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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
TOPICS OF THE WEEK	229
ARTICLES :—	
Non-Co-operation.—I.	231
Abuses in Sind. By A. V. Thakkar, L. C. E. ...	232
SPECIAL ARTICLES:—	
The Tragedy of the Punjab.—II. By V. N. Tivary, M. A.	233
'That' or 'Which'? By V. S. Srinivasa Sastri ...	236
Programme of the Liberal Party in the Deccan ...	237
CORRESPONDENCE:—	
"Retiring the Currency." By Professor R. P. Patwardhan, M. A.	240

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

NOT content with the fulsome eulogy of his general administration by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, Sir Michael O'Dwyer has in a letter to the *Times* violently fallen foul of the Hunter Committee whose Indian personnel was, in his opinion, not impartial, the Government of India and Mr. Montagu. As is usual with him, he has in this communication made a number of reckless charges and tried once again to claim full absolution for himself and his officers. The baseless character of his allegations is easily susceptible of demonstration. His attempt to prove the dangerous character of the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh by showing that it was organised by Dr. Bushir Ahmad who was condemned to death by a drum-head court martial is as mischievous as it is based on a misrepresentation of facts within his knowledge.

What are the facts relating to the meeting at the Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th April, 1919? Was it a meeting of rebels who had thrown off their allegiance to the British throne and proclaimed the Hindu-Mussalman *ka raj* at Amritsar? It is extremely deplorable that no one has yet taken pains to nail this lie to the counter. A reference to the record of the Amritsar conspiracy case is sufficient to expose its falsity. According to the statement made before the Martial Law Commission by the notorious Hansraj who turned approver, the very first resolution passed at the meeting recorded the emphatic condemnation by the citizens of Amritsar of the outrages committed by the mob on the 10th April. Another resolution recorded their determination to carry on agitation on purely constitutional lines, while the last

resolution empowered the chairman of the meeting to send copies of these resolutions to the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar, the Commissioner of Lahore, the Lieutenant Governor, the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. (Cf. Ex. 7 and 8 in the Amritsar Conspiracy Case.) And this meeting which condemned outrages and voted in favour of constitutionalism is represented as dangerous or as consisting of rebels!

NO one need quarrel with Sir Michael O'Dwyer for laying part of the blame for the Punjab tragedy at the doors of the Government of India. We think he is justified in holding them responsible, for they, who allowed oppression, must share the crime. His description of the minority as not impartial deserves to be treated with contempt and only serves to bring out a sad lack of balance and fairness in him who was for a long period entrusted with the responsible task of ruling over several millions of His Majesty's subjects. His condonation of official misdeeds on the ground that the officers concerned were denied the benefit of civil advice and guidance is absolutely false. He was responsible for a good many martial law orders and he was generally consulted by the martial law officers. Secondly, Lt.-Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth-Smith, Mr. Jacob and Lala Sri Ram Sud were all civil officers who are equally culpable with others for the maladministration of martial law. As regards the charge of secrecy on Mr. Montagu's part, all that we venture to say is that this statement will not be borne out by the evidence given by Sir Michael O'Dwyer before the Hunter Committee.

THE ever-vigilant Lord Sydenham has written to the *Times*, severely criticising the reports of the Hunter Committee and accusing the Hon. Mr. Shafi of inconsistency. His Lordship refers to the address presented to Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the eve of his departure from India by the Muslim deputation which included the Hon. Mr. Shafi. That address spoke of an "organised conspiracy," while, in the Government of India's dispatch, the hon. member has expressed his agreement with the unanimous finding on a point of fact of the Hunter Committee that there was no organised conspiracy. It is not our intention to refer to the circumstances under which that address was got up and this expression came to be interpolated in the address at the last moment without the consent or even knowledge of the majority of the members who

had gone to wait upon his Honour. Mr. Santanam has in his letter to the press made public for the first time a number of facts in this connection which do not redound to the credit of the parties concerned. We should, however, like to mention here that Mr. Santanam's allegations are, according to our information, substantially correct.

* * *

GRANTING, however, for the sake of argument that Mr. Santanam's allegations are untrue, we still remain unconvinced as to the justice of Lord Sydenham's accusation. Mr. Shafi had at that time no access to the material which was placed before the Hunter Committee, and he may be excused for having taken on trust the official statement regarding an "organised conspiracy," which was being reiterated by the Punjab officials, and by none so loudly as by Sir Michael O'Dwyer himself. And yet when these officials appeared before the Hunter Committee, they, one after the other, signally failed to substantiate these allegations. Under these circumstances, the Hon. Mr. Shafi had every justification for receding from his former position. This controversy shows, if anything, the open-mindedness of Mr. Shafi, a quality which his critics may well try to cultivate. It once again emphasises the utter depth of demoralisation to which even the tallest among the Punjabis had been reduced under the oppressive administration of martial law, and throws a lurid light on the darker aspects of bureaucratic system of government.

* * *

THE most important topic for discussion, at the meetings of the Bombay University Senate on the 14th and 15th instants was the question of the vernaculars. It is now nearly thirty years since the late Mr. Ranade got the vernaculars admitted into the M. A. examination as optional languages. As they had no place in the lower examinations, the number of students that took them at the M. A. was not very large, and Mr. Ranade's successful effort had the effect of conferring on the vernaculars only dignity and self-respect. It was felt by many that time had now arrived for taking a further step. About two years ago the late Prof. Limaye sent in a proposal to add the vernaculars to the list of second languages allowable at the B. A. examination in the optional languages group. In the course of the discussions in the faculty of Arts, it was recommended, mainly at the instance of the Hon. Principal Paranjpye, to make the step a little wider and to allow any two languages to be taken for this group, thus making it possible for a combination like Sanskrit and Marathi or Persian and Urdu to be taken. Till now the language group consisted of English and a second language. The Syndicate, however, decided to recommend only the limited suggestion of Prof. Limaye who, we know, had put it in this modest form only to conciliate opposition and, would have enthusiastically welcomed the wider proposal.

* * *

THE question came up before the Senate and Mr. Paranjpye brought forward his amendment. There was an exciting debate; the die-hards did not fail to bring forward the old arguments of the small cultural value of the vernaculars, the great harm done by dislodging English from its privileged position and so on. The answer was quite simple; culture depends rather on the way in which a subject is studied than on what that subject is. Again there is compulsory English to be taken by every student at the B. A., and it is no use insisting on every student taking a specialised English course whether he likes it or not. Also as Principal Paranjpye showed by telling examples that this course in English could be often safely neglected as a man could get the necessary minimum of marks by means of the second language only; hence it was better to give the candidates a free choice in their languages. We are glad that the Senate by a very large majority accepted this point of view, and we congratulate Principal Paranjpye on the success attained by him which will have a far-reaching effect on the study and development of the vernaculars. We trust that the various colleges in the Presidency will now rise to a full realisation of their duties by appointing competent professors and making this study a reality. The vernaculars have not yet been recognised as an honours subject, but we are sure that if, as we expect, this present step proves a success, within the course of a very few years, the next step will not be at all difficult to achieve.

* * *

THE success of the vernaculars in the Senate shows that steady advocacy is ultimately successful even in such public institutions as we have. There are some people in our country who are never tired of making sneering remarks about our universities that they emasculate our intellect, that they do not encourage our vernaculars, and so on. But the men to whom the progress in the position of the vernaculars in the university is due—Ranade, Limaye, Paranjpye—have followed the line of creating favourable opinion by continued work. May this not suggest a useful line of thought in the wider field of politics? Destructive criticism may be all right in its way, but unless it is followed, nay accompanied, by constructive proposals, the former is quite ineffective and gives rise to mere discontent.

* * *

ON the bombing from aeroplanes which was resorted to at Gujranwala, the *Manchester Guardian* observes: The objection to the aeroplane is that it is necessarily indiscriminate, but the Committee appear to think that this could have been rectified by more precise orders. We do not believe it. The essence of the objection to the bombing of villages, crowds and towns is that it utterly confuses the innocent and the guilty, men and women, adults and children. If this is to be introduced as a new feature into our police methods, then a fresh horror has been added to life.

NON-CO-OPERATION.—I.

IN proportion as the potential dangers attending a policy of non-co-operation are becoming more manifest, Mr. Gandhi's resolve to pursue it is becoming more unflinching and his conviction of its soundness more unshakeable. What may damp other men's ardour or make them pause, only makes his courage rise higher and stimulate him to march breast forward. It is superfluous to point out the heavy risks involved in the course which he is advocating. They have been dwelt upon repeatedly in a section of the press and by some of our most eminent political leaders, and he is fully aware of them. Men, as a rule, do not love but hate those whom they regard as their enemies. When they are oppressed, they show not forbearance but a desire for revenge. Even educated men do not believe in non-violence. Mr. Gandhi admits in *Young India* of the 2nd June that the Mohammedans "do not believe in my doctrine of non-violence to the full extent. For them it is a weapon of the weak, an expedient." The ignorance of the masses further complicates the situation. They cannot understand the full import of the doctrine of Satyagraha. Their passions are likely to be inflamed by designing men, and non-co-operation is almost certain to develop into active opposition to Government. But, in Mr. Gandhi's opinion, this only makes plainer the urgent need for the discipline of Satyagraha. Some reckless speeches, favouring foreign intervention in Indian affairs, have been delivered. They might have been regarded as the irresponsible deliverances of a few extreme men. This view, however, is no longer tenable. Referring to the Khilafat meeting held at Allahabad, Mr. Gandhi says: "The Mohammedan speakers gave the fullest and frankest assurances that they would fight to a man any invader who wanted to conquer India, but they were equally frank in asserting that any invasion from without, undertaken with a view to uphold the prestige of Islam and to vindicate justice, would have their full sympathy, if not their actual support." (*Young India*, June 9th.) One is compelled to take such a statement seriously when it comes from Mr. Gandhi. It would require boundless credulity to attach any value to the full and frank assurances referred to above. In the hour of danger the Moslem leaders will sit in solemn conclave and decide by a majority vote upon the motives of the invader, the Hindus waiting upon their decision. And the triumphant crusader will take a plebiscite of the Mohammedan population to determine whether he should establish himself in the country or grant it independence in view of the services rendered to Islam by the Hindus. Even if foreign invasion of India were beyond the bounds of possibility, the seriousness of the Moslem attitude revealed by the passage quoted from *Young India* could not be minimised. But it does not seem to cause even a moment's anxiety to Mr. Gandhi. If the Mohammedans are not to look to external aid, let the Hindus give them their fullest

support. If they are to be weaned from violence, teach them non-co-operation. A lawyer addressing a meeting on eugenics was asked what would happen if, in consequence of public opinion not being ripe for them, eugenic laws were broken. Where would be the need, he said, for laws if there were no law-breakers? Mr. Gandhi, in effect, takes up the same position. There would be no occasion for preaching non-co-operation if everybody believed in it.

Accepting the Moslem statement that for the Mohammedans the Khilafat is a religious question, Mr. Gandhi draws from it two conclusions. First, the Moslem demand for preserving the integrity of Turkey is irresistible; second, the obligations of common citizenship render it incumbent on the part of non-Moslems to support it to the fullest extent. The Khilafat may be a religious institution. Moslems alone are competent to decide that point. But the claims put forward on behalf of it may be regarded in the light of history. The religious overlordship of Turkey was not recognised by the Mohammedans of India during Mughal rule. Some correspondence took place between the Sultan and some of the Mughal emperors, but it does not appear that the latter ever recognised the religious jurisdiction of the former over their Mohammedan subjects. The orthodoxy of Aurangzeb admits of no question but even he never acknowledged the Sultan as the religious head of Islam. Prayers were offered in Indian mosques not for the Sultan, but for the emperor of India. According to Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, who cannot be accused of anti-Mohammedan bias, the present attitude of the Indian Moslems towards the Khilafat is a development of the nineteenth century. We understand that even at the present day Moslems offer no prayers for the Sultan in the Nizam's dominions, and that a similar state of things prevails in Afghanistan. It appears, thus, that the Mohammedan rulers who wielded temporal power in India claimed and received the religious homage of the Mohammedan population under their sway. They tolerated no divided allegiance and there was no attempt on the part of their subjects to question their right to be the spiritual heads of Islam in India.

Sir Syad Ahmad was the maker of modern Moslem India. He laid down the policy which has moulded the thoughts and aspirations of two generations of Mohammedans. It was his single-minded aim to awaken the consciousness of his co-religionists and to lead them along the path of progress. His views concerning the religious obligations of Islam are, therefore, entitled to considerable weight. He denies that the Sultan of Turkey is the Caliph of Indian Mohammedans, and says that even if it were otherwise "he is the Caliph of that country and of the Mohammedans of that country in which he rules and in which he possess the power of *qatl* and *qasas* and of maintaining the laws of religion, not of that country in which he does not

possess any of these powers." (The *Leader*, 17th April, p. 7.) Two influentially signed memorials dealing with the future position of Turkey were presented early last year to the Prime Minister. The signatories counted among their number H. H. the Aga Khan, Mr. Ameer Ali and Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai. The question of the disposal of Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria and Palestine was discussed in the second memorial. It urged His Majesty's Government to maintain these territories under the suzerainty of Turkey, on the ground that their population is predominantly Moslem and that it would be politic for Great Britain, which is the largest Moslem power in the world, to take account of Moslem feeling in the matter. But it did not claim that the retention of the above-mentioned countries under Turkish control was essential to satisfy the requirements of Islam. The demand was based on entirely secular considerations.

This historical review of the position of the Mohammedans of India in regard to the Khilafat is meant only as a help to those outside the pale of Islam to understand the secular aspect of the present upheaval. Its object is not to excuse grasping Imperialism which has dictated the Turkish peace terms. It cannot justify the ruthless dismemberment of the Turkish Empire and the violation of Mr. Lloyd George's pledge regarding Thrace and Smyrna. Nor can it assuage the bitterness of spirit that prevails among the Mohammedans. They have naturally an intense sympathy with their co-religionists. The passing away of the last Moslem Empire cannot but seriously affect their position in the world and stir them to their profoundest depths. It is a disaster which they compare to the fall of the Abbasside dynasty and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. And it is these feelings which enable a non-Moslem to understand the forces which impart strength to the Khilafat agitation. It will be an advantage to the Moslem cause if stress is laid on this. The Mohammedans will then be speaking a language which the whole world could understand, and their movement would be free from the charge of obscurantism which might be brought against it now. It will not involve any slackening of effort on their part to secure the revision of the Turkish peace treaty, but it will enable them to look at things in better perspective and prevent any of them from talking of foreign intervention, which even in thought is gross disloyalty to India.

ABUSES IN SIND.

THE Hon'ble Mr. G. M. Bhurgri moved the Bombay Legislative Council two years ago to ask the Governor in Council to appoint a Committee to inquire into various abuses in Sind administration known locally as 'rasai,' 'lapo' and 'ohher.' Rasai means the levy of free supplies of provisions by Government officials while on tour. Lapo means unauthorized periodical levy by tapadars (lower

revenue officers corresponding to talatis or kul-karnis) from Zamindars, at the time of payment of land revenue, and is paid as the price of freedom from harassment. Ohher means provision of free compulsory labour supplied by Zamindars for camps of touring officers and for public works. The Committee asked for was appointed, and took evidence of a large number of Zamindars, superior and subordinate officers of various departments of administration and others, which is now published in four bulky volumes.

To us the existence and continuance of the practices mentioned above are very surprising and painfully so. That these exist in the year 1920 in a province forming part of one of the most advanced areas in British India, seems to us almost unbelievable. That such scandalous illegal exactions are made by public servants from Zamindars and their tenants year after year, paid by the latter, and tolerated by the British Government in broad daylight without making any serious attempt to put a stop to them, passes our comprehension. But facts are sometimes stranger than fiction, and so it is in the benighted province of Sind, where education is frightfully backward and the standard of public morality notoriously low.

We cannot understand why there should be any shadow of compulsion in the case of obtaining of rations and labour by touring public servants. Hundreds and thousands of persons unconnected with public offices move about in the country as efficiently and quickly, perhaps more, and do their business without being starved for want of milk, flour, eggs or fowl, or without exposing themselves to the mid-day sun or heavy rains. If ordinary laws of demand and supply regulate human transactions for lakhs of people touring in rural areas, why should there be a different set of rules and a different code for the sale of food and shelter to a few hundred public servants with all the authority of the State at their back? In the words of a witness before the Committee, "Why should there be an agency for Government servants (to sell them food, &c., while on tour) when commercial travellers and educational officers can do without it?" As the Hon. Mr. Harchandrai, one of the members of the Enquiry Committee, says in his separate minute: "The difficulties of procuring supplies without the agency of tapadars or Zamindars are overrated and are more imaginary than real."

But what is more deplorable in the present case is the tone of "excuse and palliation" of the malpractices under consideration adopted by the Committee, and the stranger attitude shown by the acting Commissioner of Sind in his letter forwarding the Committee's findings to the Government of Bombay. The historical survey given in the first four paragraphs of the report cannot be understood except as a justification of the evils under consideration, though the Hon. Mr. Harchandrai warns the reader not to do so. And the judgment of the acting Commissioner, Mr. Rieu, that the pic-

ture drawn by the Committee of harassment caused by these evil practices to the Zamindars and the people is overdrawn takes one's breath away. But when he says that "the suppression of this widely spread form of corruption (of 'lapo'), ingrained as the latter is in the traditions and character of the people, is a matter of immense difficulty, not to be achieved by any heroic measures or any set of rules," one would be justified in despairing and believing that it is useless to expect any solid reform in this direction at the hands of even the highest official of that non-regulated province. Nay, more. The Sindhi should expect to be libelled in return for asking for the removal of these abuses. Moreover, Mr. Rieu entertains "no hope of making these officials (tapadars) honest until an entirely different scale of remuneration is applied to them." The frankness of Mr. Rieu is, no doubt, praiseworthy, but not so his methods of *laissez faire*, the unmerited libelling a whole people and condoning indirectly the remissness of duty of his predecessors in office in not suppressing the evils long ago. Every time this question was raised it was due to the hands of Government being forced to do so from unofficial sources. An article in "Al Haq" newspaper in September, 1901, pricked the conscience of the Government of Bombay, and the result was the administration of a severe rebuke contained in the resolution of 7th May, 1902, which contained the following words:

These papers disclose the existence a deep-rooted evils which, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, is deplorable and calculated to bring discredit on the administration. That mukhtarkars should manage funds collected by the tapadars for the entertainment of Government officials and the establishments of district officers, from the Commissioner downwards, should live, while on tour, at the expense of the people, is nothing short of scandalous.

But this censure failed to serve its purpose and things continued to move in the old groove with very slight improvement, if any. Mr. Bhurgri's evidence before the Public Services Commission, which he utilized for the purpose of exposure of these evils, was instrumental in making the Commissioner of Sind send round a circular in 1914 which practically said that (free) rations and labour should be taken directly from a few selected Zamindars instead of through the agency of tapadars. The Committee's report shows that that this proved an utter failure, as it was foredoomed to do. As a result of the second attempt of Mr. Bhurgri, we have the report under consideration. In the words of Mr. Naraindas, a retired deputy collector and a witness before the Committee: "The practices in question destroy the manhood and self-respect of the people and reduce them to a state of serfdom." The evil practices resulting from compulsory labour and supplies free or paid, fully paid or partly paid, are well known to those who have anything to do with village life in any province of India, not to speak of the distant Africa. I hope, and confidently hope, that in the middle of 1923 when the Commissioner in Sind will submit his report on the

working of the instructions contained in the present Government resolution, the systematic and scientifically worked out blackmail levied in that non-regulated province will be a thing of the past.

A. V. THAKKAR.

THE TRAGEDY OF THE PUNJAB.—II.

I.

BEFORE passing on to a discussion of the causes which brought about the disturbances, a few words about the character and quality of the materials placed before the two Committees may not be amiss. The Congress Sub-Committee had to deal with a large number of statements made by the victims of martial law and other non-official gentlemen competent to give evidence with regard to several matters of which they had personal knowledge. The Committee was further able to avail itself of the official evidence recorded before the Hunter Committee, by which it could check the non-official evidence. This mass of material is mostly concerned with the administration rather than the introduction and continuance of martial law. Notwithstanding the initial defect, I venture to plead for a more dispassionate consideration of this evidence. It has been published only after having been subjected to a most rigorous examination by trained lawyers like Messrs. Gandhi, Nehru and Das. The method adopted by the Congress Committee in the collection of evidence is in no way different from the line of investigation into the alleged German atrocities pursued by the Bryce Committee. However critically the evidence of the Congress Committee may be examined, the impression produced by its perusal may aptly be described in the following words taken from the Report of the Bryce Committee:—

"There might be some exaggeration in one witness, possible delusion in another, inaccuracies in a third. When, however, we found that things which had at first seemed improbable were testified to by many witnesses coming from different places, having had no communication with one another, and knowing nothing of one another's statements, the points in which they all agreed became more and more evidently true. And when this concurrence of testimony, this convergence upon what were substantially the same broad facts, showed itself in hundreds of depositions, the truth of those broad facts stood out beyond question. The force of the evidence is cumulative. Its worth can be estimated only by perusing the testimony as a whole. If any further confirmation had been needed, we found it in the diaries in which German officers and private soldiers have recorded incidents just such as those to which the Belgian witnesses depose."

Substitute in the above extract for the words, the diaries of German officers and private soldiers, the words, the statements of official witnesses, and the above description gives a correct estimate of the value and importance of the Congress evidence. Even if a fraction of what has been alleged by these non-official witnesses be correct, and there is no reason to think otherwise, then the worst charges made against the Punjab officials

must be taken as fully proved. It supports the contention of the Minority Report that martial law was kept on for so long, if not also introduced, with the single object of impressing upon Indians the sanctity of a white man's person in India. It raises doubts in one's mind about the *bona fides* of those who, under cover of restoring order, practised oppression on a scale and in a manner which must fill one with shame and sorrow. Its chief value, however, lies in the fact that it brings into bold relief the important part played by Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration in the eventual outburst of public discontent which so rapidly assumed a most regrettable form.

II.

The Hunter Committee, on the other hand, had to deal in the main with the official evidence tested no doubt by independent examination, but not checked and sifted by a scrutiny of non-official evidence. It is altogether one-sided and gives the version of those whose whole policy was under trial. It gives the story of the disturbances as told by interested parties anxious to magnify the gravity of the situation and to condone, if not to justify, their excesses on the ground of overwhelming necessity. Nor does it reveal, even from that point of view, the whole truth. The Government of India are in no way justified in asserting that official witnesses told the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Some of them have deliberately twisted facts on certain points; most of them are guilty of deliberate suppression of important facts within their knowledge; and a few have not hesitated to palm off pure fictions as facts on the unsuspecting members of the Committee. It is doubtful if all the important documents connected with the enquiry were placed before the Committee; some of them, at any rate, were supplied under conditions which prevented the members from utilising them in the elucidation of truth, and so far as the Government of India is concerned, no papers, excepting a memorandum containing a statement of their case, were, I am given to understand, shown or supplied to them; for instance, the reports relating to important events at Amritsar and Lahore, which were submitted to them by a certain officer of the Imperial C. I. D. It must further be borne in mind that such partial truth about official oppression as came out in the course of the enquiry had to be literally forced out of the mouths of reluctant witnesses by the pertinacity of Indian members. The names of Messrs. O'Brien, Bosworth Smith and Sri Ram Sud deserve to be especially mentioned in this connection. The impudent refusal of Lt. Col. Macrae to answer questions put to him by Sir Chhimanlal Setalvad and the latter's lament that the Committee could not compel the witness to answer may be cited as directly contradicting the claim made on behalf of the Punjab officials by the Government of India (vide Dispatch, para. 4) that they fully disclosed all they knew. The Hunter Committee was thus

handicapped in more ways than one; and every one not utterly blinded by prejudice or self-interest must admit the purely partisan character of the material placed by the Punjab officials before the Hunter Committee.

III.

Realising this fact, one can easily appreciate the difficulties which the members of the Hunter Committee had to face in breaking down the solid array of fictions and fallacies marshalled before the Committee by some of the cleverest representatives of the Indian Imperial services. When one remembers the herculean nature of the task before them, one's regret becomes the keener that they were denied the co-operation of the Congress Sub-Committee in presenting the official version in its true colours. Be that as it may, they did their duty of testing and sifting evidence, undeterred by the frowns of their British colleagues or the aspersions of Anglo-Indian journals. Before the forensic subtlety of Sir Chhimanlal Setalvad and the intrepid tenacity of the Hon. Pt. Jagat Narayan, the formidable phantom of the official case soon melted away into thin air; and howsoever loudly the Government of India may protest their belief in the reality of its existence, its unreality has been so thoroughly demonstrated that no reasonable man can again be gulled into belief.

IV.

Let me, however, amplify in greater detail the above criticism of the official evidence before the Hunter Committee and test by specific instances the justice of my statement. Take, for example, the evidence of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Beynon and Mr. Thompson regarding the circumstances under which his approval of Brigadier-General Dyer's action at the Jallianwala Bagh was given. Before referring to their statements on this point, it is necessary to draw pointed attention to certain important facts which unfortunately have not so far received any notice. What are these facts? The firing at the Jallianwala Bagh took place a little after 5 P. M. on the 13th April. An account of the shooting was drawn up and despatched by two messengers to the Lieutenant-Governor by the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar on the night of the 13th April. He received this message in the early hours of the 14th, which was immediately repeated over the telephone to General Beynon from the Government House. It was after the receipt of this information that General Beynon ordered an aeroplane to go to Amritsar and bring a report from General Dyer of this incident. Accordingly, an aeroplane went from Lahore to Amritsar and returned before 8-30 A. M. on the 14th with a report written and signed by General Dyer, giving an account of the firing. Between the hours 8-30 and 11 A. M. on the 14th April, a conference was held at the Government House where "*General Dyer's report on his action at Amritsar was considered and action taken was approved by the Lieutenant-Governor.*" [Cf. the War Diary of the 16th (Lahore) Division under date

14th April.] Compare this with the version given by Sir Michael O'Dwyer who says that it was on the afternoon of the 14th that General Beynon spoke to him over the telephone about the Jallianwala Bagh incident and asked if Sir Michael approved of it. Sir Michael adds that he declined at first but yielded on being pressed again. If the above statement of relevant facts is compared with the version given by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Beynon and Mr. Thompson of the circumstances under which approval was given, the discrepancy between the two versions will be found to be startling. The reader will no doubt appreciate the reason underlying the twist given to the story by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Beynon, and draw his own inference as to the degree of reliability to be attached to the statements and opinions of such witnesses. It is not necessary to question their veracity, but the need for insistence upon corroboration by a reference to contemporaneous documents of their statements becomes apparent.

V.

In the same way, the story relating to the alleged transfer of control to the military by the civil authorities at Amritsar raises considerable doubts as to whether the officials concerned really disclosed fully all they knew about the incident. A bare narration of relevant facts in this connection will suffice to bring out the bias which taints the official evidence. The Commissioner of Lahore and the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar as well as General Dyer stated before the Hunter Committee that as civil control had broken down at Amritsar, the military were asked to take charge, and that in consequence of this transfer of authority *de facto* martial law was in force at Amritsar before it was actually proclaimed on the 15th April. Now, I have a shrewd suspicion that there is no reference to this alleged transfer of control in any of the contemporary official documents, civil or military. Neither the Deputy Commissioner nor General Dyer in their reports to the higher authorities refers even once to this transfer. Similarly, there is no mention of this transfer in the case of the Punjab Government submitted to the Hunter Committee, a portion of which has recently been published as a white paper. This report was submitted to the Government of India on the 3rd November, 1919, and so late as that we find the Punjab Government stating that till the proclamation of martial law at Amritsar, the various steps taken by the military were in aid of the civil authority under the Criminal Procedure Code. Till the 3rd November, 1919, it will thus be seen, the theory of the alleged transfer had not taken shape; the official version being that whatever was done was done in aid of the civil authority. It was only after the official world had its confidence shaken, that this theory was started to justify the massacre by representing that what was done was done under *de facto* martial law. In support of this theory, reference is very often made

to a notice issued by the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Miles Irving. The terms of the notice are in no way ambiguous, and state clearly that the military had been authorised to restore order. Then, no satisfactory explanation has been forthcoming as to whether authority was transferred to Major Macdonald on the night of the 10th or to General Dyer on the evening of the 11th April. It was transferred, according to the official version, on the 10th to Major Macdonald by the civil authorities of Amritsar who, however, had still retained sufficient authority to transfer it to General Dyer on the 11th April. If it had been transferred on the 10th to Major Macdonald, it could not be retransferred to General Dyer on the 11th by the civilians who, on their own admission, had stripped themselves naked of all authority on the 10th April. Strange, very strange, is it not? And yet to these simple queries, the high placed officials could not give satisfactory replies before the Hunter Committee. The whole incident is so strange that the Government of India have been constrained to refer to the incident in their dispatch and to acknowledge the need for further inquiry into it.

VI.

From Amritsar one may turn to Gujranwalla, and wonder as to how it comes about that in none of the two reports of the Hunter Committee is there any reference to the alleged burning of the King-Emperor's effigy at Ramnagar. The following are the two extracts from the Punjab Government's case in regard to this story :—

At Ramnagar a significant and disreputable incident occurred. A party of Hindus collected, and proceeded to the banks of the Chenab, where they produced a small rag effigy of the King-Emperor, and proceeded to burn it with every species of insult. The ashes were thrown into the river, and after a ceremonial bath of purification, the crowd returned to the town. Twenty-eight persons were subsequently tried for this offence, and sentenced, under section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, and Regulations 5 (a) and 15 (a) of the Martial Law Proclamation, to two years imprisonment. ("The Report of the Punjab Disturbances," p. 17.)

A party of Hindus collected on the banks of the Chenab, where they burned a small rag effigy of the King-Emperor with every species of insult. The ashes were thrown into the water, and the crowd then had a bath in token of purification and returned in triumph to the town. ("The Report of the Punjab Disturbances," p. 72.)

Lt.-Col. O'Brien in his evidence before the Hunter Committee was examined at length in regard to it; and yet there is not a word about it in the Hunter Committee's Report. It is so because the Committee disbelieved Lt. Col. O'Brien's evidence and yet were averse from openly branding him as a liar? This instance of how the officials disclosed fully all that they knew requires no further comment. One can go on multiplying instances after instances in order to elucidate the full significance of the assertion made by the Government of India that the officials told the whole truth. Under these circumstances, the official version must be treated with the greatest reserve, and irrespective of the rank or status

of a witness, his evidence must be treated as that of an interested party on his trial, subject to corroboration by independent witnesses or contemporaneous documents.

V. N. TIVARY.

'THAT' OR 'WHICH' ?

THE *Madras Mail* has been defending Mr. Lloyd George with more zeal than discretion from the charge of having broken his pledge regarding Thrace and Asia Minor. One of the grounds of defence was a piece of grammatical ingenuity which drew on it the wrath of the *Indian Social Reformer*. A writer in the *Times of India* took up the cudgels on behalf of the *Madras Mail*, and the *Indian Social Reformer* has returned to the attack with renewed vigour. In this triangular fight no one is wholly in the right and every one is somewhat wrong.

Let us deal with the *Madras Mail* first. It quotes the sentence in which Mr. Lloyd George's pledge is contained, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and the Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race," and proceeds to say that the relative pronoun *which* in the last part really qualifies the word *lands* and limits the pledge to those portions of Thrace and Asia Minor that have a Turkish majority in the population. It is clear that, if this construction were right, the Prime Minister could plead not guilty, so far as Thrace was concerned. A serious objection to it, however, is that the word *lands* should be made to mean portions, a mistake which no Englishman of any education would ordinarily commit. Besides, it is probable that instead of the definite article before *rich* the demonstrative adjective *those* would have been used by one who cared for clearness, so that the sentence would have read: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of those rich and renowned portions of Asia minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." The proper defence of the Prime minister, if there could be one, would be that the sentence should be punctuated with a comma after 'Thrace' so that the clause which follows would mean "as these are predominantly Turkish in race." The principle governing the matter is that a territory should be assigned to the race which dominates it. The Prime Minister at the time of the pledge believed that Asia Minor and Thrace were predominantly Turkish, but at the time of its fulfilment discovered that Thrace was not predominantly Turkish. In either case he consistently upheld the principle. The reason on which the pledge was based having failed, the pledge was no longer binding. This defence is not offered by the present writer in earnest, but as one which has a greater air of plausibility than the *Madras Mail*'s nicety of grammar which would convict one of the greatest parliamentary orators of the day of an almost unpardonable solecism.

The *Indian Social Reformer* understands the last

clause in the pledge correctly, but in routing the *Madras Mail* stumbles into a grammatical ditch. It asserts that if, instead of being interpreted as stating a reason, the adjectival clause at the end were to be taken as defining certain portions of Asia minor and Thrace, the relative pronoun which a good writer of English would use is not *which* but *that*. The *Times of India* writer endorses this proposition, but adds that Mr. Lloyd George in a fit of carelessness might have used *which* in the place of *that* and really meant to convey what the *Madras Mail* attributed to him. This is to save the Prime Minister's character as a statesman at the expense of his reputation as a master of English. Whereupon the *Indian Social Reformer*, elated by the acceptance of its dictum on the use of English relative pronouns acquits Mr. Lloyd George of any offence against grammar in order to convict him of the violation of his word. It seems to say that Mr. Lloyd George might conceivably be slipshod in speech on ordinary occasions, but the pledge must have been passed by a council including such masters of the language as Mr. Balfour, Lord Curzon, and President Wilson.

Now it is true the relative pronoun *that* is always used to introduce a defining or restrictive clause. But it is by no means the case that *which* is not used in the same way. In fact *that* cannot be used with freedom because a preposition is inadmissible before it, while the relegation of a preposition to the end of a clause, except in very simple cases, is regarded as an inelegance. *Which*, therefore (and *who* also for a similar reason), has to be used restrictively in most cases where the relative is governed by a preposition. The very paragraph of the *Reformer* dealing with this subject has two instances, which we will quote: "Right usage demanded the use of *that* and not *which* in Mr. Lloyd George's famous declaration regarding the objects for which the Allies were not fighting Turkey." "Every word of a formula upon which so many and diverse authorities had agreed is sure to have been passed with the most scrupulous regard to the usages of the language." If the *Reformer*'s contention were true that a restrictive adjectival clause should never begin with *which*, but always with *that*, our contemporary should have written: "Right usage demanded the use of *that* and not *which* in Mr. Lloyd George's famous declaration regarding the objects that the Allies were not fighting Turkey for." Again: "Every word of a formula that so many and diverse authorities had agreed upon is sure to have been passed with the most scrupulous regard to the usages of the language." The latter sentence might pass, but the former would not. Now a function which the pronoun *which* can perform with a preposition it can perform without a preposition. Lest, however, the *Reformer* should think that a preposition is brought in to confound the issue and that attention should be confined to the cases where *which* figures by itself, we shall set down a few sentences, indicating the source in each case, in which *which* is used

without doubt in a restrictive sense. First, the three masters of the language whom the *Reformer* specially names.

Lord Curzon: The object of this Bill was... to lend official recognition to that remarkable development both in political interest and capacity, *which* has been visible among the higher classes of Indian society since the Government was taken over by the Crown in 1858.

The publicity *which* had attended its proceedings had had a good effect.

President Wilson: The principle of international law had its origin in an attempt to set up some law *which* would be respected and observed upon seas where no nation had the right of dominion.

This minimum the German Government swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons *which* it could use at sea except those *which* it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity.

Mr. Balfour: It would have been in the power of the South African Republic at any moment up to the fatal Wednesday when they declared war to have checkmated English diplomacy by any measure *which* had promised to give immediate and substantial representation to the Uitlanders.

That is the only explanation *which* fits the facts, that is the only explanation *which* amongst other things makes the policy of the Orange Free State credible.

Let us appeal now to other 'wells of English undefiled' which the *Reformer* has not invoked by name.

Lord Morley: I see formidable drawbacks that have certainly not escaped Your Excellency to the expedient *which* you propose.

I anticipate valuable results from the knowledge *which* your Government will acquire in these debates of the views of those whom the proposed measures would chiefly and directly affect.

Mr. Asquith: The changes made by this Bill are in no sense to be understood as reflecting on the ability, the patriotism or the flexibility of that great hierarchy *which* for more than two generations have given us the present state of things.

I will now come to consider the criticism on the actual scheme *which* the Government proposes.

Proclamation of His Majesty King-Emperor George V: Finally I rejoice to have the opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances *which* have been given you by my predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges.

We shall conclude with two sentences from leading articles in the *Times* newspaper of recent dates.

April 16: The same minister gave some particulars as to the enormous amount of artillery *which* Germany still possesses; some 78,000 guns, great and small, which she is pledged to deliver up for destruction, besides those *which* the treaty permits her to retain.

April 21: He depicts the question *which* arose in regard to the course to be taken by the British army solely in terms of telegrams *which* passed between Lord Kitchener and Lord French.

We must not be understood to imply that *which* is not used co-ordinatively. It is so used very commonly. No better instance could be cited than the text of the much-discussed pledge, though the *Madras Mail* has exercised some attorney's skill over it. In fact the indiscriminate use of *which* in the co-ordinative and restrictive senses is a frequent cause of ambiguity, which the clever schoolboy delights in detecting and removing.

The puzzled reader may get some help by the insertion of a comma at the beginning of a co-ordinative clause, but this help is apt to be uncertain in these days, when writers and printers are counted by the million and among them the art of meticulous punctuation is not only not universally understood but generally despised.

Mr. Lloyd George was wrong to give a pledge and fail to fulfil it. The *Madras Mail* was wrong to defend him and still more wrong to base its defence on a grammatical nicety. The *Indian Social Reformer* was wrong in laying down a broad proposition on the use of *which* without proper authority. The *Times of India* writer was wrong to give away the Prime Minister easily as a slipshod speaker of English. Where so many are wrong one is naturally diffident. Still if anyone says that the foregoing criticism is wrong the odds are that he is wrong.

V. S. SRINIVASAN.

PROGRAMME OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN THE DECCAN

AT a meeting of the Deccan Liberal Party held in Poona on the 5th and 6th instants, the following programme was adopted:—

As a distinct entity with a name of its own amongst political parties, the Liberal Party is comparatively recent. Its ideals, principles and methods of work, however, are inherited in continuous succession from the days of the foundation of the Indian National Congress. In fact, the character of the Congress and the modes of its thought and public activity are now maintained intact only by the Liberal Party, the Congress organisation itself having been captured recently by force of numbers by a new and unrestrained school of political ideals and methods. What is stable and of constructive value in Indian politics is the contribution of the Liberal Party. The ideal of Dominion autonomy for India with status as equal partner in the Empire was first enunciated by the Liberals of a few years ago, and their successors have not allowed themselves at any time to swerve from it while others who have appropriated the name of the Congress and its machinery are only recent converts from extravagant ideals like that of absolute independence. Constitutional agitation, not long ago ridiculed as mendicancy by the party now in possession, received its full interpretation during the long term of years at the hands of the Liberal Party. The sententious description of the only fruitful policy in India, co-operation wherever possible and opposition whenever necessary, palmed off on an ignorant public as their own by the so-called Nationalist Party was first framed in words by a politician of the Liberal school, and has since been enunciated as the creed of the Liberal Party by Mr. Banerjee, the President of the first all-India Moderate Conference, Bombay, and repeated time and again by prominent leaders of that Party. A

rounded development of freedom based on the extinction of the disabilities from which sections of the people have suffered, whether women, or the depressed classes, or the labouring professions, the practical embodiment of the ideas of social equality and justice in our institutions, the moral and economic uplift of Indians as a nation no less than their political elevation have been the constant aims of a whole generation, of statesmen and politicians represented to-day by the Liberal Party, and they are justly proud of the spread amongst all classes of certain of these democratic ideals and the success, never quite satisfying but steady and substantial, which has continually attended their efforts.

2. In the preceding year in accordance with its antecedents the Liberal Party undertook in the face of bitter calumny and opposition a mission of constructive political work, and it was mainly the support of its leaders which enabled the Secretary of State and other friends of India in England to obtain the enactment of the Government of India Act, 1919. The deputation representing the Indian National Congress, whatever their inner motives, figured in England as uncompromising critics and opponents of the Bill, spoke and wrote occasionally as though they wished its rejection and in its last stage declared that it would cause so profound a disappointment to the people of India that words could hardly describe it. In its effect, their attitude was scarcely distinguishable from that of Lord Sydenham and his followers. The Liberal Party has no compunction in claiming that of the political parties in India it contributed by far the most to bring about the political reforms now on the eve of inauguration. It is true they are not altogether satisfactory, and the Liberal Party's case has always been that the Government of India Act might well have been ampler, to judge by the fitness and capacity of Indians. But the reforms are now embodied in statute, and the part of statesmanship is to recognise that they constitute a substantial step in the direction of responsible government and that in their proper working Indians will find fair scope for their political aptitude, abundant opportunity for improving their conditions in all respects and a sure guarantee of future advance. It is not true, as our critics allege, that we are pledged to co-operate with Government under all conditions and in all cases. In response to the terms of His Majesty's Proclamation we promised that so far as we are concerned there should be co-operation between officials and non-officials, between Europeans and Indians. This, however, is no departure from our traditional policy but a reaffirmation of it. Whenever we consider that Government are in the wrong we will not shrink from criticism or opposition, as the case may require. What we repudiate is opposition for its own sake as a deliberate policy of national advance. The Party will try to make the new councils an instrument of public good in various spheres. Agitation within necessary limits, in the new legislatures and outside, there will be as occasion requires. It is the ordinary form which organised effort takes in every community when it is at all intense, and the Liberal Party cannot afford to renounce it and will not renounce it at all, but it is the deliberate conviction of the Party that under the Act the effective means of ensuring further constitutional advance is the successful operation of the reforms now secured.

3. The Liberal Party will endeavour to promote the rights of Indians abroad and at home. Abroad, the aim will be to obtain absolute equality with

all British subjects of His Majesty, no abatement of this claim being tolerated or passed over in any Dominion, Colony, or Dependency of the Empire. The Party is fully prepared to advocate reciprocity legislation whenever necessary. At home, no time will be lost in pressing for the repeal of all repressive legislation like the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act, etc. A rapid Indianisation of the services, and the admission of our countrymen in sufficient numbers to the commissioned ranks of the army, the navy and the air force will receive constant attention. The Party will likewise seek to abolish all instances in Indian legislature and administration of inequality between the races, while by pressing for the due punishment of official misdeeds as in the Punjab recently and by unremitting vigilance in guarding elementary rights of citizens like freedom of speech, writing, public meeting, religious worship, etc., the Party will uphold to the extent of its influence the status of Indians as citizens of a free and self-governing State.

4. The Party will resist extravagance in the administration of national funds and press for careful examination of the present scale of civil and military expenditure with a view to such retrenchment as may be possible. Influence will be brought to bear on the Government of India to regulate its fiscal tariff so as to promote Indian industries and manufactures, thus investing the fiscal autonomy indicated in the Joint Select Committee's Report with reality. According to the policy of the Liberal Party, railways and irrigation works should be expanded not for the purpose of subserving the ends and operations of foreign exploiters, but with the object of promoting indigenous industries and the prevention and mitigation of famine. The amelioration of the lot of third class passengers will receive particular attention at the hands of the Party. Indian currency, exchange and banking, the Party will seek to organise on a sound footing and with an eye solely to India's best interests.

5. Education of all kinds and grades lies at the root of the country's progress. The general policy of the Party may be summarised as follows: free and compulsory elementary education, both of boys and girls, in rural as well as in urban areas; amendment of the present Compulsory Education Act so as to make its adoption obligatory on all municipalities and local boards at an early date; adequate State assistance for this purpose; technical, industrial and agricultural education should be spread widely, the ideal to be a high school with a vocational side for each taluka, a college and an industrial school for each district; and a well equipped technological institute for each division; more Universities to be started; promotion of the use of vernaculars as media of instruction in high schools.

6. In the opinion of this Party, the very greatest importance should be attached to the elevation of the masses. It will use every possible means to secure opportunities of improvement to all those communities, classes and castes that are backward in education and general culture. Special scholarships and other facilities will be provided for the children of these classes. The self-consciousness of these classes will be roused so that they may be encouraged to work for their own organisation and social and political uplift. It will be the constant endeavour of the Liberal Party to remove the badge of social inferiority of certain of these communities and place them on a level of social equality with the more fortunate sections of the

country. The distressing and disgraceful condition of the depressed classes is best remedied by the spread of education, and the Liberal Party will endeavour by its means to raise them to the status of equal and respectable citizens. Attempts will also be made to obtain better representation for the depressed classes than the present rules allow in the local council through nomination, if election be found impracticable.

7. The Liberal Party is of the clear opinion that legislation is a proper and legitimate remedy for social evils. The social laws and usages which impede progress have to be modified, and laws, which will be permissive whenever that form is appropriate, must be enacted allowing inter-caste marriages, placing charitable and religious endowments on a sound and secure basis, giving women property and other rights on a footing of equality with men and assuring the same status to men of all castes and creeds irrespective of birth. Also the Party will use its influence to get women admitted to the franchise on the same terms as men, as soon as the question comes up before the new legislature. The Party will also aim at giving a useful turn to private and public charity and treating the beggar problem on up-to-date principles. All hereditary village vatsans will have to be commuted, and salaried village officers will have to be appointed wherever hereditary service is rendered to-day. With regard to the evil of drink, total prohibition will be the ideal of the Party to be reached as early as may be practicable, and immediate permission for the exercise of local option will be urged, and other experiments in temperance reform in promising directions like public management of liquor shops will also be favoured by the Liberal Party.

8. The earnest attention of the Liberal Party will be devoted in the future as it has been in the past to the amelioration of the working classes and rayats. Measures will be set on foot to safeguard the rights of tenancy in inam and khoti villages. With the rapid expansion of industries, housing and other conditions in industrial centres are becoming intolerable. In all these directions improvement will be sought by the Liberal Party through legislation and otherwise. The Party feels that while industrial development is a desirable thing, it ought not to be purchased at the cost of bad labour conditions. Capitalism in its modern sinister forms will be discouraged; labour will be organised and educated; and unremitting efforts will be made to make the relations between labour and capital harmonious on a basis of justice. Attempts will be made to put an end to forced labour, for example, *vetk* and *bigar*. The benefits of co-operation will be brought within the reach of labourers, and co-operative credit societies and stores will be started for their advantage and their relief from indebtedness. The cultivators will be induced and enabled to improve agriculture by the application of cheap and sufficient capital and the use of improved processes and implements. An educative campaign will be carried on among these masses of the people so that they may be stirred out of their lethargy and ignorance into a sense of their duties and rights.

9. The redress of the several grievances from which the public has been long suffering, both in rural and urban areas, will be undertaken by the Liberal Party. It will plead for the improvement of the means of communication which are very defective in certain parts of the presidency at the present moment. Railways, metalled roads and

bridges are badly required in several tracts. Pure water supply and drainage, and other means of village sanitation are wanting and there is a sad deficiency in dispensaries and hospitals. And these must be provided early in the interest of public health. Village panchayats endowed with judicial and other functions have to be established, and the separation of judicial and executive functions has to be secured. Grievances relating to forests and grazing lands will be attended to, consistently with the improvement of that valuable State property.

10. The public services will claim a great deal of attention of the Party. It will try to introduce the principle of open competition in the method of filling up these services, while at the same time making due safeguards for the proper representation of various communities and classes in grades below the highest. The salaries even in the lowest ranks should also be raised so that no man engaged in serving the public should receive less than a living wage.

11. The Liberal Party will of course make the fullest use of the more or less complete freedom which in the new order of things is to be accorded to all our self-governing bodies. The Governments of the provinces are already taking the necessary measures, but we should be on the watch to see that they are fully adequate and efficient, and, what is more important than such measures, the devising of a satisfactory scheme of local finance. Nothing less than a complete redistribution of resources between the provincial and local heads will answer the purpose. It is a task full of technical difficulties, and the Liberal Party will pay the most unremitting attention to it, because it realises that a mere expansion of powers would be a delusion and a snare if unaccompanied by the provision of equal resources.

12. Now all these reforms will require money, and even when all retrenchment and economy are practised, as they must be practised, by the Government resort to additional taxation will become necessary. In the first place, the Liberal Party will try to secure for the provincial Government adequate and growing sources of revenue in the redistribution of resources which is going to be effected between the Imperial and Provincial Governments. It will support the claim that has been made before the Meston Committee that half, if not the whole, of the income tax revenue should be provincialised in this presidency. Secondly, if fresh or additional taxation has to be resorted to the taxes should be so devised that they will fall chiefly upon the wealthy classes who are able to bear the burden.

13. This description of the Liberal Party's aims and methods is not meant to be an exhaustive statement of the activities to which its members will devote themselves in the new order. It must be taken to be illustrative of the policy and lines of work by which they will be generally guided. It would be futile to frame a precise and binding programme when everything is refashioning, as it were, and nothing is known of the character of the new council, the wishes of the electorates or the nature of the problems that may press for immediate treatment.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

"RETIRING THE CURRENCY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SERVANT OF INDIA.

SIR,—I was amazed to read Prof. Godbole's argument in the last number of the SERVANT OF INDIA that, with a view to retiring the currency, Reverse Councils should be sold, not indeed at the rate at which Government have been selling them,—for has there not been an outcry against it from a section of the Indian public?—but at the rate of 16d. per rupee. Prof. Godbole has obviously forgotten that the silver content of the rupee is worth far more to-day—even after the recent fall in the value of silver—than 16d. It is an excellent idea to retire the currency by the sale of Reverse Councils, but it is certain that not a single rupee would be retired at the rate proposed by Prof. Godbole.—Yours, etc.,

R. P. PATWARDHAN.

Poona, June 16.

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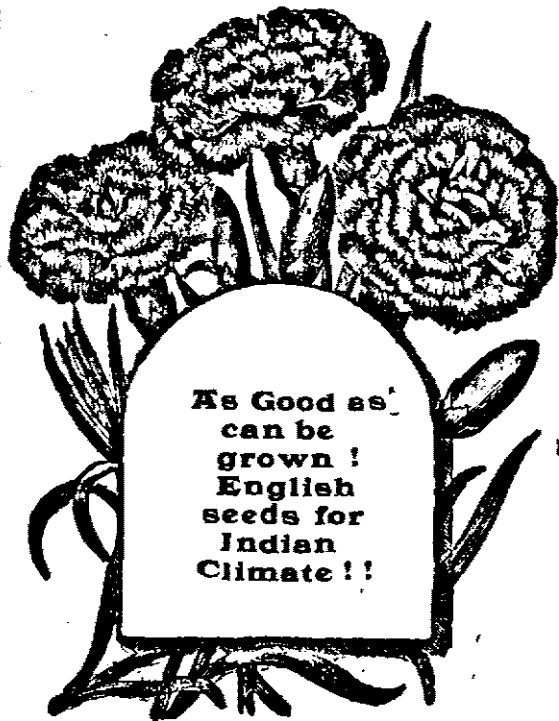
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