful that the 'might of martial law' was not 'brought home to the people' with the thoroughness with which it was done at Jallianwalla.

* * *

"HE maintained that it was in the proper discharge of his duty. He would do it again." When he got his opportunity, "he took it" and, we may add, flogged the victims, "some of whom were punished, because their relatives were arrested; for did not one read that the 'sins of the fathers will be visited on their children?' " "He did not think flogging exceptional," but "all looked on it as unusual." In any case, he had no doubt that "it was a convenient form of punishment." The tragic humour of it seems to have appealed to Justice Rankin who could not help asking, "whether the convenience was not to the person who inflicted the punishment alone." No; the Colonel held that "it was convenient to all," presumably to the victims themselves. Does this not explain why there was such a rush for flogging at Lahore? It was so convenient to be flogged to within an inch of one's life. And where could they get it better done than during the 'merciful' régime of Colonel Frank Johnson, a past master in the art?

We are really at a loss which to admire more—his notions of convenience and method of mercy or his invincible faith in flogging which made him deprive a poor magistrate of his powers "for awarding the *ludicrously lenient* punishment of five stripes."

* * *

Nor can we say offhand whether it is an ingrained sense of cruelty or a piece of crass stupidity which persists in saying that a walk (!) of 16 miles a day for three weeks in the hot May sun (which all the medical students had to do to answer the preposterous roll-calls) was reasonable and not a hardship on able-bodied students. The real explanation, of course, lies in his incredibly stupid race-pride and a ludicrous sense of his own importance. Fancy a man outside a lunatic asylum saying in these days: "A European would be entitled to commit breach of peace." "He rather thought that cars taken from Indians were given to Europeans. He knew that the carriages of Indians were given to Europeans for use. He considered it necessary and fair (!) (This was all in good faith, we are assured). He thought it right to take their carriages from Indians and give them to Europeans." The unblushing effrontery of these admissions and, what is graver, the mentality behind them are a menace to the peoples' faith in British justice.

BUT the apotheosis of the tragedy is the fact that, while all these high handed doings were going on in full swing, the Lieutenant-Governor and several high civil officials were in Lahore and aware of all the orders issued by Colonel Johnson. It does not seem to have occurred to any one of them that anything out of the way was being done. When the highest civil officials, to whom people have to look up for justice and protection from oppression, become panic-stricken at the slightest disturbance and betray the people into the hands of the military, one may be excused in thinking that "something is rotten" in places other than Denmark also. It is indeed a very serious question (and it requires an immediate settlement) whether the civil Government can, on slight pressure and at its own sweet will, surrender the administration to martial law and whether the military, instead of simply helping the civil authorities, may take it upon themselves to shoot and machine-gun people.

* * *

AS to the rules to be framed under the Government of India Bill, the London correspondent of the *Times of India* gives some useful information. The Joint Committee, he says, will indicate in the Report the principles which should be observed in drafting rules and will recommend methods to guard against any arbitrary use of the rule-making power. Some formula will be devised to distinguish between rules embodying important principles and those of mere detail, and the Secretary of State will consult, and largely be guided by, the standing Committee of Parliament to be established. The

Selborne Committee will recommend that the rules will be subject to the acceptance of a definite resolution submitted to Parliament by Government.

* * *

THE Hon'ble Mr. Sarma has well exposed, in a lecture in Madras, the relatively disadvantageous character of the Congress proposal that both halves of Government should be equally responsible for taxation bills. The Joint Report threw the responsibility upon the non-official section of Government alone and thereby conferred upon it a power, which we stand to lose under the Bill in its amended form, which requires the previous approval of executive councillors as well as of ministers to proposals of fresh taxation before they are submitted to the council. The provision in the Joint Report naturally involved, as its necessary consequence, that provincial taxation should be a transferred department and that no proposals, whether they related to reserved or transferred subjects, should be withdrawn from the control of the legislative council. It seems possible that, under the revised Bill, the Governor has the power of passing such taxation bills, when necessitated by the supply for reserved departments, although the council may reject them. If so, it would mean a withdrawal of a right promised in the Joint Report, and it is imperatively necessary that this right should be restored in its integrity to the council.

* * *

IN the controversy that arose in England between Messrs. Horniman and Tilak on self-determination, Mr. Horniman had undoubtedly the better of the argument. To ask for the application of the principle of self-determination to India in its full meaning, here and now, is intelligible, whatever one may think of the practicability of such a demand. But self-determination in the truncated form of the Delhi resolution on self-government, to be applied at an early opportunity, is indeed a "camouflaged unreality." "Pious resolutions about self-determination," says Mr. Horniman, "are a mockery." They may easily be worse than a mockery and may do positive harm, for while nothing is to be expected of such an academic resolution, to which not even the worst despot need demur, it involves an unnecessary restriction of the scope of self-determination. Mr. Tilak interpreted this term very narrowly, thus surrendering India's claim to the large area of self-government not included in the ambit of the Delhi resolution. If a demand for the genuine thing is thought impolitic, one may at least refrain from asking for the counterfeit.

* * *

MR. SRINIVASA SASTRI sailed for India on 28th ultimo, and expects to arrive here in time for the Amritsar Congress. It is unnecessary to add, in view of the fact that he joined the Congress last year, that he and the members of the Servants of India Society generally are strongly in favour of attendance.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

BY A. V. THAKKAR.

THE Joint Committee on the Reforms has safeguarded the interests of the depressed classes and women by providing special seats for the representatives of the former and by leaving the grant of franchise for women to the provincial legislatures whose progressive views on the question are too well known to cause one any anxiety. This is as it should be. But the vote would do neither the franchise-holder nor the country much good, if the voters are not able to understand the importance of the problems of the day and to exercise their voting powers in an intelligent and effective way. This, it need hardly be said, they would be in a position to do, only if they have at least an elementary education—just sufficient, if no more, to grasp things when presented within an easy compass. The present condition of our masses is immeasurably far from any approach to this. The last (1911) census figures show that only 11% of the male and 1% of the female population could read and write in their own vernacular. The ten years which have since then elapsed are not likely to show any very startling achievement. At the present day, if I may venture on a guess, not less than 80% of our men and 97% of our women remain illiterate still. No doubt, Compulsory Education Acts have been recently passed, but their application, where they are enforced at all, is very limited. In the Bombay Presidency, which was the first to enact compulsion, only two towns with a population of 1,10,000 and 22,000 have till now come forward to take advantage of the Act, that is, only 0.67% of the total population in the Presidency.

One of the most formidable obstacles in the way is, of course, finance. Money has to be found for the increased pay of starved teachers, for opening more schools for boys and many more for girls (of even advanced communities), for giving additional facilities to children of backward and depressed classes, for opening a large number of schools or colleges for training teachers, for engaging attendance officers and their staff for compelling children to go to school, and for building or renting houses for accommodating the increased number of schools in our congested towns. The nation, no doubt, has to pay for all this. There are no two opinions on the point. But the trouble has been in settling who should pay for it all,—whether (1) the national exchequer or (2) the provincial treasury or (3) local funds. All tall talk of universal education in the country notwithstanding, it is an admitted fact that compulsory education is still to be an experiment with us. Not that it is doubted whether it will prove successful or not; but it is a novel thing for the masses, and, before they see the ends of the experiment realised, at least in a large measure, it would not be fair to ask them to pay fully for it from local funds only. To say that, if you care for the

education of your backward communities (for in the advanced ones, even under the voluntary method, education has become almost universal), you must find all the money you want by taxing yourself *locally*, and that you shall not get from the provincial or national treasury a pie more than the proportion you get under the voluntary system, looks like a step-motherly method of doing it. Often the ruling class is heard arguing that, if more money be given to towns for this so-called experiment, it will be at the expense of the village folk, whose interest is their prime consideration and whose education is much less advanced than that of the people of the towns. Such an argument of setting one class against another, of one community against another, of town people against village people, is, at this late hour of the day, simply sickening. You may as well argue that, if colleges and science institutions be started in out of the way villages, it will be in the interest of the village folk and that, therefore, they shall hereafter be located at such places alone. In the same way you may argue that, when the pay of the civil or the medical services is increased, it is at the cost of the education of the poor village child. But this reasoning is neither fruitful, nor logical, nor even wise. The State treasury is not inelastic and budgets are not framed year after year on fixed income from taxes.

Elementary education is as necessary for the good government and for the prosperity of the country, as protection by the army, by the police and by the navy. It is as necessary as the post and telegraph, the railway and irrigation works. All these departments are conducted as national, as all-India, concerns. If expenditure voted for the construction of new railways or for the building of houses for the police or for prodigal expenses on the army, etc., be treated as a national burden, one cannot understand why education, and primary education at that, should be an exception and a local matter. Elementary education is generally in charge of local bodies—Municipalities and District Boards—in this country as well as elsewhere for taking advantage of popular agency for the spread of education, and not because the local bodies are richer than the State, or because education is a local duty like roads and sanitation. But in India at present, not only is education of the child not a national concern, but has been made a provincial concern by long usage. Nay, more; not only is it made a provincial department, but the executive officers in charge of the provincial funds say that it is as much a local as a provincial, concern and that for the education of a town child you shall not get anything more than one-half of your total expenditure on such education.

Let us take the Bombay Presidency. Provincial grants to elementary education in towns did not exceed 40% of its total expenditure till about a year ago, when, thanks to the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, it was increased to 50%. Grants to education in villages, i. e. areas within the sphere

of work of District Boards, are as much as 75 to 90% of their total educational vote. This is good and as it ought to be, and nobody grudges it. But all this is only for voluntary education. The case of compulsory education is different. Compulsion can be begun with towns only and it is only if things are made a little easy for them that the new system can be popular, or, to be more precise, can become less unpopular than at present. Let us take an instance. Supposing that a town at present spends Rs. 5,000 for voluntary education of its children, for universal education on a compulsory basis, it will have to spend about Rs. 12,500. For boys, about double the money will have to be spent, and for girls three times, as about 50% of boys and 33% of girls may be taken as attending schools in towns voluntarily and as the number of boys and girls are almost equal. At present the town finds Rs. 2,500 from its local taxation and gets 2,500 from provincial taxation. Under the altered circumstances, the town will have to find Rs. 3,750 in addition, and the provincial fund the same amount if the present proportion is borne by the two funds. How very difficult it is for the town to find one and a half times as much again for its education, without increasing its taxation abnormally, can be well imagined. To the provincial funds, which aggregate 10 crores a year, it is a fleabite. Leaders of popular opinion have, therefore, been clamouring for a two-thirds contribution from provincial funds for such towns as introduce compulsory education. They have moved the Bombay Legislative Council thrice on this subject, but without success. On the basis of a two-thirds grant the town, in the case taken above for illustration, will have to find an additional Rs. 1,667 or two-thirds more of its present expenditure, and the province an additional Rs. 5,833. This may be said to be a fairly reasonable proportion, one to three and a half. But no, the Bombay Government says: if you want to try the experiment you must pay for it and pay heavily too, otherwise, you shall not make it. It almost amounts to saying: we will penalise you for trying this experiment of universal education. But it is to be earnestly hoped that when the long hoped-for Reform Bill is passed this month before the happy Christmas, the popular element will be increased both in our legislative and executive councils and that money will then be found for this all-important step in national advance. Until money is voted liberally from provincial, if not from the national, treasury, universal education will remain a happy dream, both for the town and the village.

JOINT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT and the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, who are returning to India about the end of the month by the "Malta," express the following opinion, says a special cablegram of November 22 received by the *Leader*, regarding the Report of the Joint Committee:—

The Report rejects nearly all the reactionary recommendations of the Government of India and improves the Bill in many respects.

The joint purse is to be tried in the first instance. When it fails, the Governor may allocate revenues balanced between the two halves of the Government, or seek the assistance of an impartial authority in doing so. This is a reasonable provision for deadlocks.

Joint consultation of all important issues is laid down emphatically, and for purposes of taxation agreement is insisted on as a condition.

In practice, the Governor will not impose taxation for reserved subjects without the sanction of the legislature. Still the report might have made this point absolutely clear, thus carrying out the intention of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. It is to be hoped, even now, that the Secretary of State may achieve this purpose by the instruments of instructions, or by rules made by him. In this way, he can rectify one serious blemish of the Report.

The position of ministers has been settled satisfactorily, even in corporate action their part being fully recognized. As rule the Governor is to let the ministers have their own way, even when he disagrees with them. He may reject their advice only in circumstances when he would overrule the executive councillors.

If he dissolves the Council, he will be expected to yield to the new Council when taking the same view as the old Council regarding the issue forcing the dissolution.

In the Executive Councils Indians and Europeans are to be equal in number.

The official members have the freedom of speech and vote.

The presidents of the Legislative Assembly and councils are to be elected after four years; the deputy-presidents from the start. Meanwhile, the presidents are to be appointed from England.

Grand Committees have been abandoned.

The affirmative legislation desired by the Executive for reserved subjects is to be by Acts passed by the Governor on his sole responsibility, but after full discussion by the legislature, and is not to take effect, except in emergency, till scrutinized by the Standing Committee of Parliament and approved by the Sovereign through the Secretary of State. This procedure is stiffer than that of Grand Committees and less easy to work.

No provincial boundaries can be altered without consulting the wishes of the Legislature concerned and the power of the Governor to stifle discussion on reserved or mixed subjects is now confined to cases where safety or tranquillity is concerned.

In the Government of India provision analogous to the provinces has been made for affirmative legislation. The Legislative Assembly is for the first time allowed vote on budget estimates, though, where the Governor-General in Council declares it necessary, he may treat the particular items as

having been passed. This is a great constitutional advance not contemplated in the original Report or the Bill.

Three Indians are to be appointed to the Executive Council and the Law Membership has been thrown open to men possessing Indian legal qualifications.

Where the Legislature and the Executive are agreed, the Secretary of State generally is not to interfere. This principle extends to the provinces and the fiscal policy.

A statutory Commission is to examine the question of responsible government in the case of the Central Government as well as elsewhere. Under-secretaries are to be appointed and standing committees to be constituted at the discretion of the Governor-General and the Governors.

Taxation by executive order is pronounced wrong in principle and must be brought steadily under the control of the Legislature. Land revenue is specially mentioned requiring such regularization before transfer to popular control.

The strength of the Legislative Assembly is fixed at 140, whereof 100 are to be elected. The Council of State is to contain 60 members, of whom 40 are to be elected (*sic.*). Disputed points are to be settled in a joint session. These increased numbers will naturally change the importance of both the houses. The mode of election of these bodies is to be devised by the Government of India and accepted by Parliament after examination by the Joint Committee. It is doubtful whether the proposals of the Government of India can receive full public criticism in time for the inauguration of the new order. The idea of a regular second chamber, almost sprung on the public, has hardly any time to apply the lessons of recent experience in building up such house before next July. A commission might well be issued for the purpose, the original plan being carried out in the meantime.

Education and industries are to be transferred as recommended by the Feetham Committee.

The non-Brahman problem in Bombay and Madras is rightly referred to settlement between the two communities. This failing, the Government of India is to appoint an arbitrator. Women's franchise is to be settled by each Legislative Council. Dismissal from Government service will be no bar to candidature. But the public will view with dissatisfaction the recommendation of European representation in Bengal which should be revised. Other franchise questions are also left open to the Government of India who may find themselves with too much to do in a very short time.

Notwithstanding these minor drawbacks and a serious one regarding provincial taxation, the Report is to be welcomed as calculated to give Indians substantial political power and a fair start on the road to responsible government. The Joint Committee may be congratulated on the expedition, the earnestness, the grasp of principle

and detail and broadminded statesmanship. They have indicated a liberal and progressive policy.

Parliament is expected to pass the Bill as amended by them. If when His Majesty assents to the Bill, full political amnesty should be granted, India's confidence in British justice will be restored and her leaders fully justified in exhorting the country to accept the measure as the first genuine attempt at the fulfilment of the declaration of policy.

If individuals may be singled out for praise, the names that deserve mention specially are those of Lord Selborne, Mr. Montagu and Lord Sinha. Lord Selborne approached the task with an unprejudiced mind and acted throughout with scrupulous impartiality. Mr. Montagu's courage, ability, tenacity and tact have won a great victory over the force of reaction. He will have an abiding place in the history of India. Of Lord Sinha's work it is superfluous to speak. He has rendered his country unique service.

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS IN ENGLAND.

MOST of the members of the various Indian deputations that came here in connection with the question of constitutional reforms have gone back to India. Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Mr. K. C. Roy who were the first to leave this country have already reached India and have given the public an account of the work done by the deputations and their views as to the prospects of a substantial measure of reform being enacted before the close of this year. The others will soon be in India. The last batch which includes Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Chintamani, Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Kelkar will sail to-day and may be expected to land in India towards the end of this month.

When the deputations left India there was a lively apprehension in political circles that they might speak with different voices and that their divided counsels might imperil the cause of Indian progress. Nothing, it was said, was so essential at this juncture as unity which must be preserved at all costs. Difference of views was a luxury which only self-governing races could indulge in. And the hope was expressed that the members of the deputations who had been unable to share the same views in India would somehow agree upon a common course of action in this country. Away from the scene of party strife, their patriotism could get the better of their passions and prejudices and enable them to unite to avert the danger with which disagreement among themselves threatened the future of their motherland. A feeble effort was made here to unite the deputations to act as one body. The effort ended in failure, as it was bound to do. The deputations had been elected by influential public bodies representing definite policies. It is true that, with the exception of the Congress deputation, they were not bound by a literal interpretation of the resolutions passed by the associations which chose them, but they could

not abandon the principles on which the resolutions were based without divesting themselves of their representative character. The basic differences could not be settled by them. But, while the differences in method and outlook were bound to reveal themselves in the evidence tendered to the Joint Committee, on most questions of practical importance the deputations gave expression to similar views. For instance, every deputation asked for the introduction of responsibility into the central Government, the equalisation of the number of Indians and Europeans in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the grant of fiscal autonomy, unified finance in provinces, the inclusion of land revenue among transferred subjects, etc., etc. The list can be extended further, but the subjects I have enumerated will be sufficient to show how largely, in spite of unpromising conditions, unity has been achieved in practice.

This unity is bound to make an impression on the Joint Committee. Would not complete unanimity of views, then, have affected the Committee more powerfully and compelled it to concede our demands? In other words, the political life in India remaining unchanged, would not an outward acceptance of the views of one party by another have increased our effective power? The question has only to be stated in this form to disclose its absurdity. But apart from theory, the experience of the last few months too does not lend support to the theory that we would have been successful in proportion as we raised our demands. We were told daily in India that pressure could be brought to bear on the British Government, if vigorous propaganda work were carried on in this country, and were led to believe that the agitation already set afoot had proved of great value. One had to be here only a fortnight to be completely disillusioned on this point. Whatever the value of addressing public meetings as part of a continuous programme of political work, carried on year after year, may be, it ought to be evident to every one who has any knowledge of English political life that for our present purpose they were not of much use. They could yield no immediate result. The only other way of influencing the authorities was to enlist the sympathy of the press. But even those who have never been in England know that the English press is not likely to be the mouthpiece of those who make the highest demands. As for the Joint Committee, it consisted of men holding diverse political opinions and, generally speaking, versed in practical affairs. By making extreme demands we would not only have alienated the sympathy of the more cautious among them, but have made it difficult for those who hold more advanced views to agree to a suitable measure of reforms. We would have strengthened the hands of the opponents of the Reform Scheme who, as has been stated by Mr. K. C. Roy or Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in the interview he gave to the representative of the Associated Press in Bombay, are not negligible and who are

not formidable only so long as our attitude is not uncompromising and does not estrange men who are conservative in their opinions. The soundness of the estimate I have given above of the situation here is proved by the attitude of Mr. Tilak, whom no politician of advanced views will dream of accusing of want of patriotism. A large meeting was held at the Albert Hall the other day under the auspices of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League at which a resolution was moved asking that the position of India in the Empire should be the same as that of the self-governing dominions. An amendment to this resolution was moved by a few men with extreme views to the effect that the Reform Scheme was unacceptable and should be rejected. Mr. Tilak, who supported the resolution, opposed the amendment on the ground that the resolution did not refer to the Reform Scheme and that it was unwise to reject it, even though it might fall short of our legitimate demand. He was attacked in the columns of the *Daily Herald* for expressing this opinion. In defending himself he made it clear not only that he was not one of those who would reject the reforms, but also that he would not refuse to work them. *India* itself took the same line when, in face of the danger created by the despatches of the Government of India, it ceased to tear the "Montford" scheme to pieces, seeing that all our strength was needed to prevent what had been promised from being taken away.

The Joint Committee has not yet submitted its report to Parliament. It is impossible to predict what its recommendations will be, but having watched its proceedings from day to day and observed the attitude of its members, I feel pretty confident that it will introduce progressive modifications into the Government of India Bill. Lord Sydenham, of course, cannot be expected to be in favour of far-reaching reforms, and I am afraid that Lord Midleton also will be opposed to them. The questions which he put to witnesses gave no indication of a liberal frame of mind. The object, as it seems to me, was not to find out if the Reform Scheme was workable, but to emphasize difficulties and to dwell upon discrepancies which are bound to exhibit themselves in any transitional scheme. The remaining ten members, I believe, will be generally on the side of progress. Doubts may be entertained in India in regard to the attitude of Lord Selborne. It is true that he is a conservative, but his conduct as chairman and the scrupulous fairness of his questions, which were not the outcome of prejudice or suspicion, makes it impossible for me to believe that he can have any sympathy with Lord Sydenham or Lord Midleton. Major Ormsby-Gore is another Unionist member of the Committee. But he is one of the most liberal-minded Conservatives, and those who have come into contact with him or followed his work on the Committee have no fear that he will stand in the way of the improvement of the Government of India Bill. If I am not wrong in my judgment, most of the members of the Committee are likely to be guided to an appreciable

extent by the evidence they have received. If they were guided solely by it, they would give us a responsible minister in the Government of India, but it seems to me very improbable that they would do so. However, one may hope that they will knock the "divided purse" scheme of the Government of India on the head and recommend that the number of Indians and Europeans in the Viceroy's Executive Council should be equal.

It is expected that the Committee's report will be made public by the middle of this month. We may be sure that Mr. Montagu will not let the grass grow under his feet. He will push forward the Bill with all practicable speed, and secure its passage through both the Houses before Parliament adjourns for the Christmas recess.

It is invidious to refer to the work done by any individual member of any of the deputations, but I cannot help paying a tribute to Mr. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Chintamani for the services they have rendered. To Mr. Ramachandra Rao's work I have referred in a previous letter which has been published in the SERVANT OF INDIA. But the work done by Mr. Chintamani is not known to the public. I cannot with propriety mention his activities in detail, but I can say with perfect truthfulness that they have been of the highest value. The extraordinary alertness of mind and indefatigable industry which every one associates with him in India have characterized his work here also. The Reform Scheme, the Punjab atrocities, the Army Commission—all engaged his attention, and communications from his pen appeared, in the *Times*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Daily Telegraph*, the *Nation*, the *Investor's Review* and elsewhere. He saw a number of statesmen and journalists, and used all his ability and quickness of perception to make them friendly to the cause of Indian progress—a work to which my experience makes me attach greater importance than to any other kind of political activity. Mr. Chintamani has a record to his credit of which he may well be proud and has earned a position which will enable him to render greater services to his country in future.

H. N. KUNZRU.

London, November 6.

A LETTER FROM LONDON.

(FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.)

LONDON, NOVEMBER 6.

AMERICAN LABOUR.

MR. N. M. JOSHI must be having an interesting, if not even an exciting time, in America, what with his labours at the International Labour Conference, and his survey of the situation created by Mr. Wilson's illness, the battle in the Senate for and against the Treaty and the great coal strike. He is in the fortunate position of being able to compare national psychologies in the matter of strikes, for he was able to observe the way in which the British people faced the prospect of their own great strike. The

situation in America is far more difficult, first, because Labour is considerably less well organized as against Capital than in this country, as is evident from the fact that one of the foremost demands in the United States by Labour is for the right of collective bargaining with the employers, in other words, for the right of the great trade unions to fix for their members the conditions of labour in the particular occupation; and, secondly, because the American worker is not a homogeneous national product, but, on the contrary, may be a national from any part of Europe. Russians, Poles, Lithuanians, Italians, *et hoc genus omne*, have flocked to the States in swarms, but have not yet become Americanised. The result has been that, carrying with them a flaming sense of revolt against unjust economic conditions at home, they have sought to import into the solution of the vast problems thereby created the extremist economic doctrines prevalent in Eastern Europe, regardless of the fact that the American constitution, like our own, provides a legitimate outlet for political energy so as to secure the necessary improvement in economic conditions. Accordingly, Congress is now intent, as it was in the case of the alien American soldier during the war, upon the rapid Americanisation of the alien proletariat, in order, by education and revelation, to wean him from his revolutionary ways and offer him the vision of a free and united America. So Mr. Joshi is witnessing, upon the requisite large scale, the process of the rapid and intelligent and scientific creation of a spirit of national faith, loyalty, and enterprise, which ought to stand him in good stead when he returns to India to help in the solution of the somewhat similar problem awaiting him there. If only Indians would, in their constructive aspects, follow the methods availed of in the United States, based upon experience and long testing, India would rapidly go forward along the road of national freedom. But the day is with the talker, and not with the worker; and the result is an ache, a longing, and little, if anything, done of permanent value.

INDIAN REPRESENTATION AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE.

Colonel Yate is anxious and angry about the Indian representation at the Conference, and he has been asking Mr. Montagu some characteristic questions on the subject. Who were the Indian representatives; on what ground were they nominated and by whom; what representations on the subject had been received from people's unions, working-men's federations, and such like institutions in India; and what consideration had been given to the wishes of the Indian working classes in this respect? Col. Yate's belated interest in the Indian worker does him infinite credit, and one is drawn to wonder what its genesis is. Mr. Montagu gently enlightened him on the points that he raised. Mr. Joshi represented Indian labour, Mr. Wadia accompanying him as his technical adviser. The Viceroy was asked by the Bombay mill-hands at a meeting to nominate a representa-

tive for them, as they were unorganized, and he thereupon selected Mr. Joshi, who was acclaimed as a fit representative of labour at a further meeting. Then followed a tribute to Mr. Joshi's services and qualifications as a member of the Servants of India Society and as a disinterested and zealous worker in the cause of labour in Bombay and his acquaintance with many types of labour. Mr. Wadia had been selected to accompany Mr. Joshi as adviser, because he had received the support of some trade unions and gatherings of workmen, mainly at Madras. But Colonel Yate was not pacified. Was no representative of the working men themselves to be allowed to go to America? Mr. Montagu smiled indulgently upon his innocent questioner. His honourable and good friend would realise that in the present condition of organized labour in India it was very difficult to know who would be the best representative, but the Government had done its best to conform to the provision of the Treaty with Germany. But, argued the persistent Colonel—and here is really the sting of the question—the provisions of the Treaty did not recognise the appointment of a Brahman to represent working men: to which Mr. Montagu gently replied that, in all the circumstances, he was the best representative they could find. I should—as I daresay would your readers—be glad to have the authority upon which Colonel Yate bases his exegesis of the text of the Treaty. I don't believe it says a word about Brahmans, though I admit it does about workers. But then, Brahmans are as much workers as, say, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald or Mr. Sidney Webb, or Mr. Bernard Shaw, or the other intellectuals who provide mental pabulum for the Labour party in this country. At any rate, I am sure Colonel Yate would prefer the selection of Brahman Joshi to that of Brahman Tilak whose non-appointment *India* so bitterly deploras, in view of his obvious claim to represent the Bombay mill-hands. And is it at all certain that he would not have chosen Brahman Joshi as against non-Brahman Wadia, Mrs. Besant's devoted follower? Col. Yate is notoriously a bit muddle-headed, but that is not to be wondered at from so staunch a pillar of the Indo-British Association.

DEPUTATIONS IN ENGLAND.

By the "Egypt," sailing to-day, a large contingent of Indian delegates return to India. They include Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Kelkar and the Congress satellite, Mr. Satyamurti, whose latest contribution is a relatively moderate letter appearing in the *Manchester Guardian*. It is interesting to note how carefully he has refrained from the use of that unrestrained freedom of language that has characterised those flaming addresses with which he has from time to time honoured gatherings of Indian students and of those gathered together at Independent Labour Party meetings. Mr. Tilak returns to India a wiser and a chastened man. I wonder what, upon mature reflection, he must be thinking of his experience since he first

arrived in this country a year ago. He has had the sagacity to realise that wild and extravagant propaganda is no recommendation to the confidence of even the Labour Party in England. That, in itself, is a great gain, for he is thus bound to recognise that British public opinion, solid and conservative and unimaginative as it is, is not to be captured by storm-tactics as he seems to have believed at first was possible, under the enthusiastic guidance of Mr. Baptista. He has publicly written that he does not consider it to be his province to denounce the bill as impossibly unworkable, but that, on the contrary, it ought to be used intelligently as a basis upon which to found a persuasive claim upon the better nature of the British people for a further measure of constitutional advance without any long delay. Mr. Tilak, I am sure, is not going to worry much about a few years more or less. He must know, better than most, that the rate of progress will depend, in the main, upon the manner in which Indians will make use of their new opportunities and the strength with which they can then address the British Parliament.

Mr. B. V. Jadhav has, since his arrival here, done really valuable work in illuminating public opinion upon the merits and demerits of the non-Brahman controversy. Both before the Joint Committee and in private conversation, he has placed a moderate and balanced view before thoughtful people here, and in a few days' time he is to address an "At Home" at the Fabian Common Room on "Some Indian Problems." Another lecture of some consequence will be under the auspices of the Women's International League at Queen's Hall to-morrow week, the speakers being Mrs. Annie Besant and Miss M. A. Tata, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald presiding. The subject is "Votes for Indian Women." It is well that these ladies are continuing their agitation, but I hope that it will be found in the event that they have been flogging a dead horse and that their demand, at least in principle, will have been conceded by the Joint Committee that finishes its labours within the next few days. I hear excellent reports of its progress and of the character of the measure as it will be returned to Parliament. I think the Bill will not fall short of the Report. On the contrary, in some respects at least, it is likely to improve upon the Report. I am not at liberty to divulge details, but I think that it cannot be too well understood that, in so far as improvements have been embodied in the measure it has been because of the ardent advocacy thereof in public and in private by some of the well-equipped members of the Moderate Deputation. Nor again would it be proper to conceal the fact that to the extent that improvement has not gone as far as might otherwise have been hoped, and as was certainly hoped at one time by Moderate politicians here, it is due to the hostile atmosphere created in the minds of some of the more cautious members of the Committee by the attitude as well as the substance of the arguments adopted by the principal Congress representatives. It is generally

agreed that they could have put their case far more strongly and have aroused far less resistance to the general claim for further powers, had the Congress spokesmen been of a different calibre, acquainted with the psychology of the men that they were addressing. It is useless for India under the new dispensation to pretend that even the truth (assuming it to be the truth) must be told abruptly, aggressively, and bitterly. The farewell reception given to some of the Congress delegates by a few Members of the House of Commons some days ago does not carry their propaganda much further, in spite of its having been blessed by Mr. Henderson. It is a fact which cannot be blinked that, making full admission of their patriotism and their nature, they have failed to make any permanent mark here. Many months ago I wrote that the greatest possible mistake would be to distribute forces around the fringe of political life in this country. Unless work was done at the centre to convince the twenty or thirty men who really count to-day in public affairs here, it was so much energy frittered away and largely wasted. One need not be a cynic to recognise that, if quick results are desired, one has to go to those in whom lies the power to bring about those results. That emphatically is what the Congress delegates have in the main failed to realise. It is believed in quarters that count here that it is in the hands of the less responsible elements in Indian public life that political power will fall under the new constitution, and men of influence in this country who otherwise would have been prepared to confer larger powers immediately upon Indians, have hesitated to throw their weight into the balance on that side on account of their fears lest mischance might come of it. It is equally true that the Congress delegates have not been able to convince the Labour party of the thoroughness of their democratic spirit. Here of course Mrs. Besant's authority and prestige with the Labour party has told to their disadvantage and it is noteworthy that, although there has been a certain amount of public speaking by Congress representatives upon labour platforms in different parts of the country, it was not any one of these, but Mrs. Besant's lieutenant, Mr. Wadia, who received a striking welcome at the great Trades Union Congress held a few weeks ago. It is not sufficiently realised, I think, in India, that unless an appeal to the people of this country is couched in terms of moderation and persuasiveness, it is most unlikely to meet with a suitable response, however good the cause may be on whose behalf the appeal is made.

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE KING'S WIFE, MOULTED FEATHERS, ODE TO TRUTH, and FOOTSTEPS OF FREEDOM. by James H. Cousins. Published by Messrs. Ganesh and Co., Madras.

Mr. James H. Cousins is well-known as an elegant versifier, and "Moulted Feathers" and the "Ode To Truth" will inno-

way diminish his reputation. Like Mr. Harendranath Chattopadhyaya, to whom the first of these two poems is dedicated, Mr. Cousins has a pretty talent for turning out neat rhymes. "The King's Wife", which I believe to be the author's first attempt in the domain of pure drama, is honest work with a genuine vein of poetry (of the mystic order of course) running through it. "The Footsteps of Freedom" is a collection of the author's prose essays on a variety of topics ranging from Dante to vegetable diet. On the whole, I like Mr. Cousins's prose better than his poetry. I may even say of him what the great Jowett is reported to have said of one of his scholars that his poetry is remarkable as showing "signs of a good prose style."

"TO THE NATIONS" by Paul Richard* is chiefly noteworthy for the introduction which Rabindranath Tagore has supplied it with. I had hoped that the author would trace the historical development of the ideal of a Human Commonwealth in its zig-zag course through the centuries and discuss the best way of attaining it in a practical and methodical manner. But the book is a rhapsody, eloquent and even poetical in some places, but still a mere rhapsody. Of course rhapsodies have their own use and value in the scheme of things.

THE SEED OF RACE by Justice Sir John Woodroffe.

A mistaken notion prevails in certain obscurantist regions that Sir John Woodroffe is a blind admirer and upholder of ancient Hindu institutions. His latest book entitled "The Seed of Race" should be enough to dispel that notion from those regions. For, he distinctly says in more than one place in this book, that it would not do for Hindus to go on stagnating in the back-water of old-world ideas any more than it would do for them to try to altogether break away from their past, and he points out again and again that "the golden mean" between these two extreme courses "is the best in this case, as it is in every other." He is for reform, but he pleads for "moderation." It is a reasonable plea, inasmuch as idealism blended with a fine sense of moderation is, on the whole, the surest and the best way of achieving our objects, whether in politics or social reform. He does not decry or diminish the need for English education as may be supposed by superficial readers, but at the same time he strongly supports the demand that education, in India should be placed on a national basis. Sir John Woodroffe has fallen into a serious error in one respect. He seems to be labouring under the impression that the Indian caste system is the same as the Western class system. The caste system is the class system with a hereditary basis, and that makes all the difference in the world. The class system of the West is bad enough in all conscience; but the Indian caste system based wholly on birth is intolerable. I wonder how this important difference escaped the attention of a scholar and thinker like Sir John Woodroffe.

The get-up of these books is admirable and does great credit to Messrs. Ganesh & Co. The prices are moderate.

S. M. M.

SELECTION.

MODERATES IN ENGLAND.

SPEECH BY THE HON. MR. CHINTAMANI.

THE following is a full summary of the speech delivered by the Hon. Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, one of the secretaries of the Moderate Deputation, at the meeting of the Western India Liberal Association held on Thursday last to welcome the members of the deputation who arrived that afternoon by S. S. Egypt.

SUCCOUR TO THE PUNJAB.

After references to Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Krishna Gupta and thanks for the welcome accorded to him, Mr. Chintamani gave an account of the work of the deputation and generally of the position and prospects of India in England. Speaking first of the Punjab situation, he said that the deputation did not miss a single opportunity of bringing prominently to the notice of the Secretary of State and other statesmen in

* Published by Messrs. Ganesh and Co., Madras.

authority, as well as the editors of the influential newspapers and other prominent publicists, the true facts about the Punjab. They found the task by no means an easy one, as the public mind was filled with the one-sided accounts furnished by Reuter and the Government of India. Eventually, however, they did succeed, at least in part, in impressing upon the men that count the gravity of the situation produced by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's doings. He (the speaker) had seen it stated in the extremist press in this country that the Moderate Deputation were too busy "saving the bill and lunching with Mr. Montagu" to give a thought to the Punjab. It was true that the Deputation did not shout in public and advertise their doings, but he assured them that they had left nothing undone which could be done effectively to bring succour to suffering Punjab, and it was a base calumny, uttered in order to exploit the wrongs of the Punjab for party purposes, to say that the Moderate Deputation did not do their duty in this matter. He pleaded guilty to the grave charge that the Deputation did try to save the bill (and not only to save but to improve it). He also pleaded guilty to the charge of lunching with Mr. Montagu, but he did say this, that there was hardly a day when one member or another of the Deputation did not work in one form or another in connection with the Punjab affairs, and he claimed with some confidence for the Moderate Deputation that it was due to their effort, more than to anything else, that they had a public and not a private and more limited inquiry. He might also mention that the Moderate Deputation made the most strenuous efforts to expose the monstrosity of the sentences passed by the martial law commissions and the character of the trials which preceded them. He trusted most earnestly that non-official evidence would be tendered before the Hunter Committee and that the results would be satisfactory. Later, the Punjab Indemnity Bill was also taken up by the Deputation who made a strong remonstrance against it.

Before proceeding to the subject of Reforms, the speaker mentioned the work done by the Deputation in connection with the Army Re-organisation Commission. They pressed very strongly for the appointment of Indian members and for such changes in the constitution and the organisation of the India Office as would at last do justice to the long neglected but indubitably just claims of their countrymen. They took up the case of Indians in South Africa and in East Africa. The public knew all about the deputation that waited upon Mr. Montagu in connection with the South African question. They were indebted to their unfailing friend, Mr. Polak, for valuable work in that connection. The Secretary of State said in his speech that a more influential and a more representative deputation had never before waited upon a Secretary of State for India in that room. Two members of the Deputation, Messrs. Samarth and K. C. Roy, gave evidence before the Crewe Committee on the Re-organisation of the India Office. He would say in brief that the Moderate Deputation, on their own initiative or at the instance of the several Liberal associations in this country, took prompt action on every important question that had arisen during the last six months.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL.

The primary purpose of the Deputation was to work in connection with the Government of India Bill, and he would say a few words on that matter. Their first business was to see that the reactionary proposals made by the Government of India in their despatch of March 5 and the alternative scheme of five heads of local Governments were not accepted by the Joint Committee. Their second business was to see that the Bill was at least brought up to the level of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in all essential respects. Their third task was to press for an advance over that scheme on the lines of the resolutions of the All-India Moderate Conference held in November last, more particularly as regards fiscal autonomy and that introduction of a measure of responsibility in the Central Government. The memorandum submitted by the Deputation to the Joint Committee has been published and he need not say anything about it. In addition to that, memoranda on important aspects of the Reform Scheme were put in by Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Ramachandra Rao. Oral evidence was

given by eight out of the fourteen members of the Deputation. The members of the Deputation interviewed more than once the Secretary of State and Under-Secretaries of State for India, the members of the Council of India, the members of the India Office Reform Committee, which was presided over by Mr. Charles Roberts, the members of the Joint Select Committee, several members of the two Houses of Parliament, the leaders of the various political parties the editors of the influential newspapers, both Conservative and Liberal, and other prominent publicists, and missed no opportunity of removing misconceptions and of creating or strengthening opinion in favour of a liberal measure of reform. The situation did not appear to be very favourable in the beginning, and they stated quite plainly in England that, if the Bill was not improved, they could not support it. In view of the regular business that had been made, by extremists here and their deputation in England, of misrepresenting the Moderate Deputation's attitude, he must bring it to the notice of the Indian public that they (the Moderate Deputation) made it perfectly clear in England that they could not support any measure which was less liberal than the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. It was true that they did not wish the Bill to be defeated, because the consequence would be serious in India. But they did not fail to point out at the same time in the clearest language that they could not 'support' it, unless it was levelled up. Thanks to the character of the bulk of the evidence before the Committee, the position gradually improved. It was not merely the evidence of the Indian witnesses; he must thankfully acknowledge that the evidence of the majority of the European witnesses was decidedly favourable to the Indian claim. He would make special mention of Sir William Meyer and, speaking as he was doing in the city of Bombay, it gave him particular pleasure to acknowledge the splendid service done to their cause by their distinguished fellow-citizen, Sir Stanley Reed, the editor of the *Times of India*. (Applause.) Nor among the members of the Committee was any one more friendly and more anxious to help than Mr. T. J. Bennet, a former editor of the same paper. (Applause.) Of the strenuous labours in their behalf of Mr. Montagu himself, a greater friend of India than whom had never filled the high office of Secretary of State, and of Lord Sinha, who in spite of bad health had been working very hard for the Motherland, he could only say that the country could not be sufficiently grateful to them. He would also mention Mr. Basu, whose work lay behind the scenes but which should none the less be gratefully recognised by the country

JOINT COMMITTEE REPORT.

The result of all their efforts they saw in the report of the Joint Committee. He was gratified to notice that that report was received very well in the country, generally. This result was achieved not with the help, but in spite, of extremists, both among Englishmen and Indians. He saw it suggested by their amiable friends of the other party that, if it had not been for those wicked men, the Moderates, they could have dazzled the country by a more brilliant achievement. He (the speaker) could only say that he was amused by such statements made only too obviously to win the applause of the unthinking multitude and possibly to cover their own discomfiture. "Speaking with some knowledge of the facts," Mr. Chintamani said, "I have no hesitation in saying that the attitude of hostility which the Congress Deputation chose to assume, far from being helpful to our cause in any way, was calculated to accentuate our difficulties by increasing the doubts and misgivings of those who never had an excess of faith in the *bona fides* of Indian politicians, and generally to strengthen our opponents. Gentlemen, I have reason to say that this unreasoning spirit and temper might possibly have ended in the withdrawal of even what was proposed, if it had not been for the confidence produced by the existence of a party of Moderate politicians. All that I have heard and observed in England has confirmed me in the conviction that our leaders have rendered an invaluable service to the cause of Indian political reform by separating from the Extremist Party and establishing our distinctive organisation. It is this, more than anything else, which has encouraged responsible English statesmen to go forward with the Reform Scheme and to liberalise the original Bill."

the Joint Committee have done. And the maintenance and development of this organization (of our All-India Conference and our provincial Liberal organizations) is, in the light of all I have seen in England, nothing less than a supreme national necessity." The work done and the evidence given by Mrs. Besant as head of the National Home Rule League, and Mr. Ramaswami Aiyar, delegate of the All-India Home Rule League, were very helpful and of great value. They acted in close accord with the Moderate Deputation.

FUTILITY OF EXTREMISM.

Mr. Chintamani next said that the broad conclusions at which he had arrived might be stated in a few propositions somewhat as follows:—Firstly, the English people as a whole were profoundly ignorant of conditions in India. Secondly, doubtless owing to the ignorance, they were equally indifferent. But, thirdly, there was a very general goodwill and a desire to do the right thing by India. Fourthly, extremism of any sort was absolutely futile as a political method in dealing with Englishmen. They could argue with the Englishman; they could persuade him, in a manly and self-respecting manner, and convert him to their views. But they could never succeed with him by bluff or by even a remote suggestion of threat. There was no use building extravagant hopes on the chances of the Labour Party coming into office. Even if they did come into power very soon, which even some Labour leaders did not expect, it was vain to think that a new heaven and a new earth would be created.

Mr. Chintamani strongly urged the necessity of an organization of their own in England in view of the passing of the British Committee into the hands of the Extremist Party, and also of sending one or more delegates to England every year. The speaker concluded with some general observations on his impressions in the course of which he emphasized the need of social reform, specially mentioning the necessity of educating and emancipating the women of India, elevating the depressed classes and removing caste barriers.

NON-RELEASE OF PUNJAB LEADERS.

WESTERN INDIA LIBERAL ASSOCIATION'S PROTEST

THE following telegram has been sent to the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor, of the Punjab and Secretary, Disorders Inquiry Committee, Lahore, by Sir D. E. Wacha, President, the Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay:—

The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association, Bombay, regret that the Punjab Government should have refused to accede to the prayer of the Congress Sub-Committee to allow the Punjab leaders, who have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment by Martial Law Commissions to be present at the meetings of the Punjab Disorders Inquiry Committee and instruct the Counsel whom the Committee have already permitted to attend and cross-examine official witnesses, with reference to evidence led against the said leaders in particular and, generally, as to the Punjab situation before and during Martial Law. The Council think the prayer was perfectly reasonable under the circumstances of, and with due regard to, the special nature and object of the inquiry. The nature and the object have been made clear beyond all doubt, by three broad and unimpeachable facts which are as follows:—First, the Disorders Inquiry Committee has been appointed to find upon evidence adduced before it whether the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab was necessary. That was distinctly stated to be the object of the Committee by the mover of the Indemnity Bill in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, after the preamble of the Bill, which originally affirmed that Martial Law was necessary, had been deliberately modified in select committee, and the modification which merely affirmed the fact of the introduction of Martial Law and left at large the question of its necessity to be determined by the Inquiry Committee, was accepted by Legislative Council. Secondly, the case of the Punjab Government has throughout been that the enforcement of Martial Law was rendered necessary by the existence of a state of rebellion which had been brought about inter alia by the seditious speeches, acts, and conduct of the leaders imprisoned under sentences of

Martial Law. Thirdly, Mr. Montagu has publicly stated in Parliament that the question of the revision of the sentences of these leaders and others imprisoned under that law will entirely depend upon the recommendations of the Committee presided over by Lord Hunter. These three broad facts, forming the leading links in the chain of the object and nature of that enquiry, amply justified the prayer that the imprisoned leaders should be allowed to be present at the meetings of the Committee throughout and have full opportunity of instructing Counsel already permitted to appear with reference to evidence given against them by official witnesses and evidence as to circumstances which led to Martial Law enforcement. The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association recognise, of course, that Lord Hunter's Committee has no power to compel the Government to accede to the prayer, but at the same time the Council respectfully represent that that Committee should be within the legitimate limits of its power, if it points out to Government, not only the prejudice likely to arise against the case of Government in support of the necessity of Martial Law and of a state of rebellion, but the difficulty of arriving at satisfactory findings on the basis of a free and full enquiry free from all imperfections by not allowing the same opportunity to the imprisoned leaders which has been from the beginning of the enquiry allowed to the representatives of Government, of attending daily and instructing Counsel and questioning witnesses. The Council of the Western India National Liberal Association humbly urge that such opportunity, if given to the said leaders in the same way that it has been given to Government representatives, would enable the Inquiry Committee to record findings and make recommendations, unfettered by any possible circumstance of prejudice, and inspire public confidence in those findings and recommendations and ease the situation. Therefore, the Council trust that the Punjab Government will be pleased to accede to the prayer even at this stage of the inquiry.

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