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INDIAN
OPPOSITION TO
HOME RULE

What the British Public
ought to Know

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INDIAN
OPPOSITION TO
HOME RULE.

BEING A COLLECTION OF EXTRACTS FROM
ADDRESSES, MEMORIALS AND LETTERS OF
INDIANS OF VARIOUS CASTES AND CREEDS
AND BELONGING TO DIFFERENT PROVINCES,
PROTESTING AGAINST THE GRANT OF
HOME RULE TO INDIA, AS DEMANDED BY
THE CONGRESS AND MOSLEM LEAGUE.



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FOREWORD.

THIS compilation of Indian opinions and protests against Home Rule in that country has been prepared for the information of those members of the British public who are not personally acquainted with India, and her great "mixed multitude" of races and castes, and who may be misled by the agitation of a small Brahman and upper-class minority into believing that India as a whole demands, and is fit for, a democratic form of Government. This minority controls a great part of the Indian Press, and has, for some time, been engaged in carrying on an organised propaganda in India and in this country. Considering the short period available and the intimidation which has been practised on a large scale, it is most remarkable that Indians of all classes should have recorded their protests against the objects and the methods of the political agitators. That this aspect of opinion in India should be made known is essential.

The compilation is by no means exhaustive. From every province of India hundreds of educated Indians and millions of the uneducated and depressed classes are ready to bear testimony to their deep conviction that in the unimpaired supremacy of the British element in the administration lies India's sole hope of progress and salvation.

Modest though it be, the compilation offers eloquent proof of the uneasiness and alarm created by the visit of the Secretary of State to India, and by the prospect of radical and premature political reforms among the vast

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majority of the Indian people, which has hitherto taken no part in political movements. As proof of the anarchy which must follow upon any weakening of British authority in India at this juncture, thoughtful Indians, and the working classes especially, can point to the outrageous attacks which the Hindus of Behar perpetrated upon inoffensive Muhammadan villagers in the closing months of 1917. As evidence of the danger to their own social and political advancement which must ensue upon the transfer of authority to the Brahmans and upper-classes, they can rely upon the ill-treatment and tyranny, which for centuries past have been inflicted upon them by the privileged minority, and which the impartial character of the British administration is slowly but steadily counteracting.

It is the masses of India for whose welfare Britain is primarily responsible : it is the masses who pray that Home Rule may not be granted until their darkness is lightened by the progress of social reform and of education, which alone can enable them to attain nationhood and to share in the privileges of self-government. A grave responsibility rests upon the British people for the uplifting of the masses of India, and they can rise to that responsibility only in the light of the knowledge of the facts which this compilation may help to convey.

INDIAN OPPOSITION TO HOME RULE.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS PRESENTED BY **The Deccan Ryots' (Agriculturists) Association** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

“ The unfitness of Indian society for democratic life after the purely Western model has in a way been increased by the fact that the educational status of only a few castes has been raised to a high degree, and that of all the others has been allowed to remain almost as low as ever before. The gulf which always separated the higher castes from the masses of the country on religious and social grounds has only been widened by the enormous educational progress of a few, and the appalling ignorance of the many. In the consequence of this, while the advanced castes have been wielding all the influence attached to the Local and Municipal Boards and the Legislative Councils, the masses exercise practically no influence in these bodies. This very state of things will be aggravated if the governing institutions of the country are more and more brought under popular control without adequate provision being made for the effective representation of the castes which constitute the masses of the country.

“ We should beg here to point out that the institution of Caste in India embraces every branch of life. Many of the castes are separate economic units, representing interests which often come in conflict with the interests of other castes. Some of them, like the Marathas, have

historical traditions of their own which make their separate political existence a matter of great importance to them. The disabilities to which a large number of castes have been subjected under the social and religious system prevailing in this country, give rise to questions which divide these castes from all others. Any system of representation which ignores all these conflicting interests would only tend to perpetuate the bitterness of feeling which is already existing, and enable the more powerful castes to impede the progress of the less advanced castes and creeds.

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“ Taking the department of education as an instance, it is obvious that it will be the interest of the advanced castes to devote as large a portion of the available revenues as possible to the spread of higher education, while the backward castes will consider it essential that in the interests of the country as a whole primary education should have the first claim upon the resources of the state. The question of the spread of education amongst the backward castes depends upon the full realisation of the fact that they have been subjected to the worst type of intellectual tyranny for ages past, with the result that their mental and moral growth has been woefully stunted, and they have been incapacitated from taking any advantage of the education opportunities afforded by Government to all alike. This state of things was well described by the Hon. Mr. Basu, who said, ‘ the great boast, the just pride of British rule is that it has thrown open the doors of knowledge wide to all sections of the community—Brahman or Pariah ; but though the doors are theoretically open to them, I respectfully submit they are practically as much closed to-day and as much sealed as in the days of Manu, when molten lead would be thrown into the ears of a venturesome Shudra who had accidentally heard the recitation of the Vedas. The punishment is not there, but the disability practically continues, and with this disability the ignorance continues.’

* * * *

“ **The higher castes are determined to maintain intact their social predominance founded on religious theories**

and supported by all the superstitions of the dark ages. On the other hand, awakened by the spread of Western ideas in this country, the lower classes have begun to chafe at the irritating distinctions of caste under which they are condemned to perpetual inferiority. In this respect, our society stands to-day where European society stood on the eve of the Renaissance and the Reformation. In such a state of society, the introduction of purely democratic forms of government is bound to concentrate all power in the hands of the more advanced castes, while the lower castes would be placed at a great disadvantage in consequence of any such measure, unless every care is taken to see that the power to legislate and control the Executive is effectively shared by all sections of the population. ¶

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“ But we have to point out that the only rational purpose of legislation affecting social affairs is to remove all impediments to individual development and to the unification of society into one organic whole. It will be readily admitted that the prevailing opinion of the sections of Hindu society is entirely opposed to every change in this direction. If the majorities in the proposed Legislative Councils are to consist of persons who will be typical of the majorities in the more literate castes, the fate of the vast masses of people who fill the lower strata of our society will be sealed for all time. Inspired by the orthodox Hindu ideals of the Varnashrama dharma and strengthened by the half-mystical explanations of social inequality offered by Theosophy, the legislators of the future, drawn from the upper layers of Hindu society for the most part, will only tighten the shackles by which the masses are bound down to degrading traditions and customs and laws.

* * *

“ Even those who profess to be actuated by national motives and who belong to the upper Hindu castes are often leaders of socio-religious movements which are designed to embitter the feelings of animosity existing between the different communities. The Muhammadan claim for separate electorates was to a great extent the

result of this reactionary tendency of a very large and influential section of the educated Hindu castes. If the need of separate representation is admittedly existing in the case of Muhammadans, it is infinitely more so in the case of the Indian Christians, Jains, etc., who are numerically far weaker than the Muhammadans, and the chances of whose interests being ignored, if not sacrificed, are far greater than in the case of the powerful community of Islam.

“Another extremely important feature of Indian society which should never be lost sight of in considering the polity to be introduced in this country is that millions of its members have been banned as outcasts and considered unfit even to be touched or allowed to stay except outside the ordinary habitations of men. Though Indians, they live outside the real India which has hitherto enjoyed the ordinary rights of humanity. For all practical purposes the public schools in the country do not at all exist for them. A member of these so-called ‘untouchable’ castes cannot even claim to take water from the village tank, much less would he be allowed to enter the sacred precincts of the public temple. They are also precluded from following even decent menial professions, and thereby are compelled to lead wretched and degraded lives, without any hope or prospect of improvement. **It is only under the British administration that they have been meted out partial justice, and the slackening of the British control without adequate safeguards to their interests in bound to be looked upon with grave suspicions by those classes.** If hitherto the Councils have not been called upon to deal with subjects like these which might give rise to controversies about the conflict of interests between one caste or community and another, the reason is not that no such conflict exists, but that the powers of the Councils have hitherto been very limited, and there have been very few opportunities for the caste spirit to assert itself in the Council Chamber. On the few occasions, however, on which scope was found for the manifestation of the narrow caste-spirit which seeks self-aggrandisement at the cost of the more ignorant communities, several of the members of our Legislative Councils have shown a lamentable disregard of the interests

of the people they profess to represent. The question of the modi script very recently discussed by the Bombay Council would illustrate how the elected members of that body who belonged to the higher castes supported the re-introduction of the modi script, although it was distinctly pointed out by the heads of the great departments that the said script created serious difficulties in the way of the lower illiterate classes. When, again, the injustice to which the depressed classes were subjected by the Hindu community was mooted for discussion by a Parsi member of the Supreme Legislative Council, every Hindu member—and they belonged to the higher castes—showed himself to be the exponent of the views of the higher castes only. Such cases of the caste-interest getting the better of the public spirit of the Indian representatives in the Councils must in future be more numerous than hitherto if the franchise were extended to a wider circle than now and increased powers were entrusted to the Councils.

* * * *

' We recognise the necessity of making India as democratic as may be possible. But democracy cannot be an exclusively political principle. The whole thought of the country, the whole aim of social life must be directed towards democratic ideals of life. Even though apparently behind the European nations in the race of life, India has an ancient civilisation peculiar to itself. That civilisation has given birth to classifications of society the like of which cannot be found in any other part of the world. Large classes of people who have been most undeveloped. Western influences in India still cling to the original Indian traditions, customs and institutions with a tenacity which is remarkable. Under this civilisation, India has been sub-divided into air-tight social compartments, some of which have received high intellectual training, while others have totally neglected intellectual pursuits. **Classes have grown with nothing but political ambitions as their only traditions, while there are others whose sole purpose of existence is commerce, agriculture, menial service, and so on. British rule in India was welcomed with joy by all the classes in this country except a few whose instincts had become pre-eminently political by**

centuries of training. Subjected to the worst class tyrannies that the world has ever seen, all these classes looked upon British rule with a sigh of relief.

* * * *

"We fully recognise that nothing will rouse India to her greatness as the democratic ideal will do. It is with this fact in view that the British Government has declared its inspiring policy in India through you. But we submit that this sudden change in the situation should not blind us to the grave danger of proceeding on the assumption of facts which do not exist. We should not ignore the peculiar divisions of Indian society and the great gulfs which divide the classes in India. We have laid these lines before you with a view to pointing out the way to avoid the danger of creating caste ascendancy which is worse than any class-tyranny known outside India."

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT A GENERAL MEETING OF **The**
Depressed Classes of Hindus IN BOMBAY,
ON NOVEMBER 11TH, 1917.

The fifth resolution carried unanimously was as follows :
"That the Chairman of this public meeting be authorised to request the Indian National Congress to pass at its forthcoming session a distinct and independent resolution declaring to the people of India at large the necessity, justice, and righteousness of removing all the disabilities imposed by religion and custom upon the depressed classes, those disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience by prohibiting them from admission into public schools, hospitals, courts of justice, and public offices, and the use of public wells, etc. These disabilities, social in origin, amount in law and practice to political disabilities, and as such fall legitimately within the political mission and propaganda of the Indian National Congress."
The sixth resolution prayed all Hindus of the castes other than the untouchables and depressed, especially those of the higher castes, who claim political rights, to take steps for the purpose of removing the blot of degradation from the depressed classes, which has subjected those classes to the worst treatment in their own country.

THE DEPRESSED INDIAN ASSOCIATION II

EXTRACT FROM THE ADDRESS OF **The Depressed Indian Association** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU, IN DECEMBER, 1917.

The address on behalf of the Depressed India Association—an institution founded for the purpose of safeguarding and advancing the interests of the depressed classes in the Marathi speaking provinces, to the Secretary of State said: "We beg to draw your attention, in the first place, to the all-important fact that the circumstances of social life of the depressed classes are very closely connected with the political conditions obtaining in the land, and that therefore it is needful that they should be clearly set out before coming to the question of political reforms to be introduced in India. The social condition of the depressed classes is so miserable that it is impossible to point out on the earth's surface any parallel to it. They are treated by the rest of the Indians—Hindus, Muhammdans, Jains and all—as if they were worse than beasts. They are not allowed to live in villages or towns. They are deemed untouchables. If an 'untouchable' accidentally touches a member of the non-untouchable class, the latter must wash himself and his clothes to get rid of the pollution caused by the unholy touch! As will be easily imagined, the effects of these permanent inhuman disabilities on the unfortunate people have been grave and far-reaching. The first is their extremely unclean habits, the direct result of the social ostracism. The second is their abject poverty; for, on account of their untouchableness, they are not allowed to do any menial work where touch is indispensable. Being excluded from towns and villages, they are actually debarred from following many honest professions. In short, they are compelled to starve for want of work; with the result that some have taken to dishonest methods of life! **Where such is the state of things—the majority of people unwilling to afford any human treatment to a large section of the population (forming nearly one-fifth of the total) and they on the other hand mostly unprepared to assert their rights of citizenship, or rather humanity, any transfer of substantial political power to the Indians is**

bound to prove disastrous to the best interests of the depressed classes. The great pride of the British rule in India is that it has given equal opportunities of elevation to all classes. The depressed classes have just begun to show signs of life and to profit by the favourable conditions. Any change in Indian Polity calculated to upset these and reintroduce the reign of higher castes will be a death-blow to all hopes of emancipation of the depressed classes. We have pointed out above that Self-Government for India will be morally and socially injurious to the cause of the depressed classes. We also beg to submit that even materially it is no more beneficial to them, and now there are great obstacles in their way of getting ordinary government posts. They cannot be schoolmasters, for in that case people will not send their children to the school. And the few clerkships and such other posts that they have obtained have not failed to bring down upon them a storm of resentment from their higher-born colleagues. As regards the admission of a greater proportion of Indians to the higher posts, we humbly submit that any change in this direction will be highly detrimental to the interests of the depressed classes.

“It is a fact that there is not a single individual amongst the depressed classes who will declare himself in favour of Self-Government for India. Their disabilities are so inhuman, the antagonism of the rest of the population towards them so palpable. What is required under the present circumstances is the providing of special and ample educational facilities for the depressed classes in the shape of scholarships in High Schools and Colleges.

“The best way of removing social injustice is, in our humble opinion, to enlighten those who are its victims and not those that are the perpetrators. **We understand that our Rulers want our nation to be a self-supporting democracy; but we humbly submit that political liberty can not prove a boon to a nation where the classes do not scruple to inflict the worst sort of injustice on those who are mostly ignorant and who have, moreover, been taught from times immemorial to bear it all as a matter of religious duty!** And yet this is the real state of things in this country. We, therefore, submit that the first step

towards democratisation of Indian polity ought to be the fitting of the country for liberal institutions, which can be done only by educating and westernising the minds of the lowest classes. This will enfranchise their minds, teach them the value of individual liberty and mental independence, and thus bring home to them the iniquity of social tyranny. Removal of social injustice should be the signal for granting political power. There are a section of educated persons among the higher classes, who, professing in all good faith to be the advocates of social reform, think that their cause will have greater chances of success if the Indians were given effective political power. It is difficult to follow their line of argument, for even they have to admit that if the Legislative Council be constituted on a wider basis of popular franchise, the party opposed to social reform is likely to be in a majority; but they think that the party of social reform, though at first in a minority, will be able to press the cause of social reform in a more responsible manner. We refuse to subscribe to this view. We on the contrary fear that instead of their being able to press the cause of social reform, the majority will be able to carry such measures as will deprive the depressed classes of the benefits of liberty and equality of opportunity which they at present enjoy. For the British Government, committed to the policy of non-intervention in social and religious matters, will simply remain a silent and helpless spectator of the doings of the majority. That the British Government, under the present circumstances, is unable to help the 'untouchables' by favourable legislation is a grave misfortune, we admit. But in our humble opinion it will be a graver misfortune still when our beloved Government will be unable to protect them against mischievous law-making! If the present conditions continue, they will at least be free to organise themselves and further their own cause. We therefore humbly submit that the aim of British policy ought not to be the immediate transfer of political power to Indians, but fitting them for exercise of political power, which can best be accomplished by educating the lowest classes and thus enabling them to throw off the yoke of social tyranny. **It is a fact to be noted**

that if hitherto even the educated amongst the depressed classes have kept aloof from political agitation, without even raising, until very recently, a voice of dissent, they have done so under the belief that the British Government will introduce no changes in Indian policy calculated to endanger the liberty that they have enjoyed since the introduction of the British Rule in India. But of late certain utterances of British statesmen and declarations of policy have caused great alarm among the depressed and even the backward classes. We therefore pray that the view which we have submitted may receive due consideration at your hands."

EXTRACT FROM PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL CONFERENCE
OF **Marathas**, HELD IN KIRLOSKAR THEATRE, POONA,
IN DECEMBER, 1917.

Mr. Bhaskarrao Jadhav, speaking on a resolution, quoted Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak as saying: "Do you prefer your own Brahmans, who are of your own flesh and blood, or the Brahmans who come from 6,000 miles away (*i.e.*, the British)," and then said, "Are these Indian Brahmans of our own flesh and blood? Yes, they are, they are! But in what way? By preying upon the flesh and blood of the dumb and poor masses! (Shame, shame.) How can they be of our flesh and blood since they even reserve public water provisions and burning ghats specially for themselves?"

Mr. Baburao Yadav, of Satara, in supporting the resolution, added that the Marathas did entrust the Brahmans with the keys of the Maratha kingdom, but in return they forced them to sweep the palaces which they once had proudly held in memory of the Great Shivajee, the saviour of the Brahmans—the priestly class. (Shame, shame.)

Mr. Ramrao Shinde, of Belgaum, expressing deep abhorrence of the conduct of the pseudo "All-India Maratha Conference," held at Belgaum, very forcibly and eloquently stigmatised it as being a black stain on the war-like Marathas. He also added that he and his other Maratha friends were not given admission to the bogus conference even as spectators, because they refused to sign the creed-form, *i.e.*, unconditional support to the Congress-League schemes.

(Shame, shame.) It appears, and it is sure, that the conference was engineered by the Maharashtra extremist party!

Mr. Gadhave, of Nasik, spoke of the experience he gained when he stood as a candidate for election on the municipal council, and added that the Marathas must be provided with a separate electorate which would safeguard their interests and make fruitless all Brahmanic artifices planned with the object of debarring a Maratha from any branch of the administration of the country. **It is worth noting that the Brahmans issued instructions to their caste-fellows to the effect that if a Brahman voter would favour a Maratha with his vote on any account, he would be considered an out-caste.** Mr. Gadhave added that it remained undisputed that Marathas could not come out through a mixed electorate. Lastly he observed that the uplift of the non-Brahmans was impracticable as long as the Varnashram Dharma (caste system) prevailed and free and compulsory education was not general.

[SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH OF H.H. the Maharaja of
Kolhapur AT THE MARATHA EDUCATIONAL CON-
FERENCE HELD IN DECEMBER, 1917.

Presiding over the Eleventh Maratha Educational Conference, held at Khalgaon, His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur said: At present the great cry is about Home Rule, but the question is whether we are fit for it. It is the British Government who have instilled the idea of Home Rule in us, and they are not at all averse to the advancement of the subject races and have not prevented progress, for which we are very grateful to them. Nay, they have been always anxious to see us make progress. The present is not the occasion to treat so important and wide a question as Home Rule in all its details. **I am inclined, however, to agree generally with Lord Sydenham's views in this respect. Lord Sydenham's idea is that so long as India remains caste-ridden, her people will not be able to derive full benefit from Home Rule.** All that we have to do to attain our goal is to educate our people and thus prepare their minds. This is the only

way to approach this important and momentous question. **If castes remain as they are Home Rule in the sense in which it is meant will result in nothing short of oligarchy.** I may repeat once again, I am not against Home Rule, for surely we want it. Under the present circumstances, however, we must have the protection and guidance of the British Government until the evils of the caste system become ineffective. To prevent Home Rule from culminating into oligarchy we must have communal representation at least for ten years. We have the sad experience of our municipalities before us. In these institutions the representation of the lower castes is only nominal. This mistake, therefore, should not be repeated.—*Englishman*, January 5th, 1918.

EXTRACT FROM THE ADDRESS OF THE **Satya-Shodhak Samaj** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU
IN DECEMBER, 1917.

We submit that the majorities in the reformed councils should not be allowed to be typical of the majorities in the higher classes; but the British Government should reserve the right of nominating a sufficiently large number of members from amongst the liberal-minded and thoughtful section of the non-Brahman Hindu population. **Experience teaches us that the European element must continue to preponderate so far as higher Government posts are concerned, especially in the executive department. For our Satya Shodhak propagandists have to rely mainly on the impartiality of the European officials for unimpeded and peaceful progress of their work. Their lower officials, who generally belong to the Brahman class, are opposed to our movement. And if the higher posts in the executive department are also filled with Indians every hope of success for our movement will be dashed and the fate of the lower classes for ever sealed.** We recognise that the aim of British policy in India is gradually to make it a self-governing and self-supporting unit of the Empire. The best means of accomplishing that aim is, in our opinion, compulsory education of the lower classes of Hindu society.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF **The South Indian Liberal Federation** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU
IN DECEMBER, 1917.

‘We, members of the South Indian Liberal Federation, understand that a memorandum signed by nineteen non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council has been submitted to you, through the Viceroy, demanding certain political reforms to be brought into force after the war. The proposals contained in the said memorandum have since been accepted by the originators of the Home Rule movement in India as equivalent to their demand. **Your memorialists feel constrained to strike a discordant note, as otherwise, from previous experience they are afraid that it will be made out that the demand has behind it the united voice of the people of India. The proposals embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen, if given effect to, will, in our opinion, tend to weaken the British authority in India, and thereby jeopardise the interests of the large and hitherto inarticulate masses of the country. We are not in favour of any measure which, in operation, is designed or tends completely to undermine the influence and authority of the British rulers who alone, in the present conditions and circumstances of India, are able to hold the scales even between creeds and classes and to develop that sense of unity and national solidarity without which India will continue to be a congeries of mutually exclusive and warring creeds without a common purpose and a common patriotism. We do not believe that the time has come for anything like Home Rule to be granted to India. The large majority of the population of this country are not educated enough to use any political power that may be given to them with wisdom and discrimination; nor have they any political traditions to guide them; and they are unwilling that, till they are educated up to a standard that will help them to take an intelligent interest in the government of the country by the discriminate use of the franchise that may be given to them, their destiny should be handed over to the care of a small section of the Indian population, though men are not wanting amongst themselves who can**

fairly take their legitimate share in the councils and administration of the country in any scheme of reforms which may reasonably meet the actual needs of the hour. The majority of the people in this Presidency who demand Home Rule at the present time belong to the class of Brahmans; but not less than 40 out of 41½ millions who form the population of this Presidency are non-Brahmans who, including, as they do, zamindars, landholders and agriculturists, and owning the bulk of the property in the province, pay practically the whole of the taxes collected in the Presidency, which go to maintain the Government. But in what passes for politics in Madras they have not taken the part to which they are entitled. They have made little or no use of their influence among the masses for the general political advancement of the country. In these days of organised effort they have not maintained till very recently any proper organisations for protecting and promoting their common interests and for preventing professional and other politicians, with hardly any corresponding stake in the country, from posing as their accredited spokesmen. **Under these conditions we are afraid that, if Home Rule or Self-Government were granted to India at the present time, the Government would pass into the hands of a close oligarchy unfit either by tradition or training for wielding political power, and thus the interests of the masses would suffer.**

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‘In conclusion, we request that before any definite action is taken the Government will examine the interests and wishes of each important caste, class and community with anxious care and in a less conventional manner than has been done till now. Until social exclusiveness and the rigidity of class and caste disappear, progress towards Self-Government in India ought to be slow. **We beg to impress on you the necessity for consulting the opinion of other and more important interests than those of the Congress and the Moslem League, which are now entirely guided by a body of ‘impatient idealists’ who in no way represent the mass of the people of this country, before finally deciding the form and extent of the political reforms that are to be conceded to India.**”

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF **The Madras Dravidian Hindu Association** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU
IN DECEMBER, 1917.

The Madras Dravidian Association address referred to the inequalities and hardships suffered by them in educational and social matters, and thought if "Home Rule" were introduced the sufferings of the educationally backward classes would be increased tenfold, and urged that no reform should be introduced to weaken British authority or change the British character of the administration or concentrate power in any one particular class.

The address said :—

"Our community represents the earliest civilisation of Southern India. There is ample evidence to show that before the Aryans came down from Northern India the people of the South had social and political institutions of their own, upon which the Aryans sought to impose their civilisation. We are the descendants of those who resisted the attempt, which, however, proved largely successful; and for having stood aloof from the system of the Aryan foreigners, we were punished with social degradation. The caste system of the Hindus stigmatises us as untouchables and imposes various social and economic disabilities upon us. Caste Hindus could not, however, get on without our assistance. We supplied labour, and they enjoyed the fruit, giving us a mere pittance in return. **Our improvement in the social and economic scale began with and is due to the British Government. The Britishers in India—Government Officers, Merchants, and last, but not least, Christian Missionaries—love us and we love them in return.** Though the general condition of the community is still very low, there are some educated men amongst us. But these are not allowed to rise in society on account of the general stigma attached by the Hindus to the community. The very names by which these people refer to us breathe contempt.

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We need not say that we are strongly opposed to Home Rule. We shall fight to the last drop of our blood any attempt to transfer the seat of authority in this country

from British hands to so-called high caste Hindus, who have ill-treated us in the past and would do so again but for the protection of British laws. Even as it is, our claims, nay, our very existence is ignored by the Hindus; and how will they promote our interests if the control of the administration passes into their hands? The Congress which has agitated in the name of the people and which now asks for various reforms in their name, what has it done to rebuke the Hindus for their ill-treatment of us? On the other hand, many of the Congress leaders are Brahmans, who carry their notions of their own superiority and of the inferiority of others into every detail of private and public life."

PROCEEDINGS OF A CONFERENCE OF **Dravidian Hindus**
AT MADRAS IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

At a conference of Authee Dravidians (Panchamas), held on Sunday evening at the Victoria Public Hall, Madras, the following resolutions were carried unanimously :—(1) **That this conference of Authee Dravidians emphatically protests against the immediate grant of Home Rule to India, and also against any violent and rapid change in the administration.** (2) That this conference of Authee Dravidians condemns the action of the so-called high caste Hindu organisers of the depressed classes mission like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in using their influence for preventing the depressed classes from voicing their real sentiments, and making out that these classes are at one with them in favouring the Congress scheme and demanding Home Rule. **It is impossible, except under the influence of the misrepresentation made by interested persons, for an Authee Dravidian or his counterpart in other provinces to plead for a weakening of British authority and its transference to the hands of so-called high caste Hindus.**

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE **Non-Brahman Conference** HELD IN MADRAS IN JANUARY, 1918.

The first Non-Brahman Conference under the auspices of South Indian Liberal Federation was held under the

presidency of the Raja of Venkatagiri. There was a large attendance, including a number of non-Brahman ladies.

Rao Bahadur P. Theygaraja Chetty, in welcoming the delegates, said he could not understand what their friends meant by representing their movement as reactionary and opposed to all progress. Their manifesto had made it plain that they wanted a steady and sure advancement in political life, and indicated the lines on which they required advancement, while **they only opposed violent changes in the administration, the concentration of administrative power in the hands of an oligarchy, the attempt to make the character of the Government un-British, and taking advantage of the present difficult position of the Government.**

The President, in the course of his speech, said that the cry of "Home Rule" raised in the middle of the war was both untimely and premature, and the people of this country might well have waited until the last instalment of the political reforms received in 1909 had been tried, at least for a decade, before demanding the next instalment. Until the non-Brahman communities secured a proper share they could not hope to secure proper representation, even though they were armed with the franchise. He also urged that the franchise should be placed on a communal basis.

Among the resolutions passed at the South Indian Non-Brahman Conference was one thanking the British Cabinet and the Secretary of State and advocating the grant of progressive political reform after the war, in several well-defined stages by which the country is to attain responsible self-government, while expressing its emphatic disapproval of catastrophic political changes tending to undermine British authority and influence in British India.

Dr. Nair, who moved the resolution, said that he stood for the old constitutional party of the Indian National Congress and the ideals of the Congress when it was in the hands of the saner section of Indians. The non-Brahmans were most emphatically for political progress, but they wanted that progress should be careful and gradual. He said that the statement that the movement had distinctly official support and guidance was a lie. Referring

to the statement of Sir Subramania Iyer that the non-Brahman discontent, though long existent in the country, had been given an anti-national tinge by the wire-pulling of Government, he would emphatically assert that there was no Government wire-pulling. **It is perfectly legitimate to suspect German machination whenever and wherever demands for catastrophic changes were put forward. Lala Lajput Rai's complicity with German ugly doings in the United States has been mentioned by the Home Secretary in the House of Commons. They knew also how Germany raised Indian armies in the United States and sent them over to India for spreading here sedition and anarchy. They knew also how a plot was hatched for seizing arsenals in the Punjab on an appointed day. Knowing all this it was perfectly legitimate to suspect there was wire-pulling where the Home Rule movement was concerned.** He was not in the least afraid of a searching enquiry into the genesis and growth of the non-Brahman movement, but at the same time he would demand a similar enquiry with regard to the Home Rule movement in India.

The Rangoon Dravida Mahajana Association IN AN
ADDRESS TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU
IN DECEMBER, 1917,

“opposed any change in the administration calculated to undermine British authority which was essential for their welfare.”—*Times of India Mail*, December, 1917.

The Non-Brahman Communities OF THE MADRAS
PRESIDENCY IN AN ADDRESS TO THE VICEROY
AND MR. MONTAGU—

“expressed disagreement with the more important proposals (for Home Rule) of the Congress and Moslem League scheme, and said it was not in the interests of the country and the Government to allow power and influence to be centred in a small and exclusive community.”—*Times of India Mail*, December, 1917.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **Madras Hindus** HELD IN
NOVEMBER, 1917.

A meeting was arranged at Kalahasti on the 25th instant by the Home Rule League, at which it was announced that Sir Subramani Iyer or Mrs. Besant was to preside. Neither arrived, and eventually Raja Damara Kumara Chinna Venkatappa Myanini Bahadur was made chairman. The Home Rulers were in a minority, and the non-Brahmans present put to the meeting and carried by a large majority the following resolutions:—

“We should be grateful to the British Government, which is the cause of all of our prosperity, and not traitorously contemplate harm to them.”

“As in the present state of our country we are not fit for Home Rule, we do not want Home Rule now. Recently signatures were taken to a petition from ignorant people without the real contents being given out to them, but were deceitfully misrepresented. That is not proper and these signatures should carry no weight. It is not proper that people having obtained Government employment and eating their salt should prove disloyal by clandestinely trying to do harm to Government.”—*Pioneer Mail*, December 1, 1917.

REPORT OF AN ADDRESS OF **The Newington Old Boys' Association** (MADRAS) TO MR. MONTAGU
IN DECEMBER, 1917.

The Newington Old Boys' Association, composed of members from the landed aristocracy, felt that the present time was unfavourable for the discussion of controversial questions. They urged that their interests had not been sufficiently safeguarded in past reforms. **They resented the attempt of agitators to put them in the background, and they strongly opposed all violent changes in the administration.** They approved of a step by step policy, and wanted full scope of representation and effective participation according to their stake, importance and influence.—*Pioneer Mail*, December 22, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF A MASS MEETING
OF **Tiyas and other backward Castes** HELD
AT COCHIN IN FEBRUARY, 1918.

The second resolution dealt with the need for throwing open the State temples to the Tiyas. They hold that they have as much right to gain access to these places of worship as their brethren of the higher castes. A resolution was next passed appealing to the Durbar for the adoption of a more liberal policy in the distribution of the loaves and fishes of the Public Service to qualified and deserving Tiyas. Mr. T. K. Madhavan, editor, *Desabhimani*, Quilon, speaking on the subject of interdining, pointed out that it would be an evil day for them if the Brahmans were to gain further privileges from the Government. **He was sure that if Home Rule were granted to India it would lead to endless social and civic disturbances, ending even in bloodshed.** The world was progressing, and no one desired to retrace his steps, but he hoped that the Government would not be a party to any scheme that would reduce the depressed classes to further bondage.—*Justice*, February 16, 1918.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **Loyal Indians of the Monghyr District** HELD IN OCTOBER, 1917.

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously:—

That whereas the agitation regarding Home Rule, the recent debates in the Imperial Legislative Council, and the anticipated visit of the Secretary of State to India, all combine to create a political situation which will deeply affect the welfare, peace and prosperity of all Indians, both of the present and succeeding generations, it is incumbent upon us to co-operate in united action with regard to those matters which are clearly identified with our interests.

And whereas the Empire is now engaged in a great war, in which the free nations of the world are struggling against the arrogant tyranny of German militarism, it behoves all freedom-loving people to devote their entire energies to the prosecution of the war till a victorious victory is achieved, and not to engage in any political propaganda which may embarrass the Government.

And whereas whatever reforms may be contemplated, they will be so far-reaching and important that they demand calm deliberation both in the Imperial Council of India and the Imperial Government and Parliament of Great Britain, and whereas such deliberation is impossible at the present time when the attention of all the Governments is concentrated upon the prosecution of the war.

That we, the citizens of the Monghyr town and district reaffirm our sincere loyalty to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor, and also desire to express our gratitude to the Government of India for its beneficent rule, and particularly for the successful manner in which the State has been piloted through the critical period of the past three years.

That any political agitation at the present moment will be detrimental to the best interests of this country, and that we therefore humbly pray that the Imperial Government may be pleased to postpone the consideration of questions of Reform until after the war.—*Englishman*, October 19, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM THE ADDRESS OF **The Loyalist League of Monghyr** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

The Hon. Kumar Sivananda Prasad Singh read the address, which approved of the present system of administration and was opposed to violent changes. The address strongly condemned the conduct of the Hindus in the Bihar riots.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM **Hindu Villagers of Bengal** TO THE EDITOR, *Englishman*, PUBLISHED NOVEMBER, 1917.

“ This is an appeal from poor villagers, who live on agriculture, and it is earnestly to be hoped that Englishmen as well as Indians will listen to our grievances and formulate a scheme of self-government whereby we could be saved from ruin.

“ Of self-government or Home Rule we know nothing, but we gather from people who visit the big towns or read newspapers that it is but another form of the rule to

which we are accustomed in village punchayets as governed by presidents drawing a salary of 12 rupees a month! Like fever-stricken people we tremble to think of it, for we see in the self-government of punchayets the sapping of the foundations of British rule in India. Presidents of punchayets are living embodiments of the Lord of Hades, and woe betide the poor villager who does not propitiate him with offerings! **To Englishmen and to sensible countrymen of ours our appeal is—‘Save us from Home Rule, if it is to be an enlarged edition of the punchayet system.’** We fail to see how the self-government of the country can be entrusted to people who cannot properly govern villages according to the punchayet system.”

“We are convinced that there is not one honourable member of council to watch our interests or put in a plea in our behalf; those who profess to represent us are as much strangers to us as we are to them and are probably not even aware of our existence. Under the circumstances how is it possible for them to remove our wants or remedy our grievances? And we are sure whatever we have said would be endorsed by 28 crores out of 30 crores of His Majesty’s subjects.

“The peasantry of the country is, in our humble opinion, as much a source of strength to railway and shipping companies as to Government and to His Majesty the King-Emperor. It is through their tireless exertions that India is yielding all her produce, that merchants, railway and shipping companies are prospering and that Government is getting its revenue. . There are six seasons in this country, during each of which the peasantry work day and night ceaselessly and tirelessly, and there is not a soul living, not even the most callous, that would not be moved by their sufferings to tears. And it is these poor people on whom a kindly glance is not cast by anybody—oh! the pity of it!

“True it is that Government has done us a lot of good, but much of it is threatened with extinction, and we can hardly believe that Government is not aware of the fact. The persecution the peasantry is subjected to is growing daily and whatever happens we are always the worst sufferers,

“And so, frankly and honestly, all this talk about self-government and Home Rule makes us shiver and apprehensive of evils to come, and we beseech Englishmen and the sensible among our countrymen to save us from further oppression.”

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **The Namasudras of Bengal**
HELD IN CALCUTTA ON NOVEMBER 3rd, 1917.

A meeting of Namasudra representatives from Khulna, Jessore, Barisal, Mymensingh, Dacca, Rungpur, Midnapore, and other districts was held at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, under the presidency of Babu Purna Chunder Mullick, of Faridpur. The following resolutions were adopted:—

“That this conference emphatically protests against the gross misrepresentations of facts that are being made by some so-called high caste leaders in the self-conceived character of representatives with regard to the real wishes of the people about Home Rule or self-government.”

“That this conference is strongly of opinion that any post-war reforms to be effective must have regard both to fitness and timeliness, and should be so comprehensive as not to overlook the interests of such a community as that of the Namasudras and that any sudden and great advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government, as contemplated by some of the post-war reform schemes, would be not only derogatory to the interests of backward communities, such as the Namasudra community, but would also make any future progress utterly impossible, **regard being had to the fact that any very great transference of powers at the present moment would mean an undue strengthening of the hands of a very few limited castes whose interests and the interests of the backward communities are contradictory to each other in view of the present construction of Hindu society and the zemindary system under the Permanent Settlement.**”

“That having regard to the fact that suggestions made by other bodies about the coming political reforms are quite antagonistic to the interests of the Namasudra community and to the importance of the community, consisting as it does of two millions of His Majesty's loyal subjects,

and also to the fact that it forms a distinct and separate body, although coming under the all-inclusive word Hindu, a deputation of fifteen representatives of the Namasudra community do wait upon the Right Hon. E. S. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy during their visit to Calcutta to lay the case of the Namasudra community before them." —*Pioneer Mail*, November 10, 1917.

OPEN LETTER TO MR. MONTAGU FROM **Mr. Daulat Ram Kalla**, BAR.-AT-LAW, ADVOCATE, CHIEF COURT,
PUNJAB.

FEROZEPUR CITY, Jan. 1st, 1918.

SIR,—By this time you have given audience to various deputations and received many an address from those who could read and write. May I now request you to kindly ascertain (if you have not done so before) the views of those that are termed the "masses of India"—a class which cannot make itself heard directly and whose representatives the educated Indians pretend to be? According to all principles of democracies it is the wish of the people that ought ultimately to prevail. Is it not therefore most important that before any change in the present constitution is contemplated some sure method be adopted to find out the minds of these millions? With this end in view, will you kindly see, Sir, whether a party of Indian theorists (which like every reformer in his early days, is impatient) is a true interpreter of the feelings of the dumb masses or those who have made a scientific study of Indian character, customs, habits and traditions and have made this study their life-work? To do this, if you don't mind you may pick up a few peasants at random and directly ask them whether they like an Indian or an European to be their collector or judge. This step will at once convince you which way the wind is blowing. And again, if you don't mind, you can call for a return from each district of those applications in which the prayer is "my case be transferred to the court of a European Magistrate or Judge." In this way, Sir, you will see whether a Home Ruler is voicing forth the feelings of the people or is only putting forth his own claims to rule the masses without their consent.

2. Various schemes suggestive of changes in the present constitution are before you by this time. The Congress-League one is, perhaps, the most important. Will you kindly see that in the very body of this there is evidence that the two great communities of India, or to put it more properly, some of the educated heads of both do not enjoy mutual confidence? Muhammadans are afraid of the majority of Hindus in the Home Rule parliament. Provisions have been made for safeguarding their interests at the expense of public good. Can it be claimed in the face of these things that the followers of one religion are not apprehensive of the recurrence of those fearful events which form the most shameful chapter of the Indian history of the pre-British period? Have my countrymen come to have faith in each other regardless of religion, as you see in the United Kingdom? Did you see there during the last years that some safeguards were necessary to protect the interests of Christians during the days of a Jew Home Secretary or *vice versa*? If such a safeguarding is the principal guiding line it is very easy to infer how a scheme based on it will work in everyday life.

3. **Perhaps you have already seen that this cry of Home Rule is not universal in India. It is not universal even among the educated classes. It has been denounced by various societies and individuals. In the area under the Native States even from the educated classes there is hardly any demand for political rights. To tell the truth, an average Indian does not understand Home Rule at all, except in those cases where he has been made to believe (by the efforts of political agitators) that it is a magic wand by whose touch he will have any amount of wealth, comfort, and even authority over his uneducated neighbours, and that the present lot of all can at once be improved by the pressing of a button. In one instance I was told that Home Rule means that every one will rule himself and there will be no police. If in response to the cry of such, Sir, any political concessions are allowed and afterwards it dawns upon my countrymen that their hopes of wealth, comfort and power (which are being promised them now) are impossible of realisation, you can just imagine what will be the plight of this land. My countrymen should**

first understand that political rights do not bring with them prosperity and comforts. Political rights or no rights, men improve by sheer merit, and the Jews of the world bear testimony to this. Unless my countrymen understand this they are beginning at the wrong end. Everyone likes to see his country at the zenith of glory, but let a real well-wisher realise that for this he should work hard as an honest citizen. So, Sir, on you lies a great responsibility. You know that too much of politics has spoiled Ireland, and if in response to the cry of a few you recommend the grant of any political rights now, my countrymen being convinced of the righteousness of their cause will seek their salvation in politics alone, bidding farewell to the study of those sciences, arts, and means by which great nations rose to their present place.

4. If you could spare a little time I will request you, Sir, to be present at a business meeting of a Municipal Committee. If not objectionable, let it be done *incognito*. There, Sir, you will see with your own eyes how my countrymen have acquitted themselves at the training school of Self Government since Lord Ripon's time. There you will be able to form your own estimate of their fitness for Home Rule. If you be satisfied that my countrymen have come to realise their responsibility in public matters and are fit to be promoted to the next higher class of the school of which the highest class is Home Rule within the Empire, you may recommend them for promotion. But if, on the other hand you come to the conclusion that there has been no progress since the eighties, I wish you to tell them there and then that "first deserve and then desire" is a golden rule which holds good in every sphere of life, and that it is most strictly observed in politics, where every mistake, unlike that of an individual, affects a whole nation.

5. **Lastly, Sir, if you don't mind you may take a message of mine to the British public. They are a great nation, and like every great nation they have cultivated the virtue of gratefulness in the highest degree. They are exhibiting this virtue now in a marvellous manner towards my country since she has done so nobly in the Great War. They are prepared to do anything for us. They have sent you to know our minds. But you may**

kindly warn them against their being over-kind to us like a Raja who showed his royal pleasure to a poor Brahman by giving him a white elephant which broke his hut and killed his children. You may tell them that India never did anything more than her duty, and that the true sons of India are not claiming any reward for a duty done. Neither do they think that this is the proper time to engage the attention of the War Cabinet for anything but War. Their first aim is to bring this war to a victorious end. You may further tell them, Sir, that **the best representatives of the millions are not a few Home Rulers of India who simply want to rule them for their own end, but those who have won their confidence and have made a scientific study of everything that is worth studying in this country, and all this at the sacrifice of their comforts and enjoyments.**

LETTER FROM **Mr. Rungaswami**, OF TRIPPLICANE, MADRAS
PRESIDENCY, TO THE EDITOR OF *Justice*,
FEBRUARY 9TH, 1918.

SIR,—I quite agree with Mr. M. Narainswami in his suggestion to urge upon our non-Brahman leaders to start a fund with a view to send a deputation to England to place our views before the British public and the Labourites. It must be pointed out that the cry for Home Rule is confined only to some small but noisy group of irreconcilables—the admirers of Mrs. Besant and her followers in Theosophy, that the Home Rule agitation is magnified out of all proportion to its importance, that the Muhammadans in a body are protesting against the grant of Home Rule to India, that the agriculturists in India look to the British Raj to protect them as they only can hold the scales evenly between class and class, caste and caste, that nothing could be more abused than the claim of the Home Rulers to speak for Hindus and Muhammadans as United India, that the non-Brahman educated class have no sympathy for Mrs. Besant's Congress-Moslem-League, that in their recent signature-hunting the Home Rulers have abused the trust innocently in them reposed by Mr. Ghandi, that in fact it is a misrepresentation of facts by the so-called high caste leaders with regard to the real wishes of

the people about Home Rule, that **Home Rule is engineered to overthrow the British rule in India, for the transference of the political power to a little oligarchy which is trying to take advantage of the war and that such a delegation of powers of Government means chaos, financially, socially and politically, and that, finally, there are caste prejudices to wear away, which lamentably separate communities, before Home Rule can be granted.**

EXTRACT FROM AN ARTICLE BY **Mr. Narayanaswami**, OF MADRAS, IN *Justice*, OF FEBRUARY 11TH, 1918, PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTH INDIAN PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION.

I am one who believes that politics, like any other thing, should be the result of a gradual process of evolution. Political progress, if it is to be permanent and long-standing, must proceed step by step. The first step must be made sure before the next higher step is reached. In India, especially, political development must be a gradual one. In its past India had never been a self-governing country, in the modern sense of the word. **The masses who constitute the major portion of the Indian population know nothing of politics or the privileges and responsibilities of a citizen of a self-governing colony. Their attitude towards the politics of the country is one of gross indifference. The state of political education in the country is shamefully low. Under the circumstances, if anything like immediate self-government or a sweeping political reform is introduced into India, the consequence will be authority in the hands that have never known authority, power with a people who are not competent to exercise it, and ultimately chaos and an exhibition of political impotency.** Another result in India, where politics is the monopoly of a few agitators, where education—I mean ordinary general education—is mostly confined to the priestly class, the Brahmans, to whom the social conditions have given an ascendancy in all departments of life, and where the present political agitation is being conducted by a few clever Brahman vakils with the co-operation of a few stray members of the non-Brahman community, will be the transference of authority and the powers of the Government to the small fraction of notoriety-hunting revolutionaries who pose as the representatives of

the three hundred millions of India. In other words, the present Government will be surely replaced by a narrow oligarchy constituted mostly by Brahmans. **India of the masses does not want any such change of government, and the perpetuation of the much-hated Brahman oligarchy.** We hope that Great Britain, into whose hands the Almighty has entrusted the care of the millions of India, will not commit any such blunder as will ultimately lead to a bloody revolution in India. Sudden changes may be possible in smaller countries with a homogeneous population. But sudden changes in the administrative machinery of India, which is the most unique country in the whole globe, must produce disastrous results.

One very important reason why immediate Home Rule will jeopardise the safety of India is the general unwillingness on the part of the Indian population to submit to the domination of their own countrymen. Indians do not want to be ruled by Indians, because they have no confidence in the integrity of their own countrymen, and they strongly think that it is impossible to expect justice and impartial treatment from Indian administrators. I have very largely moved among the rural population, and my experiences only confirm what I have said. The English or the white men in the eyes of the illiterate masses are people sent to earth by the Almighty to see that justice is done on earth. They are people who can never be corrupted and who look upon all classes of people as alike. The Indian litigants generally wish to have their cases transferred to an English judge because they think that the English judge will be impartial. Indian litigants distrust the honesty of their own countrymen. And this distrust is due to innate caste-prejudice, which makes the Muhammadan party in a case think he cannot have fair treatment at the hands of a Brahman judge. If in a case before a Brahman judge, a Muhammadan and a Brahman happen to be the two parties, the fear of the Muhammadan party is that the Brahman judge will decide in favour of his Brahman casteman. The same thing *vice versa*.

What do you think will be the result if a hated form of administration is foisted on an unwilling population? The Home Ruler may fume and fret, and say I am a deliberate

liar. Yet the facts are on my side, and close and unprejudiced observation will testify to the correctness of my diagnosis of the general Indian mind. I have no idea of insulting or disparaging my countrymen in any way. In the interests of truth and impartiality, I must be plain, though plainness may happen to irritate the irritable section of my countrymen,—I mean the coterie of the Home Rule visionaries, to whom any statement of truth which might harm their demands for immediate and complete political autonomy is treacherous, sacrilegious and un-national. Moreover, the Indians are constitutionally unfit for the vast responsibilities of self-government.

They do not know what they are asking for. They do not possess any hereditary talents for administration. Indians had never been good administrators, nor have they ever shown any capacity for administrative work. Of course, there may be here and there individual exceptions, but it is silly to make a case out of these few exceptions. **The strength of the Home Rule movement should not be judged from the inordinate amount of noise the Home Rulers make. Behind their noise they have not got any record of practical fitness.** The Indians have not been able to show proofs of good work in the small spheres over which they have been given freedom and control. Look at our Municipalities and devasthanams and see how they are. Do you think for a moment that these people who cannot properly manage second and third-rate municipalities can ever wisely wield the powers of self-government? Never! Never! Self-government cannot be attained by theoretical effusions on the platform and in the press, and any demand for higher political privileges must be based on actual proofs of fitness to deserve higher privileges. The glorious past of India on which these Home Rulers are never tired of harping is a nonsensical, meaningless nothing. India had never a glorious past. Even the silliest schoolboy knows so much of Indian history as to tell you that India before the advent of the British people was one welter of blood and chaos, and what does this shameful harping on a mythical glorious past mean? No doubt India had a glorious religious past. India had a beautiful religious system. But what has a glorious religious past to do with

politics? The Indian nation,—that is another piece of silly vanity on which the Home Ruler lives! Where is this fabulous Indian Nation, we wonder? In the heated and highly imaginative brain of the Home Ruler? **Does it not look extremely stupid and childish to talk of an Indian Nation, when every day in the Indian newspapers we see reports of some communal clashes, when the Musalman hates the Brahman, when the Christian hates the non-Christian, when the non-Brahmans hate the Brahmans, when among the Brahmans themselves we see the Vadalagai and Thengalai Aiyangars breaking their heads against each other, when the “pariahs” or the social outcasts are ranked together against their social oppressors, when the cry for communal representation is splitting the air, when in the political arena one community is arrayed against the other, when the non-Brahmans are rapidly mobilising to protest against the possibility of a Brahman oligarchy, when the Muhammadans are forming a new association with the Prince of Arcot as its president, when every province is for itself, when Bengal is for Bengalis, when Travancore is for Travancoreans, when Mysore is for Mysoreans, and when we see on every side of us signs of increasing racial antagonism and prejudice!** History itself denies the existence of any such thing as an Indian nation, and any attempt on the part of the Home Rulers to patch up or manufacture an Indian Nation for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the British people is bound to end in ignominious failure. **There was never an Indian Nation, there is at present no Indian Nation, and no Indian Nation is ever going to be, so long as the present state of society continues to prevail.** If there is to be an Indian Nation, the very foundations of Indian society must be reconstructed, the existing social superstructure must be completely swept out of existence. Till that eventful day any talk of an Indian nation is stupid, and any contemplation on the part of the British Government to give any consideration to the noisy demands of a few political adventurers is premature. The Indian people will do well instead of wasting their energies by crying for the moon to look to their society, repair it, and reconstruct it on a more national basis.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS PRESENTED BY
The Muhammadans of Bombay TO THE VICEROY AND
 MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

“ In view, however, of the complicated political conditions obtaining in this country, it is impossible for the Muhammadan community to commit themselves to any particular form of self-government. We firmly believe that the realisation of the goal of self-government for India must be the result of a process of evolution suitable to local conditions. **We are opposed to any readjustment calculated to weaken the British character of the administration, or its ultimate guiding and controlling power; nor can we lend our support to any scheme of reforms which would tend to perpetuate the ascendancy of one community to the detriment and disadvantage of the others.** While desiring perfect unity between Moslems and Hindus, we contend that it is not wisdom to forget that, in the existing backward condition of the majority of both Hindus and Muhammadans, with their divergent customs and clashing interests, the differences between them cannot but be reflected for years to come in their dealings with each other.”

* * * *

“ **What is proposed now in certain quarters is not so much the reform of the present Government as its extinction and hasty introduction of a new form of Government, which under certain conceivable circumstances might revolutionise the country.** It is freely asserted that in no distant future the English Bureaucracy will disappear and an Indian majority in the Councils will take its place. Whatever may have been the defects of that much abused Bureaucracy in the past, it must be admitted that it has had one redeeming merit, viz., that of holding the balance even as between the two principal communities in India, and thus protecting the weak against the strong.”—*Times of India.*

EXTRACTS FROM AN ADDRESS PRESENTED BY
The Muhammadans of Sind TO THE VICEROY AND
 MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

“ That your memorialists would reiterate the views they recently expressed in an Address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy, that **the Muhammadan attitude of implicit confidence in the British Government and of aloofness from the propaganda of the Home Rule League is based on their conviction that concession of the extreme demands put forward by the Home Rule League would be seriously prejudicial to the interests of the Muhammadan community.**”

* * * *

“ Your memorialists, moreover, cannot assent to the wisdom of completely excluding the members of the Indian Civil Service from Executive Councils. Such a step would have the effect of shutting the door against experienced administrators possessing the most intimate knowledge of all classes of the people, and as the Muhammadan and other backward communities in the past benefited most from the assistance they have received from those with a practical knowledge of local conditions they view this proposal with uneasiness. Indeed, your memorialists would urge the contrary view, and ask not only for the retention of the Indian Civil Service on the Executive and Legislative Councils, but also press for the association on these bodies of tried representatives from the Provincial Services.

“ Your memorialists would touch briefly on the second point, namely, their trust that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in any reforms that may be introduced. We may be told that there has been something in the nature of a *rapprochement* between the two communities and that the Reform Scheme has received the assent of the Moslem League. Speaking of our Province particularly, and of the relations between the two communities generally, it appears to us that, apart from a common home land and a common language, the two communities have so many conflicting interests that there cannot really be any

satisfactory mutual agreement between them which is not safeguarded by legal and constitutional guarantees.”—*Times of India.*

EXTRACT FROM MEMORIAL PRESENTED BY
The Muhammadans of the Bombay Presidency
 TO MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

“We cannot accord our entire agreement to the Congress-League scheme of reforms, as it will, in the absence of certain additional guarantees, result in jeopardising the existence of Muhammadans of India as a distinct political Hindu-Moslem understanding revealed therein is practically confined to the question of separate electorates for Moslems in various Councils, and does not extend to other questions equally vital to the progress of the community such as those of local self-government, recruitment of public services, freedom in exercise of religious rites, etc.

“Moreover, some of the provisions in the scheme as it stands are most detrimental to Moslem interests, and must be considered impracticable at the present stage of the progress of the country. Take, for example, the proposal that half the members of the Executive Councils who are to be Indians should be elected by the majority in the Councils. Even in England it is not the House of Commons but the Prime Minister who selects the Ministry, and he naturally takes care to select such as would work smoothly with him. It is quite conceivable that the head of a Province in India would find it most difficult to conduct the Administration with members in whose selection he would have no voice, and who might be in perpetual conflict with his policy. The strongest objection to such an arrangement from the Muhammadan point of view, however, is that there is hardly any possibility in it of Muhammadans being even elected to the Executive Council, because of the permanent Hindu majority in the Legislative Councils. Also, with regard to the suggestion that Councils should have an elected President, we submit that the President elected by the majority could not command that confidence which the representative of the Sovereign now commands, because his impartiality is unimpeachable. Take also the proposals that all the resolutions passed by the Legislative Councils

should have the force of law with the temporary veto of the Governor. The danger of new elected majorities with party organisations and passions of constantly defeating Government should not be lost sight of. In England the opposition recognises certain responsibilities, and owing to long established practice no opposition uses its own strength for the purpose of defeating a Government which it is at times aware that it cannot replace. Here there is no recognised and responsible opposition, the members of which could claim to exchange places with Ministers on the Treasury Bench after defeating the Government. There seems to be no sense therefore in allowing the Administration to be constantly defeated by the majority in Council and in compelling them to carry out measures which they did not approve or which may be impossible for them to carry out. Such an arrangement could only result in administrative chaos. **Looking at the proposal from the Muhammadan point of view it must be admitted it will place the minority entirely at the mercy of the majority.** Stronger safeguards than those provided in the scheme for the protection of minorities will have to be provided before such a revolutionary proposal is adopted."

Englishman, December 28, 1917.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF **The South India
Islamia League** TO THE VICEROY AND
MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

"Ever since the All-India Moslem League adopted the political aims of the Indian National Congress and its leaders began to co-operate with the leaders of the latter organisation, the Muhammadans of Southern India have been feeling uneasy as to the capacity of the League to represent their views and interests. Their doubts have been confirmed by the Madras Presidency Moslem League having recently adopted the Congress-Moslem League Scheme of Reforms. **This action on the part of the League has created much indignation among the Muhammadans in this part of the country, who, being a minority community, realise the value of the British Government in holding the scales even between different classes in this**

country. They have accordingly resolved to form a separate League which will voice the real feelings and sentiments of the Muslim community of Southern India. The Association thus formed under the name of the South Indian Islamia League has adopted the following creed to express the real political attitude of the Musalmans of Southern India, namely, that its members are opposed to any scheme of political reconstruction which tends to undermine the authority of British Government in India, but are strongly in favour of gradual progressive political development.

This Association now begs leave to say that in any scheme of political reconstruction which may be contemplated regard should be had to the following considerations:—

1. **Nothing should be done which will weaken British authority in any manner whatsoever, and hand over the destinies of the Moslem community to classes which have no regard for their interests and no respect for their sentiments. It is one thing to co-operate with other classes under the presiding care of the British Government with power to enforce its will, and quite another to be at the tender mercy of these classes with the British Government stripped of its powers, standing by and looking on helpless and unable to act.**

2. The control of finance should remain vested as at present in the Executive Councils and not be transferred to the members of the Legislative Councils.

3. The Legislative Council should be a purely advisory body. Its resolutions should under no circumstances be made binding on the Government.

4. The appointment of Indian members of Executive Councils should be by nomination. If elected members of Legislative Councils are allowed to elect Indian members to the Executive Council, Muhammadans will have absolutely no chance of being elected Executive Councillors. Even under nomination we would request that one seat in every Executive Council should be reserved for Muhammadans. We trust that the Executive Councils will be sufficiently enlarged to admit of more Indians."—*Times of India*.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **The Muhammadans of Madras**
HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

A meeting of the leading Muhammadans of Madras was held on Thursday evening at the Muthiapet Moslem Anjuman Buildings, with Shifa-ul-Mulk Zynulabideen Sahib Bahadur in the chair, to consider the advisability of forming a new political association to voice the real feelings and sentiments of the Muhammadans of Southern India. It was unanimously resolved to form a new association called the South Indian Islamia League, with the creed that its members are opposed to any scheme of political reconstruction which tends to undermine the authority of the British Government in India, but are strongly in favour of gradual progressive political development. After passing the rules of the League, office bearers and a council of thirty members were elected.—*Pioneer Mail*, December 1, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS OF **The Muthiapet Moslem Anjuman** (MADRAS) TO MR. MONTAGU
IN DECEMBER, 1917.

We, on behalf of the Muthiapet Moslem Anjuman, Madras, desire to place before you our views on the present political situation. We have no sympathy whatever with the Home Rule movement. We disagree with the memorandum of the nineteen and the Congress-Moslem League scheme; both of which are a practical paraphrase of the Home Rule idea of transferring power (without responsibility) from the British Government to Indian leaders.

These schemes will tend to weaken the authority of Government. **It is our firm conviction that in India where there are so many conflicting religious interests and prejudices, the Britisher alone can hold the scales even between the various communities. Whenever our interests collide with those of other communities, it is to him we look to as the embodiment of justice and fair play. Whatever reforms may be introduced, we trust that nothing will be done to undermine the authority of the British Government in India.** We are also averse to the power of the purse being vested in Legislative Councils, as we fear it will be used to coerce Government, and to

favour particular interests. Nor should Executive Councillors be elected by members of these Legislative Councils; Muhammadans, being necessarily in the minority, would have no chance of their representatives being elected Executive Councillors.—*Pioneer Mail*.

REPORT OF MASS MEETINGS OF **the Muhammadans of Bengal** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

(a) A mass meeting of the Shia and Sunni Muhammadans of Koath, Babhnaul and 16 other villages was held at Koath on Tuesday, the 30th October, to discuss the situation created by the recent Hindu riots in Shahabad. Syed Mahomed Akbar Khan Bilgrami was voted to the chair. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

“That the pre-organised and widespread riots in Shahabad, with ‘Jai Mahabir’* and ‘Jai German’* as war-cries, have been at once a direct encroachment on the civil and religious liberties of the Moslem community, and an indirect challenge to the authority of the Local Government, who is thus given a foretaste of the Home Rulers’ plot or system of agitation.”

“That the present Home Rule agitation is untimely as well as detrimental to the religious, social and political interests of the Indian Musalmans.”

“That we strongly denounce the Bihar Moslem League and its wirepullers for signing the Congress creed without consulting the masses, and for embarrassing the Government by their agitation.”

“That a sub-committee be formed to sketch out a policy for the safeguarding of Moslem interests in India, and to submit their proposals to Government after consultation with the Ulamas of Lucknow and the Anti-Home Rule League of Arrah.”

“That a committee be formed to raise funds for the relief of Muhammadan sufferers during the recent Hindu riot.”

“That we express our heartfelt thanks to Mr. C. A. Oldham (Commissioner), Mr. A. L. Inglis (Collector of Shaha-

* Jai Mahabir=Victory to Mahabir! Jai German=Victory to Germany! This cry is one of several facts indicating a secret connection between the Hindu and anti-Government Home Rule propaganda and German intrigue.

bad), Khan Bahadur Syed Ahmad Ali Khan (S.D.O. of Arrah), the Hon. Mr. E. C. Royland (I.-G. of Police), Mr. W. Swain (D. I.-G. of Police), and Mr. J. D. Boylan (S.P.) for taking prompt and judicious measures for suppressing the Hindu riots."

"That Ulamas of the various sects of Islam be requested to issue their 'Fatwas' against Home Rule."

(b) A public meeting of the Musalmans of Kara, Thana Obra, Bamandiha, Memora and Koranpore was held under the presidency of Mr. Hafiz Syed Zahid Husain Saheb, on the 30th October, and resolutions similar to the above were passed. The meeting also resolved to keep entirely aloof from the Hindu Home Rule League, thought it injurious for the Musalmans to join it, and was in favour of the Anti-Home Rule League.

Thanks were offered to Mr. Hubback, the District Magistrate, for his able administration and tact in keeping the town of Gaya in peaceful order during a troublous time.

(c) Another mass meeting of the Muhammadans of Sherghati, District Gaya, was held on the 27th October, under the presidentship of Maulvi Hafiz Mahomed Junaid, and resolutions were passed, expressing unflinching devotion to the person and throne of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor of India, and assuring the Government that Muhammadans would do nothing to embarrass the Government when Great Britain is fighting for its very existence and dissociating those present at the meeting from the Home Rule movement.

The meeting passed a special vote of thanks to Mr. J. A. Hubback, the District Magistrate, for taking such precautions for the protection of the life and property of the Muhammadans as was possible in the circumstances.—*Pioneer Mail*, November 10, 1917.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **the Muhammadans of Muzafferpur (Bengal)** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

At a recent meeting of Muhammadans of Sitamarhi sub-division, Muzafferpore District, the following resolutions were passed :—

"That the Muhammadans of Sitamarhi Sub-division in the district of Muzafferpore gathered in a mass meeting express

their loyalty to the British Throne and assure the Government that they will not put impediments in the way of the Government at this critical juncture of war."

"That the Muhammadans in consideration of their present financial and educational position and their population do not require Home Rule in any form for it will prove detrimental to their interests and therefore they are dead against it."

"That the Muhammadans disapprove of the action of the 'All-India Moslem League' in co-operating with the Congress on the question of Home Rule for India, because the League does not represent the true views of the Moslems."

"That the Muhammadans request the Government to protect and encourage the religious and secular educations of the Muhammadans and their language."

"That the Muhammadans condemn the action of the rioters in Shahabad and other districts, and are highly grateful to the Government for taking immediate steps in protecting the Muhammadans, and further request that the Government will take necessary steps to protect the religious and other rights of the Muhammadans in future."—*Englishman*, November 16, 1917.

REPORT OF MEETINGS HELD BY **the Muhammadans of Bengal** IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

The Muhammadans of Burdwan, Rungpur, Murshidabad and Faridpore have held meetings and adopted the resolution passed by the Indian Moslem Association of Calcutta regarding Home Rule and **expressing their views that Home Rule as demanded is unsuitable for India, and is not only detrimental to the Moslem interest but also to the Indian people at large. They also denounced the Congress-League scheme of reforms.**—*Pioneer Mail*, November 10, 1917.

REPORT OF A MASS MEETING OF **the Muhammadans of Darbhanga (Bengal)** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

There was an open-air mass meeting of Moslems of the district of Darbhanga at Lahariasarai, on the 4th instant, with regard to the Home Rule movement. Representatives

of all classes of Muhammadans of the sub-divisions of Sudder Darbhanga, Samastipur and Madhubani, numbering about three thousand, took part in the deliberations of the meeting, and unanimously passed resolutions to the effect that they were of opinion that **the demand for Home Rule in India was mischievous and would prove highly prejudicial to the true interests of the Moslem community; that they were convinced that those Muhammadans who were in favour of Home Rule did not represent the general opinion of the Musalmans on the question;** and that they condemned the action of the All-India Moslem League in joining hands with the Congress in demanding Home Rule for India, and in entering into an undesirable compromise on questions affecting the interest of the Muhammadans in general before ascertaining their views. — *Pioneer Mail*, November 20, 1917.

REPORT OF A MASS MEETING OF **the Muhammadans of Muzaffarpur (Bengal)** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

At another mass meeting of the Muhammadans of the Muzaffarpur district, on the 4th instant, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"That the Musalmans of the district of Muzaffarpur have every sympathy with the reasonable aspirations of educated Indians, but **strongly object to the adoption of the proposed reform scheme or any scheme that aims at a transference of the powers of Government from the hands of the British into the hands of the Indians, as it will jeopardise and endanger the safety, peace and security of the Muhammadans in particular and of Indians in general.**"—*Pioneer Mail*, November, 20, 1917.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **the Muhammadans of Jamui** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

A meeting of the Jamui Musalmans was held on the 6th inst., to collect subscriptions in aid of the sufferers by the recent riots in Shahabad, Gaya, and Patna district. Maulvi Taharat Karim Sahib presided. The resolutions passed condemned the riots and expressed gratitude to

Government for the measures taken. One resolution strongly dissented from a suggestion by a Home Rule organ to the effect that Hindus who are collecting subscriptions in aid of the Musalmans should consider whether these should be given to the Musalmans direct or to those Hindus who under the law will be compelled to compensate the people who have incurred losses. It was submitted that to give the subscriptions to the Hindus as suggested would only have the effect of making futile the pecuniary punishment of the aggressors.

Another resolution, referring to the suggestion of compromise, expressed the view that there is only one way of unity and brotherhood, *i.e.*, that both communities should have complete religious freedom, and that no member of one community should interfere in any way with any member of the other community in their religious performances. **Another resolution declared that under the present circumstances Home Rule would not be beneficial to the interests of Musalmans, and disowned all connection with those short-sighted leaders who, posing as representatives of the entire body of Musalmans, are trying to obtain Home Rule.**—*Pioneer Mail*, November 20, 1917.

REPORT OF A MASS MEETING OF **The Muhammadans of Patna** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

A largely attended meeting of the Musalmans of Bihar-Sharif (District Patna) was held on the 9th instant in the Victoria Memorial Hall, under the Presidency of Nawab Syed Nasiruddin Ahmad Khan Bahadur.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

“1. This meeting strongly condemns and deplors the most inhuman and unwarrantable atrocities perpetrated on the innocent and helpless Musalmans of the District of Arrah and Gaya without any provocation, and appeals to the Muhammadans at large to take more vigorous steps to relieve the distress of these unfortunate victims of fanaticism and barbarity.”

“2. This meeting expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the benign Government for promising to allow compensation to the sufferers from the riots.”

"3. This meeting respectfully urges upon the Government the necessity of freely providing arms to the Muhammadans."

"4. This meeting appreciates with gratitude the good service rendered by the popular Sub-Divisional Officer Moulvi Shamshuddin Haider and the Inspector of Police Moulvi Mirza Banyad Ali Beg, who by their prompt and energetic actions have up to this time invariably been able to maintain peace and order in the Bihar Sub-Division during the Bakrid and other festivals of Hindus and Muhammadans for the last three years."

"5. **This meeting disapproves of the scheme adopted by the Congress and the All-India Moslem League as it does not provide sufficient safeguards for the interests of the Musalmans,** and strongly endorses the views expressed in the representation of, and supports the scheme submitted by, the Association to safeguard the Moslem interests of Patna with the recommendation that the Presidentship of the Council should go by election to the Hindu and Moslem Communities by rotation."

"6. Copies of the above resolutions be submitted to the Local Government, the All-India Moslem League and the Press."—*Englishman*, November 16, 1917.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **The Muhammadans of Arrah**
(BENGAL) HELD IN SEPTEMBER, 1917.

On the 29th ult. a largely attended meeting of the Muhammadans of Arrah passed a resolution to the effect that **the present agitation for Home Rule is premature and likely to have an injurious effect on the country.** The mover of the resolution stated that the present conditions of the country did not justify any agitation for Home Rule, which should come in its own good time when the country was prepared for it. The safe lines on which the British Government was training Indians for the responsible task of self-government might well be relied upon as a mark of England's intention to grant Home Rule in the fulness of time.—*The Statesman*, September 7, 1917.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **The Muhammadans of Behar and Orissa** HELD IN OCTOBER, 1917.

A largely attended meeting of both the Shia and Sunni sects of Alinagarpali under the presidentship of Syed Yakoub Hossain, rais and zemindar, was held on 14th October, and the following resolutions were passed :—

“ 1. That we Muhammadans of Alinagarpali **consider the present Home Rule agitation not only injurious to our cause but deem it entirely derogatory and inimical to our lives, religion, honour, prestige and wealth.**”

“ 2. That we entirely denounce the action of some of those Moslems who are attracted by sugar-coated palliatives of Home Rule, and *show* themselves as leaders of Musalmans.”

“ 3. That the All-India Moslem League and District Leagues are erroneously considered to be true Moslem representative bodies. They represent simply their members, and therefore any resolutions passed by the said Leagues are not binding upon the entire Moslem population.”

“ 4. That we Muhammadans **strongly protest and vigorously oppose any resolution passed by the Congress and Moslem League in connection with Home Rule.**”

“ 5. That the views and sentiments of the Indian National Congress are radically opposed and inimical to the views and sentiments of Moslems, and it is, therefore, that religious prejudices, enmity and hatred of the Congressmen against the Moslems are increasing with ever-widening gulf. The growing atrocities in Bakr-Id riots are the obvious outcome of the National Congress. An apt specimen of these brutalities and atrocities shown towards the Moslems, at which even Germans may perspire with shame and hatred, is witnessed in the Districts of Arrah, Gaya and Patna. The benign Government when she is engaged in the great Continental war is put to much trouble and difficulties. The attitude of rebellious Hindu mobs growing furious and unbearable, the Government had to adopt stern measures to suppress them, otherwise these districts would have been streaming with Moslem blood and the Moslem population

would have been practically wiped out and totally crushed."

"6. That our wealth, property and honour are at stake at the hands of these rebellious mobs, and, therefore, we pray that we Muhammadans and our Anglo-Indian brothers be freed from the Arms Act, so that we may be in a position to defend ourselves."

"7. That, in conclusion, we add that we, Muhammadans, are ever loyal well-wishers of the British Rule, and we always earnestly pray for the strength, durability and victory of the Government, and hope that the resolution be given deep consideration by the authorities in power."

"8. That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Government of Bihar and Orissa for kind and gracious consideration."—*Englishman*, October 19, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM THE ADDRESS OF **The Behar Moslem Association** TO THE VICEROY AND MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

"Mr. S. J. Huda read the address of the Association to safeguard Moslem interests in Behar and Orissa. The memorandum of reforms submitted by the Association said that the adoption of the Congress-League scheme for Home Rule in India would lead to the political extinction of the Moslem community, and condemned those Muhammadans who had endorsed the views of the Congress."—*Times of India Mail*.

REPORT OF A MEETING OF **The Muhammadans of Jhansi** HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

A large and representative gathering of the Muhammadan community of Jhansi held a protest meeting against Home Rule on the 24th instant. Moulvi Abdul Ghani was unanimously elected chairman, and in opening the meeting delivered a strong address against Home Rule, and subsequently resolutions were passed to the effect that the first and foremost duty of every loyal Muhammadan is the prosecution of the war to a successful end, and that therefore no schemes of reform should be dealt with till after the war.—*Pioneer Mail*, December 1, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF MEETING OF
The Moslem Defence Association, United Provinces,
 ON NOVEMBER II, 1917.

The Moslem Defence Association, U.P., held its first meeting at Allahabad on Sunday, the 11th November. It was attended by a large number of gentlemen from the *mofussil*. About 500 letters were received from many influential members of the Moslem community of the province supporting the movement enthusiastically and accepting membership. Some have voluntarily paid donations to meet the initial expenses of the Association. A draft of the aims and objects of the Association prepared by Mr. Ibni Ahmad was adopted at the meeting. It was unanimously resolved to present an address to the Right Hon. Mr. Montagu emphasising the interests of the Moslem community and **the desirability of maintaining the moderating and adjusting influence of the British Government in India intact, not merely for the present, but for many years to come.** It was further resolved that a deputation of the representatives of the Moslems of the U.P. should wait upon Mr. Montagu. A draft of the address was discussed and adopted.—*Pioneer Mail*, November 24, 1917.

REPORT OF THE TERMS OF A MEMORIAL FROM
The Moslem Defence Association of the United Provinces
 TO MR. MONTAGU IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

The Association's representation urged that a system of purely territorial electorates was not suited to India, and the Association was in full accord with Lord Islington's remark that in India the franchise must, in the main, be based on communal lines. They suggested the three cardinal principles which should form the basis and groundwork of reforms. Firstly, the permanence and stability of the British connection, and the moderating and adjusting influence of the British Government in India must be maintained; secondly, the new scheme of reforms should be the natural and logical development of the Morley-Minto scheme, but changes which are not suited to the political progress India has hitherto made should be scrupulously avoided; thirdly, while satisfying the legitimate aspirations of Indians

the new scheme should safeguard the separate communal interests of Indian Moslems, and their position should be secured against the possible onslaught of rival communities.—*Pioneer Mail*, November 24, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM A REPORT OF A MEETING OF
The Muhammadans of Bareilly, United Provinces,
HELD IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

The meeting passed the following resolution:—"The proposed Home Rule scheme of the All-India Moslem League and the National Congress is highly dangerous for Indian Moslems, and this meeting considers this scheme detrimental to the religious, social and political rights of Musalmans." The resolution proceeded to **protest against the attitude the officers of the All-India Moslem League had adopted in totally disregarding the wishes of Indian Musalmans in respect to the Home Rule scheme. The scheme, added the resolution, should never have been considered as approved by Musalmans.**—*Pioneer Mail*, November 20, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS OF **The Panjab Moslem League** TO MR. MONTAGU IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

"The memorable announcement of policy made by yourself in the House of Commons on the 20th August last that self-government within the Empire was the ultimate ideal of His Majesty's Government for this country has sent a thrill of satisfaction throughout the length and breadth of India, and for that epoch-making announcement all sincere well-wishers and advocates of India's progress are indeed deeply grateful. The Moslem community, in common with the rest of their countrymen, sincerely welcome that declaration. **In view of the complicated political conditions obtaining in this country and at the present stage of our country's development, however, it is impossible for the Moslem community to commit themselves to any particular form of self-government or Home Rule as the ultimate constitutional goal for India. It is our sincere conviction that no cut-and-dried scheme of self-government found successful in other parts of the Empire under political conditions vastly different from**

those obtaining in this country can be safely grafted into our system of Government. Speaking generally, however, we are inclined to agree with what you said in the House of Commons on the 12th July last that the creation of self-governing provinces organised and co-ordinated, not as one great Home Rule country but as a series of self-governing provinces and principalities federated by one central Government, should be the ultimate goal in India.

“The scheme of reforms which, on behalf of our community we venture to present to you to-day, has been prepared as a result of careful and anxious consideration of the existing political conditions and of the lines on which, in our humble judgment, future constitutional and administrative development ought to proceed. In the preparation of this scheme we have borne three cardinal principles in mind—firstly, **to avoid any change which may be calculated even in the slightest degree to impair the permanence and stability of British rule in India**; secondly, to forward a scheme of reforms which constitutes the next natural development of the Minto-Morley reforms as consistent with the stage of progress which India has already reached and is calculated to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian peoples; and, thirdly, to safeguard the separate communal interests of the seventy millions of His Imperial Majesty’s loyal Musalman subjects in this country.”—*Pioneer Mail*, November 24, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM A REPORT OF THE ADDRESS OF **The Central National Muhammadan Association** (FOUNDED IN 1877)
TO MR. MONTAGU IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

With regard to administration and public service, the memorialists state that they naturally view with misgivings and consternation the fate which would overtake them as regards their proportion in the personnel of the administration and in the service of the State under Home Rule or self-government when non-Moslem influence would, as things stand at present, necessarily be more predominant. Therefore, before Musalmans can accept any Home Rule or self-government scheme, they respectfully claimed that the British Government, which undertook the administration of the Empire principally from Moslem hands, should

allot and guarantee to the Moslems their proper and legitimate share in the personnel of the administration and in the public services.

EXTRACT FROM REPORT OF A MEMORIAL OF
The Ahmadiyyah Community (Panjab) TO MR. MONTAGU
 IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

Any change which proposed to take the final decision from the British element and to transfer it to Indian hands would be detrimental to the interests of minorities, and no change should be introduced by which the majority of posts in the higher departments of administration should be entrusted to Indians. In conclusion, the Secretary said India was in need of two kinds of reforms: (1) Reforms demanded by the condition of the country as a whole, and (2) reforms demanded by the majority of the educated. Both kinds of reforms are really necessary, and their introduction is demanded by justice. But, in finally deciding what these reforms should be three things must be taken into consideration: (1) No reform tending to weaken the Government should be introduced, (2) nor should any reform tending to prejudice the interests of the minorities be sanctioned, but (3) reform demanded by and calculated to satisfy the legitimate demands of the different classes of the country should not be refused.—*Englishman*, November 16, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "HOME RULE
 AND INDIA," BY **Nawab Ahmad Hussain, Khan**
Bahadur of Pariawan, PARTABGARH
 DISTRICT, UNITED PROVINCES.

"One may not take into account the internal division and dissensions of the Hindu and Moslem communities severally, but it is impracticable and unnatural to fuse both of them into one single nation. The waters of the Ganges and the Indus may unite, but there can never be a real union of hearts between the Hindus and Muhammadans as long as they are Hindus and Muhammadans. The incidents connected with the question of separate representation in the Councils, the Urdu and Hindi problem, and the scenes of the outbreaks on the occasions of Bakri-Id,

Moharram, Dassera and Holi are clear indications of the fact that the Hindus and Musalmans are two opposites which cannot go side by side at a time.

“Not only do the fabric and the conditions of this country of heterogeneous communities require the master-hand of a foreign Government to keep its political machine going smoothly, but it is indispensably necessary for its prosperity and welfare that it should be ruled by a Power which is neither Hindu nor Muhammadan.

“Now we are waiting to see how the Government is going to meet the demands of the Home Rulers. If, God forbid, it grants them the Home Rule they aspire for, then, although we may not, out of respect, call it a weakness, still we cannot help saying that it has deliberately plunged the country, which has flourished so much under its benign rule, into the very depths of desolation and disaster.

“We do not mean to propose that the reasonable demands and legitimate aspirations of the Indians should not be granted. They must be given their due. But it is not advisable to gratify their childish obstinacy by letting them play with dangerous fireworks which may suddenly explode and reduce them to ashes.”

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE **All-India Conference**
of Indian Christians HELD IN BOMBAY,
 DECEMBER, 1917.

Presiding over the fourth All-India Conference of Indian Christians, Mr. M. D. Devadoss, of Madras, referred to the present political situation in India, and said what concerned them most was what should be the attitude of the community towards it. He said: “I may emphatically say that, individual opinions apart, our community as a whole—I am speaking with a full sense of responsibility—is against any form of Home Rule as put forward by the so-called Home Rulers. I am voicing the opinion of the community when I say: (1) **That the people of this country, nay, continent, have not arrived at that state of development when they could govern themselves;** (2) **the clashing of castes and creeds makes it injudicious, nay dangerous, at any rate at**

present, to remove the protecting hand of the British nation from the internal administration of the country; (3) the majority of our public men have not learnt to subordinate self to public good; (4) the basic idea that every member of every class and caste, however low, is a citizen entitled to equal privileges has not been understood by the people at large; (5) the vested rights of certain classes and castes are too strong to give way to political sagacity and wisdom."—*Englishman*, January 5, 1918.

REPORT OF A MEMORANDUM FROM **The Indian Christians of Bareilly, Shahjahanpur and Pilibhit Districts**
-OF THE UNITED PROVINCES TO THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR IN DECEMBER, 1917.

There are about 15,000 Christians, most of them villagers, in this area. The memorandum reads:—

"In the sacrifice of men and means which India has been making in this war, we are convinced that the Christian community has borne more than its proportionate share, and we wait for the record of the war to be written, confident that it will be found that our professions of loyalty are no sham.

"As religious leaders of a community of 15,000 Christians we are opposed to the immediate introduction of Home Rule on any such basis as is demanded by the Congress scheme. We set down here the reasons for our belief in the unsuitability of the time and the present unfitness, as a whole, of the country to undertake its own government.

"All the various schemes set forth for Home Rule presuppose quiet and peaceful conditions such as have prevailed during the past 50 years. But this calm and tranquil condition, in which the trade of the country has increased by leaps and bounds, and progress has been made along so many lines, is possible only when there is internal peace, and, so far this has been maintained by the British Army, which has invariably been called in when there has been any danger of a serious disorder, and which, even when there is no immediate danger of an outbreak, acts as a deterring influence, a silent but effective sentinel; a menace and threat to would-be troublemongers.

“The Indian Army has responded nobly whenever called upon, but what would happen if the British Army were withdrawn? It has protected us from disorders of the peace within, and from would-be invaders without. History records wave after wave of invasion, and the plains of Northern India have been drenched with blood. The British have put a stop to this since they assumed control. We fear that with the protection of the British Army withdrawn, India might any day be thrown into the unenviable position in which Russia is to-day—an enemy thundering at or near the gates of her capital, and occupying some of her richest territory, and a terrible civil war going on, while there is no one powerful enough to put down the latter or drive out the former.

“We feel that there is no real unity amongst Indians, except such as may be contained in the phrase, ‘opposition to the British.’ Not long since an ex-member of Congress said: ‘We were opposed to anything English, not on the grounds of its being right or wrong, but merely because it was sponsored by an Englishman.’ Though it may be natural for them to assume such an attitude we respectfully beg to point out that mere opposition or negation never set up a responsible and progressive and respectable Government. There must be some underlying constructive principle before there can be progress and success. As in Russia, there are many difficulties underlying the immediate introduction of Home Rule in India. When, by the overthrow of the regular Government, the yet unprepared Russians assumed control, pandemonium broke loose. The fatal barriers in Russia were and are linguistic, racial and ignorance and illiteracy. The same barriers are present in India. But there is one respect in which India is in even greater danger than Russia was or is; for there the majority of the people are of one religion, but the same cannot be said of many-religioned India.

“These in a nutshell seem to us the real obstacles to unity. It is not necessary to enlarge on these, as all know them.

“We are convinced that the large majority of the people do not want Home Rule now. As has been pointed out often, the cry for responsible self government immediately comes from the educated classes who represent less

than 10 per cent. of the population. The ignorant villagers voice their sentiments thus: 'Khuda is raj ko salamat rakhe.'* They want no change, and many attempts that have been made to get them to sign petitions for Home Rule have been conducted mainly by fraud and deceit, and by playing on their innocence and superstition.

"And even when one considers the educated people there is no sign of any desire unanimous for Home Rule. The non Brahmans almost as a unit stand up against it. The majority of Muhammadans, rendered more cautious by the Bakr-Id riots, are opposing it. The Christians, with but very few exceptions, do not want it.

"We believe that the experiments which have been made along the line of self-government have not proved sufficient of a success to warrant its introduction along any more radical scale. Here it is sufficient to remember the significant action of the Lahore Municipal Board when Government was attempting to reduce the number of official members thereon. Other cases of a similar nature are not lacking.

"We ask: **What of Religious Freedom? This is the point that makes us feel that India is not yet fitted to undertake her own Government.** There are certain rites and practices in the Muhammadan religion, authorised, yea, practically required of them, such as sacrifice of cows, extinction of idolatry and the destruction of idolaters; and these are openly antagonistic to Hindu principles. On the other hand there are certain occasions when the Muhammadan community is sorrowful, mourning the fate of fallen leaders, and it frequently happens, as it did this year, that the day or days of Muhammadan mourning are also the day or days of joy and abandon for the Hindu because of some festival. To the mourning Muhammadan singing and expressed joy are as much an insult as drops of blood from a sacrificed cow are to the Hindu. There can be no religious freedom without toleration.

"Here is where the problem touches us. As Christians we are in the minority, and if there is no real religious freedom

* "May God preserve this (i.e. the British) Government."

we shall be oppressed, and efforts made to destroy the existence of our religion in India. In the villages when a man chooses to become a Christian, if he be a caste man, he is generally persecuted, not allowed to get water (a necessary of life); the Banias dare not sell him food for fear of being socially ostracised, and in other ways the new convert is persecuted. In addition, he is often beaten severely, and attempts made to wrest his land from him by violence if no other means seem availing. Under such conditions who will bring him justice? Certainly not the Brahman who will feel that the recent convert has repudiated the true religion, and if the convert be from a Muhammadan family, one could not expect much justice and toleration from a Muhammadan, for a man who had chosen to become a 'Kafir.'

"In spite of solemn promises to the contrary, we mutely point to the Conscience Clause, an attempt, deliberate and carefully planned to root out Christian teaching in schools under Christian supervision. It showed the will present, and when the opportunity is given to put the will into actual practice, it will prove but the forerunner of further attacks on Christianity.

"If there has been any doubt in our minds on our probable fate it has been dispelled by reading the speeches of Mrs. Besant and her immediate colleagues. She has abjured her Christianity, if she ever had any to abjure, and is open and avowedly bitter in her opposition to it. Her associates, Theosophists like herself, have shown themselves similarly inclined. These are the leaders of the movement and clamour for immediate Home Rule. We see that if they come into power we must expect but short shrift from them.

"That our fears are not foolish and fanciful is also clearly shown by the Muhammadans. Most of their deputations express themselves guardedly for Home Rule, 'provided our religious rights be guaranteed.' Why this proviso, if they do not see real danger ahead?

"If we Indians really aspire for Home Rule we must expect to maintain and promote peace and order. For this we need to have mutual forbearance and toleration so as to enable us to witness with patience the unhindered propaga-

tion of other religions, and the performance of their rites and ceremonies even though these may be distasteful or obnoxious to our own religious feelings. In the absence of such characteristics unlimited power will but result in great bloodshed, due to racial and religious differences.

"It is our solemn conviction that the time is not ripe for India to receive Home Rule, and the people are not prepared to shoulder fully the responsibility of self-government. We shall be glad to see Indians given constantly increasing power and authority, but gradually, for the sake of all concerned. We desire once again to express our loyalty to the Government and to offer ourselves for service to aid our King and Country."—*Pioneer Mail*, December 29, 1917.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF
The Indian Christian (Lingayat) Community
 TO MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

An Indian Christian deputation from the Lingayat community read an address, which stated: "We expect, in common with the rest of India, that in the forthcoming reforms we will have truly representative popular Legislative Councils in which will be truly and properly reflected all the leading elements of the population; that the administration of the country, that is to say, the law-making and law-executing departments of the country, should not be monopolised by a certain section of His Majesty's Indian subjects, but should be so constituted as to make provision in all branches, for the due representation of all the various important communities of the province.

"Unless you will be pleased to look carefully into this important matter we are almost sure that an oligarchy of a certain section of the people will take the place of the present best services of true and unbiassed British minds. Unless adequate provision is made for the due representation of all the various communities in the Legislative Councils and in all the departments of administration there is a real danger of one advanced community swamping up the other less advanced or backward communities, and, further, there will surely be deep and widespread discontent throughout the province.

"We further beg to mention that under the existing conditions of the power and influence of Brahman officials and pleaders it is difficult, nay almost impossible, for even the ablest members of the community to compete successfully with the members of the other advanced, though numerically very small, communities in the general elections. Though it is the members of the Lingayat community who predominate among the producers of wealth and the promoters of trade in the Bombay Carnatic, still the backwardness of this community in point of education is the chief cause for such a state of inability successfully to compete in the general elections."—*Pioneer Mail*, December 29, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF A CORRESPONDENT (J.F.E.) TO THE *Times of India* (MAIL EDITION OF JAN. 12, 1918), HEADED "**The Indian Situation: A Christian View.**"

"With the sorry spectacle of Russia before the world, we confess that to ourselves, Mrs. Besant's Congress address comes as the very negation of statesmanship. She talks of immediate fundamental changes as if she were entirely ignorant of the present Russian chaos. If India were to follow her rash counsels instead of its wise and beneficent rulers, India would quickly be in a far worse mess than Russia. We do not wish to charge Mrs. Besant or her followers with insincerity, but since the Home Rulers privately assert that they know their aims and ideals to be impracticable and impossible at present, but that they might as well ask for much in the hope of getting a little, this fact in itself proves them to be unsafe guides for these days of difficulty and danger.

"**The supreme test of all good government must be the attitude of the poor towards it, and the many urgent petitions of the depressed classes all over the land against Brahman rule, the loud and piteous cry of India's fifty million 'untouchables' to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu to save them from the tyranny of the Brahman 'non-touchables'**—this cry is Britain's greatest tribute. The out-castes of India, who have done so much for India's improvement by providing the labour on Government

public works, have given their opinion about Home Rule in no uncertain voice.

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“The one paragraph in Mrs. Besant’s speech where she approached her real duty to India was that in which she eloquently described the awakening of India’s women. But even on this subject there was little except perfervid oratory. We deplore Mrs. Besant’s presidentship of the Indian Congress not only because it means foreign and therefore un-Indian leadership, borrowing Ireland’s cry for a land so dissimilar both in history and in temperament; because it means the exaltation of a Theosophist so utterly antithetical to everything that is Christian, but mainly because a Western woman is accepting the plaudits of thousands of men whilst millions of her Indian sisters are suffering wrongs indescribable, and all she does to right those wrongs is to insert flowery periods in a two hours’ oration. This is contrary to all sincerity, reality or liberty. Let Mrs. Besant come down from her lofty pedestal and concentrate her splendid powers upon the righting of the awful wrongs on Indian womanhood and she will perform a service which will earn for her a place among the world’s immortals.

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“Lest we be accused of being vague, we declare our belief that nearly all British and American missionaries, along with most Indian Christian leaders, would unite on the following points. That self-government for India is, and should be, the goal of the Government of India; that a solid beginning might safely be made to attain this goal; that the time is not ripe for any complete measure of self-government; that the domination of caste and the leadership of the extremists in India make a continuance of British control and co-operation necessary; that the recent ‘campaign of unprecedented vilification of the motives of the Government and belittling of its achievement’ is to be taken as in no sense an index to the real beneficence of the existing administration; that the extremists are guilty of that sin of statesmanship which consists in inflaming the popular mind by dangling before it a measure of popular control which they know to be at present

impracticable; that the demand for separate communal representation proves the mutual distrust of the various communities; that electoral corruption, and the dislike of the best men of all classes to run the gauntlet of the polls, because of the low methods of canvassing, are proofs that India is not yet ready for popular suffrage on the one hand, and on the other show the wisdom of the Government's system of nomination to councils, etc.; that it is the duty of Christian citizens (among whom we number ourselves), in the words of a leading missionary, 'to protest against the appearance and acceptance of Mrs. Besant as a political leader' for, 'when we remember the history of the Theosophical Society, founded in fraud and mystery, and the career of Mrs. Besant, who has been a bitter opponent of Christianity in India, we cannot possibly see how any Christian can identify himself with her leadership'; and last, but not least, that 'India's Vedanta philosophy can never supply a motive for political progress, or an adequate support for political morality,' since '**Caste with all its implications is opposed to the fundamental principles of modern democracy and Christian civilization.**'"

EXTRACTS FROM A MEMORIAL PRESENTED BY

The Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Federation
(ALLAHABAD) TO MR. MONTAGU IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

"We the representatives of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community in India and Burma desire to offer our grateful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy and yourself for the opportunity of discussing in a free and informal manner the question of political reform in India so far as it relates to (a) increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration; (b) the gradual development of self-governing institutions. Occupying a position intermediate between the Indian on the one side and the European temporarily resident in the country on the other, and understanding as we do the language of the people, their thoughts and their ways, we are able to gauge their real feelings to an extent and in a way that is not always possible to Europeans. **We admit that there is a desire on the part of an advanced section of educated Indians to place the actual government of**

the country largely in Indian hands, but we hold that this desire is not shared by all educated sections, nor does it extend to the vast majority of the Indian peoples who would prefer things to remain as they are. Further, we are of opinion that the radical administrative changes which are being so strenuously advocated will not conduce either to the happiness of the people or to the future peace and tranquillity of the country.

"A full measure of popular government has been claimed partly because the attractive ideal of equal partnership in the British Commonwealth has captured the imagination of educated Indians and partly for the reason that government by the people is considered by them as a condition precedent to such equal partnership. We desire to point out that we are one of the communities of India and as much interested in the welfare of the country as any of the other communities and just as anxious that India should worthily fill the proud position of a co-partner in any scheme of Imperial reconstruction. But we consider that the true interests of India will be best advanced and safeguarded by extending gradually the system of provincial self-government, care being taken that the essentially British character of the administration is retained. We are among those who believe that the political problems of India will be best solved in the course of the natural development of the country and not by any drastic changes.

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"In conclusion we desire to express our great regret that the anxieties of the Indian Government should have been added to at its time of national trial by the action of politicians who have without the excuse of the need for the freedom of great abuses or the redress of hardships affecting the mass of the people raised highly controversial questions which would have been better discussed at the end of the war."—*Englishman*, November 30, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM A MEMORIAL OF
The Burma Branch of the Anglo-Indian Empire League
 TO MR. MONTAGU IN NOVEMBER, 1917.

"The memorialists desire to express their **disapproval of the demand of a section of the Indian people for Home**

Rule, and are of opinion that it would be a national disaster if Home Rule were granted. They sympathise with the desire of educated Indians for a greater share in the Government of the country, and consider such desire should be met by gradual extension of representation by election on local provincial and Imperial Councils. **They urge it is essential to the welfare of the country that the British character of the administration should be maintained.** They desire to express their disapproval of demands that have been made by other memorialists from Burma for a legislative council with four-fifths of members elected and an executive council with four-fifths composed of members elected by legislative councils, and are strongly of opinion that it is premature to have such a large proportion of elected members, and that it would be a rash and unworkable experiment to entrust government to an executive council elected by members of the legislative council. In no circumstances should the executive council be elected direct, but every member should be nominated by the Governor, such proportion as may be deemed expedient being selected from elected members of the legislative council.

“The European and Anglo-Indian communities are part of the Indian Empire, and have a right to representation on all councils in the Empire, which right up to the present so far as Anglo-Indians are concerned has been absolutely ignored. There should be no division or distinction made between Europeans and their descendants. The memorialists feel it would be a deplorable error to give separate representation to Europeans as a class and to their descendants as another class, and submit that it is the duty of every good government to discourage as far as possible racial, religious, class, and other distinctions. **The memorialists are not now asking for reforms, and hold the view that the present clamour for Home Rule is unpatriotic, and that no scheme for representative Government should be put forward or published by the advisers of His Majesty until the war is over and peace declared.** The memorialists believe not even one per cent of the inhabitants of Burma understand what Home Rule means or the effect of the separation of Burma from India. There is no

desire among the bulk of the people one way or the other either in regard to Home Rule or separation."—*Englishman*, November 23, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM AN ADDRESS OF **The Karens of Burma** TO MR. MONTAGU IN DECEMBER, 1917.

A memorial was presented to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State by the Hon. Dr. San and Mr. Sydney Loo Nee, delegates of the National Karen Association (Burma), on behalf of the Karens of the province. The memorial states that looking at the progress made by the peoples of Burma in all points, the Karens of Burma are sensible that the country is not yet in a fit state for self-government.

The memorial adds: "Burma is inhabited by many different races, differing in states of civilisation, differing in religion and social development, hence Burma will still have to undergo many years of strenuous training under British governance before this boon can be conferred on it with security and success. Towards the attainment of this ideal compulsory elementary education is essential. From what has transpired in the past, when injustice and despotism reigned supreme, **the Karens of Burma do not clamour and agitate for the fruition of questionable political privileges, and the ushering in of dubious political eras.** The history of our province indicates that it is in a state of transition still, and as yet the benefits of free government are not quite fully appreciated. **The Karens of Burma, as a whole, repose implicit trust and full confidence in their British rulers,** and hope and pray that the British officials entrusted with the administration of their province may manifest by example and precept a high standard of purity and exalting righteousness, so that they may teach and train their subordinate officers and thus in unbounded measure fit the country for the goal of self-government."—*Pioneer Mail*, December 1, 1917.

EXTRACT FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 31ST INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE IN DECEMBER, 1917.

The 31st Indian National Social Conference met on Sunday in the Congress *pandal*. There was a large number of

social reformers and visitors present, including a large number of ladies from all parts of India. Dr. P. C. Ray presided. In the course of his speech the president took a historical retrospect of the gradual formation of the social strata of Bengal, and the so-called historical basis of the claims of the higher castes. He next asked whether it was fair, just, or in the best interests of the country, that a handful of privileged men should continue to monopolise all advantages accruing to them through the accident of birth and drive the submerged teeming millions to hostile camps, and compel them to live in a state of armed neutrality. A house divided against itself cannot stand. **"We are loud in claiming political equality with our British fellow-subjects,"** he said, **"but when it comes to yielding an inch of ground to our own countrymen, we fight shy of it and cry 'Help.'"**