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1927

1914 - 1947

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FORTNIGHTLY REPORTS RETAINED FILE NO.

Extracts from the Fortnightly Reports
From 1914 Jan To 1947 Dec.

27

esses in the war lent colour to the belief, held
the men of position locally that the present might
as a suitable occasion for a fanatical outbreak.
the war is waning especially in the rural parts.
that much of the news received is unreliable is per-
natural when it includes statements such as that the
only ammunition enough to last for a fortnight and
at the end of the fortnight that there is no appre-
age in the state of affairs in the area of hostilities

MI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH, I.C.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
--the Hon'ble MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
MED--Fort St. George, the 2nd February 1915.
--- 215 W.-1.

directed to forward the following report on the
sidency for the second half of January 1915.
inquiries made indicate however that a few hot-headed
ously discussed the advisability of an outbreak on
ary, but that the men who are regarded as really
a possible danger refused to have anything to do
a. A letter purporting to be addressed by two
Malappuram to one Mokari Abdulla Haji at Mecca
by the postal censor at Bombay, and if it is genu-
estion as to which there is still some doubt) it
there was an impression abroad that the arm of the
sack and that an opportunity had come for systematic

of the district officers report that the people are
to take any interest in the war.

authorities at Pondicherry recently ordered the depo

Paul Richard, a French socialist who has been
intimacy with Arabindo Ghose and other ag

caused these people some alarm; but Riche

against the order and it has been held in a

ecision of the appeal.

OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
The Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secre-
to the Government of India, Home Department.
--Fort St. George, the 16th February 1915.
488 W.-1.

ation in Malabar is still causing a little uneasi-
neighbouring taluk of Walluvanad, however, there
veral small dacoities and one or two serious crimes.
ributed rather to hooliganism than to any political
movement, but it seems likely that the hooliganism
ouraged by a belief that a German invasion was
that no questions would be asked.

-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Judicial Department.
the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
D--the 2nd March 1915.
-806 W.-1.

dans take more interest and many of them still
trôngly with Turkey.

ave been no further crimes in Malabar, chiefly in
ad taluk. The District Magistrate was inclined to
st of the offences to idle Mapilla rowdies. There
been more serious developments in the last few
ocal Hindus and in a state of nervousness and are
afford much assistance, but it appears from the
istrate's report that the general feeling among the
Mapillas is sound.

been considered desirable to remonstrate with the
ome of the local Muhammadan papers on the tone they
aligned to adopt, but it is doubtful whether remons-
ve much effect on those people. The intention to
or to discredit her opponents is fairly obvious

h authorities in Pondicherry and Karaikal are wor-
ly with the British ~~xxxx~~ police, and it is repor-
ees in the former place are discussing the
ting to Algiers, for the sake of the
Right and professes to be

M. Richard left for France on the 22nd February, however, before any arrangements could be made.

DI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th March 1915.
NO-- 1170 W.-1.

(11) There are still various indications that the sympathies of many of the Madras Muhammadans are decidedly with the Turks. The tone of the SAIFUL-ISLAM, the MUSLIM MITRAN, the ISLAMIA PRANGANESAN and the LIVA-UL-ISLAM continues to reflect this attitude; and further endeavours will be made to correct it. In Madras a film showing Turkish boy scouts was greeted with cheers. The discontinuance of the exhibition of the film has been ordered.

(12) The latest news from Malabar is satisfactory. The conspiracy to which I referred in my last letter has been quashed with commendable promptitude, and the local officers are congratulated on the way in which they have dealt with the situation. There are said to be indications of a widespread plot, but it is doubtful whether it had any special connection with the war, though of course any conspiracy would gain encouragement from the belief prevalent amongst the uneducated that the authorities are embarrassed by the war.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 31st March 1915.
NO-- 1443 W.-1.

There is still an undercurrent of pro-Turkish feeling among the Muhammadans in Madras, and the news of the sinking of the British ships in the Dardanelles has been received with dissatisfaction. The new Defence of India Act gives power to the Government to prevent the spread of rumours and reports likely to cause disaffection or

probably be sufficient to keep these papers from publishing objectionable matter. This Act has been adversely criticised in some of the papers and it is said to be generally disliked by Indians in Madras. The Criminal Investigation Department report the circulation of mischievous rumours amongst the railway employees of the South Indian Railway at Madura about the successes of the Germans. Elsewhere the attitude of the people is said to be quite satisfactory, but interest in the war is very slight.

Malabar is quiet, and crime has decreased satisfactorily.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A. BUTTERWORTH,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.
DATED--Cotacamund, the 18th April 1915.
NO.-- 1691-W-1

(14) The Collector of Tanjore reports of the "congress classes" that he finds sign among them of "a marked and rather vague leaning towards Germany".

(15) Several of the Muhammadan papers continue to show a barely concealed sympathy with Turkey. Mrs. Annie Besant, the Editor of NEW INDIA, has been displaying her anti-English/bias in some rather foolish speeches, delivered at Madura, as well as in her leading articles. This has been followed by a series of general articles on self-Government indicating the lines of the campaign, which she advocates "after the War".

(16) The Government have also received information from Bangkok through the Government of India that certain Muhammadans of whom one is strongly suspected of seditious activities are on their way to the Presidency. Orders have been issued to place the suspected man in confinement and to bind over the rest until further enquiries have been made about them.

(17) Recruiting is progressing among the Moplahs of Malabar; but they take little interest in the war.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, I.C.S.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 3rd May 1915.
NO.--1905 W-1.

(18) The Collectors of Tanjore and North Arcot report that there is considerable disinclination to join the army. The district reports generally are to the effect that people have lost interest in the war.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, I.C.S.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 16th May 1915.
NO.--2151 W-1.

(19) Generally speaking interest in the war continues to languish, and even rumour is getting dull. The Muhammadans are in most districts watching the operations in the Dardenelles with mild concern, rather with any lively anticipation; and there is little sign of unrest amongst them. The Government have nevertheless thought it advisable to warn local authorities to be on their guard against demonstrations in the event of the capture of Constantinople by the Allies.

(20) Recruiting continues to be slack. The women are its principal opponents, and they refuse to let their men folk go "to be killed".

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, I.C.S.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 31st May 1915.
No.--2360 W-1.

(21) The district officers are almost unanimous in saying that the average man now takes no interest in the war.

p,t.o.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERNORTH, I.C.S.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
To--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th June 1915.
No.--2753 W.-1.

(22) Politically there is nothing of importance to report.

Muhammadian feeling in Madras Town continues to be secretly sympathetic towards Turkey and a Moulvi from Lucknow who preached in the Big Mosque recently on loyalty to the British Government was suspected of being a creature of the Government.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERNORTH, I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
To--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 29th June 1915.
NO.--2924 W-1.

(23) Public interest in the war continues on the wane.

(24) As the Government of India have been separately informed, six Muhammadans who were suspected in Banghok of associating with seditious characters have returned to South Arcot and Tanjore recently.. The enquiries made have not elicited anything of consequence.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERNORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
To--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 15th July 1915.
NO.--3095 W.-1.

(25) The political situation is unchanged and the ryots are more concerned with the prospects of the monsoon than with the progress of the war. The Government have again had to take notice of objectionable articles in NEW INDIA reflecting on the integrity of the judiciary and designed to foster racial antagonism. They have for the present contented themselves with remonstrating privately with the Editor, Mrs. Besant, who has promised in reply to avoid giving further cause for complaint during the continuance of the war.

(26) Recruiting still proceeds in North Arcot but not so freely as in the earlier months of the year, and the District Magistrate reports some instances of attempts to dissuade intending recruits from joining the army.

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Demi-official--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 30th July 1915.
NO.--3306 W-1.

(27) The tone of the press continues to be satisfactory; and
Mrs. Besant has refrained from publishing objectionable ~~xxx~~
articles since the recent remonstrance addressed to her.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of India,
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 16th August 1915.
NO.---3571 W.-1.

(28) The tone of the Press generally continues to be good; but there have been some articles in NEW INDIA on the subject of the PUBLIC SERVICES COMMISSION one of which was couched in objectionable language. The gist of these articles is that if the Commission's report is published during the war and if, as is anticipated, its recommendations do not satisfy the demands of the "progressives", there should be immediate and vehement agitation notwithstanding the present "truce" to controversy. NEW INDIA is not a paper of very great influence amongst Madrasese, but the articles have been the subject of comment in the BENGALIEE, the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, and a good many other papers; and if, as this Government believe, it is not intended to publish the report, they think it would be advisable to stop this premature campaign by an authoritative pronouncement to that effect at once.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st September 1915.
NO.---3793 W.-1.

(29) A Muhammadan in Madras is reported to have stated that the Prince of Arcot has lost some of the slight amount of regard in which he is held by his co-religionists through his ordering prayers to be said in the mosques on August 4th for the success of the British arms; and the feeling has been expressed by several Sunnis that such prayers are incompatible with the religious obligation of Muhammadans to pray for the welfare of Muhammadan rulers at daily worship.

p.t.o.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of
To:--S.R. HIGNELL, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th September 1915.
NO.--4092 W.-1.

(30) The situation continues generally satisfactory; and interest in the war remains dormant. There is reason to believe that pro-Turkish sentiments are often aired amongst the Madras Muhammadans.

(31) There have been some cases of interference with recruiting parties in Tinnevely and the matter is engaging attention.

(32) Mrs. Besant's paper NEW INDIA has continued to publish mischievous and misleading articles.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO:--S.R. HIGNELL, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 29th September 1915.
NO.--4307 W.-1.

(32) The Muhammadan sympathy with the Turks continues and is perhaps extending, encouraged by their want of success in the Dardanelles. The Press with few exceptions continues to exhibit a correct attitude. Simultaneously with her recent speeches at Bombay on the position of India after the war (Mrs. Besant has been publishing undesirable articles in NEW INDIA in prosecution of her campaign of agitation for "Home Rule for India". Her latest achievement is the formation of a "Home Rule League" to work both in India and in England on an agitation for complete self-government. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is to be President, and Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, President of the Indian section, while it is hoped that Sir William Wedderburn will be President of the English Section.) The manifesto of the League which appeared in NEW INDIA on the 25th instant was sent apparently to all newspapers (it appeared on the same day in the HINDU and the INDIAN PATRIOT); and it is clearly Mrs. Besant's desire to get up an agitation at once by writings and speeches throughout the country. How far she will confine herself to what purports to be her main object, the "education of the masses" in the idea of liberty, and the formulation of a detailed scheme of Home Rule on the lines of Colonial self-government is doubtful. The tone of many of the articles is such as to bring the

months affords ample ground for anticipating that she will give free vent to her anti-government prejudice and will not scruple to play upon racial feeling.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 14th October 1915.
No.---4563 W.-1.

(34) Mrs. Besant's "Home Rule League" does not seem to have excited much enthusiasm amongst those whom she consulted in Madras, and she is said to be trying now to emphasize the fact that the movement is to be purely educative and not of the nature of an agitation. It is not unreasonable to assume that the same objectionable arguments will be used in the educative propaganda as in the political agitation. The government of India have been separately addressed about her.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th November 1915.
NO.---4752 W.-1.

(35) Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, late Judge of the High Court, has made a speech and contributed to the LEADER of Allahabad a statement in support of Mrs. Besant's so-called "Home Rule League". An American Missionary has written to the District Magistrate of Ramnad describing Mrs. Besant as a "growing menace to the peace of the country". The District Magistrate considers that the writer is well qualified to judge of the effect of Mrs. Besant's writing and speeches on the people of the country.

(36) Muhammadan feeling in Madras is described as strongly pro-Turkish.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th November 1915.
NO.---5094 W.-1.

(37) Occasional cases of interference with recruiting parties are still reported.

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(38) The tone of the press calls for little comment. The Home Rule League matter still bulks large; Mrs. Besant's writings have been less violent of late though not less mischievous in their tendency.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd December, 1915.
NO.--5376 W.-1.

(39) The tone of the press calls for no particular remarks.
NEW INDIA Continues to be unsatisfactory.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble MR. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 15th December 1915.
NO.--5553 W.-1.

(40) There has nothing been of importance in the press with the exception of an article in NEW INDIA on "Home Rule" in which a comparison is drawn between the administration of affairs in British India and in Native States greatly to the disadvantage of the former. Mrs. Besant's agitation for "Home Rule" has begun to influence the tone of part of the Indian press in this Presidency and one district Magistrate is much struck by the hold which the idea of "Home Rule" has taken among the educated classes.

p,t.o.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1916).

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.?
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st February 1916.
NO.--347 W.-1.

There is not much to report in this letter as to the state of the trade.

It is reported from more than one district that little trust is placed in the truth of the news concerning the war which is published by English papers; and in Madura a strong Pro-German feeling is said to be fostered by the Swedes who have replaced the German workers in the Lutheran Missions. In very few of the districts do people appear to be taking much interest in the progress of the war. But in Madras city the Muhammadans are reported to be generally jubilant over Turkish successes.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. A. BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd March 1916.
NO.--834 W.-1.

The press has been much concerned with the incident at Mr. Gandhi's lecture at Benares and the action of Mrs. Besant in terminating the meeting. Mrs. Besant has issued several more or less contradictory statements which do not give the impression of a strict adherence to the facts. Her statements have been denied by Mr. Gandhi and as a whole the local press is hostile to Mrs. Besant and it seems likely that whatever influence she possessed has been considerably impaired. Her desire for power and impatience of criticism or opposition are beginning to be resented. A short time ago she offered her services to the local Congress Committee for Home Rule propaganda work, but when it was found that she stipulated that she was to control the work the offer was declined. Her latest move is an attempt to attract the Ruling Chiefs by explaining their dependence on the Government of India. In an article published on 28th February 1916 in

NEW INDIA she urges them to get rid of the control of Residents,
and reminds them of the fable of the bundle of sticks.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.BUTTERWORTH, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 4th April 1916.
NO---1335-W-1. -----

It is reported that the general public are taking very little
interest in the progress of the war.

Mrs. Besant was invited to preside over the Chittoor District
Conference. She said "she was not going to modify her language
until she was silenced by force". In this latest utterance she
shows fairly clearly that her aim is to enhance her own influence
and popularity by forcing Government to take proceedings against
her or her paper. It is not proposed at present to take any steps
against her as there is a good deal of evidence that her influence
is rapidly declining and that even students do not take her at her
own valuation.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th April 1916.
NO---1596 W-1. -----

The paper COMMONWEAL contains an offensive article as to
Anglo-Indians ~~and~~ dislike of Lord Hardinge in which it is stated
that the interests of Indians and Anglo-Indians are "in such
total opposition that to be loved by one community is to be hated
by the other". She further stated that the Anglo-Indians are
anxious not for the progress of the country but for their own
interests.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th May 1916.
NO---1975-1. -----

The importance of the Irish rebellion does not seem to have
been generally appreciated. The tone of the press with regard

this matter has been generally satisfactory except in the case of NEW INDIA. The Assistant Editor of that paper, Mr. J.H. Cousins contributed articles descriptive of their career, couched in language calculated to excite sympathy and pity for them rather than reprobation for their treason. Mrs. Besant's own editorial comments have been in an even more dangerous vein. Ascribing the rebellion to the "desperation" naturally caused by "misgovernment" and condoning it as due to a mere desire "to call the attention of the world to the state of affairs in Ireland", and she has gone out of her way to lay stress on the "undoubted sincerity and idealism of the rebels' motives" and to expatiate on the "exasperation caused by the dashing of the near hope of freedom". She declares "we cannot shirk the plain truth that the responsibility for the tragedy lies at the doors of others than those who have borne or will bear the penalty" and clearly indicates that the outbreak was caused by "the vacillation and ineptitude" of the British Government. Her recent writings in NEW INDIA, have convinced the Government that it is expedient to take steps to bring that journal under control, and it has just been decided to move the Chief Presidency Magistrate to call upon her to deposit security under section 3 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, in her capacity as keeper of the press at which NEW INDIA is published.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 3rd June 1916.
NO.--2113 W-1.

✓ In the issue of the 30th May Mrs. Besant has announced the attitude which she intends to take up, It is to pay the security demanded and to keep on writing exactly as she has done until an order of forfeiture is passed, in which event she proposes to avail herself of the full period of two months, allowed by section 17 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, before applying to the High Court to set aside the order of forfeiture, the interval being utilized for a campaign of systematic agitation.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.WHEELER, C.S.I., C.I.E., Secre-
tary to the Government of India, Home Department,
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th June 1916. (Simla.
NO.---2375-W-1.

Efforts are being made to improve the recruitment of
sepoys and of the menials required for service in Mesopotamia,
but so far these have not been attended with satisfactory
results. The disinclination to serve in either capacity is
general.

Mrs. Besant's journalistic campaign against the Press
Act in general and the proceedings taken against her own print-
ing press in particular has been prosecuted with much vigour
in NEW-INDIA, but other South Indian papers have given her
comparatively tepid support, though for the most part they join
readily in deprecation of the general policy underlying the Act.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.
TO--~~Mr~~ H.WHEELER, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st July 1916.
No.---2546-W-1.

Mrs. Besant's journalistic campaign continues. A fresh
sphere of activity has been opened by the establishment in
London of an auxiliary Home Rule League under the conduct of
theosophical adherents of Mrs. Besant.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.
TO--S.R.HIGNELL, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th July 1916.
NO.---2726-W-1.

Mrs. Besant's activities continue unabated. The anarchist
murders in Bengal have been palliated on the ground that they
are ^{the} not unnatural outcome of the repressive measures of Govern-
ment. This view was emphasized in an article contributed by
Bepin Chandra Pal, excusing the criminals as youthful idealists
and suggesting that the only remedy is the grant of Home Rule
for India.

From Tanjore comes the curious report that in certain quarters a strong feeling of opposition to her has been excited by the adulation which she receives from some of her followers. The District Magistrate writes: "she is always called 'Amma' by her true followers; they will not mention her name, prostrate before her and very nearly consider her a goddess."

LETTER--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.?-I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Depart-
DATED--Ootacamund, the 6th August 1916. (ment.
No.--2883-W-1, Public.

// Mrs. Besant's violence of language continues unchecked and, without prejudice to the action which may ultimately be deemed expedient, the Government have thought it necessary formally to consult their legal advisers both with regard to specific articles which are prima facie of a seditious character and come within the purview of section 4 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, and also with reference to the wider question of the prospect of obtaining an order under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code against Mrs. Besant, based on a voluminous series of extracts from NEW INDIA, her public speeches and her books.

The dangerous tendency of her journalistic activities has received striking illustration during the last week or two in the shape of a series of disputes between Indian students and Europeans and Eurasians coming in to college or office by early morning trains from the suburbs of Madras. These culminated on the 27th July in a free fight at the Fort station, in the course of which several persons were injured. This affair and an earlier case of assault will form the subject of judicial proceedings and it is not necessary at present to enter into the merits, but the incidents are no doubt traceable to matter appearing prominently in NEW INDIA.

It has been reported to Government on authority described as "excellent" that Mrs. Besant "has provided against deportation by writing to Tilak asking him to pilot home rule through the Congress if she is unable to do it herself". Inflammatory as Mrs. Besant's language has been, it must in fairness be noted that she has adjured her supporters not to use violence and prohibited

theosophical lodges from taking part in the Home Rule controversy.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Ootacamund, the 19th August 1916.

No.--3098-W-1.

Mrs. Besant's activities continue and it has now been decided after consulting the Advocate-General and the Public Prosecutor to take steps under section 4 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, for the forfeiture of the security.

At the election of Madras representatives on the Imperial Legislative Council the successful candidates were Mr. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. B.Narasimheswara Sharma. These gentlemen were shortly after entertained at a special congratulatory meeting by the Young Men's Indian Association, an organization which Mrs. Besant has founded in imitation of the Young Men's Christian Association but for the purpose of saving young men from Christian influence. Both the successful candidates are described by Mrs. Besant as staunch supporters of Home Rule and she has expressed special satisfaction at the election of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri (who succeeded the late Mr. Gokhale as President of the Servants of India Society). An editorial note in NEW INDIA of the 22nd July alleges that "the Servants of India Society have pledged themselves to work for Home Rule", while subsequent issues refer to Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's "knowledge of facts and his sanity of judgment" as making him "invaluable in the Home Rule group", describe him as "practically the only Indian who has taken part in an educative campaign for Home Rule". These allegations form the subject of further enquiry.

The fracas between Indian students and Europeans and Asians at the Fort Station, Madras, on the 27th July has been investigated by the police and both parties have been charged with committing an affray. NEW INDIA'S comments on the reservation of railway carriages for Europeans and Eurasians have been published in vernacular papers.

So far as information has yet been received, there

evidence that Mrs. Besant's propaganda are spreading in the villages but her paper, NEW INDIA, is undoubtedly widely read and, like her pamphlets, appeals especially to the younger generation and the student class. There is some reason to suppose that Theosophical Lodges and mufassal branches of the Young Men's Indian Association take part in the distribution of her political tracts but this may only be due to the action of individual members and not to the organisations themselves.)

Mr. J.H. Cousins is going to Madanapalle in the Cuddapah district as Principal of Mrs. Besant's College there and it is stated in police reports that he has had special instructions from Mrs. Besant quietly to preach Home Rule to his students so as to spread the agitation through the Ceded Districts.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 5th September 1916.

NO.--3274-W-1.

In accordance with the decision referred to in paragraph 7 of my last report, notices under sections 4 (1) and 3 (2) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, were drafted by the Government Law Officer and duly served on Mrs. Besant on the 28th and 30th August.

Mrs. Besant announced in the issue of that paper dated 29th idem her intention immediately to suspend the publication of the paper pending decision of the High Court, or, if necessary, of the Privy Council, as to the legality of the notice of forfeiture.

c.s.i.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. L.DAVIDSON, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.

DATED--Ootacamund, the 16th September 1916.

NO.--3567-W-1.

Mrs. Besant has deposited security. // Mrs. Besant seems to have transferred at least a portion of her activities to the "Madras Parliament", which after a long period of quiescence has recently been holding meetings once a week. She also presided on the 3rd September at a meeting for the formal inauguration of the Home Rule League in Madras and concluded her speech on that

occasion with an impassioned peroration in the following terms:-

"We offer to God all that we have and keep nothing back. We give our name. We give our liberty. We give our lives, if need be, for the sake of the Motherland and, as God is just and as God is righteous, the sacrifice that we place before the Motherland's altar shall send up its flames to heaven and the answer in fire shall descend".

The evil influence which language of this description exercises upon the student class receives illustration in a report from Trichinopoly, where the college students are stated to read NEW INDIA with avidity^{and} to get hold of Mrs. Besant's pamphlets whenever they can, and school boys have actually been heard reciting the last sentence in her article on the Tilak's security case-- "The agony of the cross precedes the resurrection of India-- a Nation".

Further evidence of the unrest in the student world is to be found in the occurrence of a general strike at the Madras Law College on the 8th instant.

~~With~~ At a meeting of the Madras Committee of the Press Association of India held at HINDU office on the 31st August 1916 it was resolved to start a Press Defence Fund immediately and the Editor of the HINDU, who is the local Secretary of the Association has accordingly appealed to the public for subscriptions with special reference to the proceedings taken against the New India Printing Press and the Vasanta Press.

With reference to the allegation that Mrs. Besant's theosophical and political propaganda are quite distinct the following extract from the Tanjore Collector's report is instructive:--

"Mrs. Besant sent down orders to the Hon'ble V.K. Ramadja Achariyer as President of the Theosophical Lodge to hold a Home Rule Meeting; in spite of certain local objections against using the religious organisation for political purposes, he was obliged to hold the meeting by the rules of the society. Thirteen people attended it out of the whole of Kumbakonam with its population of 60,000 and three voted against the motion. However, the meeting resolved to send one of the school mistresses of the Theosophical Girls' School to the Madras meeting".

The Government have been furnished with further evidence that the theosophical organisation and its officers take a direct part in political propaganda, particularly in Malabar and Madura. This development, together with the evolution of various subsidiary or allied bodies ostensibly concerned with social service, the co-operation of Hindus and Muhammadans, the elevation of the depressed classes, the conversion of Christians and Muhammadans to Hinduism, undoubtedly requires careful watching and the Government are calling for a special report on the subject.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, I.C.S., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department, Simla.

DATED--Ootacamund, the 29th September 1916.
No.---3709-W-1.

Mrs. Besant's application to set aside the order forfeiting her security deposit came on for hearing on the 27th instant; Mrs. Besant is conducting her own case.

The criminal proceedings with regard to the fracas at the Fort Station on the 27th July are still in progress and the evidence in let/unmistakably suggests that the disturbance was a direct result of the distribution of leaflets reprinted from NEW INDIA declaring the reservation of railway carriages for Europeans and Eurasians to be an illegal infringement of popular rights justifiably warranting resistance.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Sir JAMES H.DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 13th October 1916.
NO.---3935-W-1.

The hearing of Mrs. Besant's application to set aside the order forfeiting her security deposit ^{Continued} until Monday, the 2nd October when the proceedings closed and judgment was reserved.

p.t.o.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Madras, the 31st October 1916.
NO.--4163-W-1.

The High Court delivered judgment on the 18th October in Mrs. Besant's cases. Both her applications were dismissed with the result that the order forfeiting her security deposit of Rs.2,000 holds good. A majority of the Judges have, however, found that the Magistrate's order directing the original deposit of security was illegal, the view taken being that by originally dispensing with security his predecessor in office had exhausted the powers conferred upon him by sub-section (1) of section 3 of the Indian Press Act, 1910, and that the power to cancel or vary orders under that sub-section cannot be construed as conferring authority to vary an order dispensing with security passed under the proviso to the sub-section. Mr. Justice Ayling dissented from this view. His colleagues, the Acting Chief Justice Abdur Rahim and Seshagiri Ayyar, J., held that the only remedy open to Mrs. Besant was by civil suit, and she has accordingly given notice of such a suit against Mr. C.B.N. Pelly (the Chief Presidency Magistrate) and the Secretary of State, claiming the refund of the deposit of Rs.2,000 ~~to~~ together with interest. She is also instructing counsel in England to move the Privy Council apparently on the general issue that the Indian Press Act is ULTRA VIRES of the Indian Legislature. It may be stated, that so far as can be gathered from the summaries and extracts published in the local newspapers, both the Acting Chief Justice and his colleague Seshagiri Ayyar, J., committed themselves to pronouncements with regard to Mrs. Besant's intentions and motives, which will inevitably be utilised for political purposes and may prove embarrassing to Government; in some cases these pronouncements were OBITER DICTA which need not have formed part of the judgment.

(The Home Rule League continues its activities; a general meeting was held in the hall of the Young Men's Indian Association on the 13th October, with Mrs. Besant in the chair, for the purpose of inviting suggestions as to the formulation of a definite programme of work. Branches of the league are still coming

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into being in the mufassal and further evidence is acc.
as to the connection with this movement of Mrs. Besant's t
phical following.

The newspapers report another case of an Indian occupying
a seat in a compartment reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians
and refusing to vacate it at the request of the railway officials;
this was at Trichinopoly and the train is said to have left the
station amidst cheers for the Brahman vindicator of popular rights

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the
Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Madras, the 17th November 1916.
NO.---4374 W-1.

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// The activities of the Home Rule League continue. Special (E)
Home Rule classes have been started and are to be held twice a
week in the hall of the Young Men's Indian Association at Madras;
the first meeting was taken by a member of the Theosophical
Society under the presidency of Mrs. Besant herself.

Attention is being concentrated on the student classes,
and there is no question as to the hold which Mrs. Besant and
her followers are acquiring on the rising generation. The most
noticeable outward symptom is resentment of control, even when
exercised in a form which hitherto would not have given rise to
any opposition. This is not matter for surprise seeing that stu- (E)
dents and schoolboys read NEW INDIA regularly, study Mrs. Besant's
political pamphlets and attend Home Rule classes and lectures.
The bad effect which this has on discipline extends outside
Madras; it has been specially noticed at St. Joseph's College,
Trichinopoly, and in the College at Coimbatore where notices (E)
inviting the readers to "kill the English" and to "worship Mrs.
Besant" were recently found posted up on the college gates. In
Madras City the feeling is reported to be worst at Pachaiyappa's
College, ~~at~~ from the students/which institution took a prominent
part in the fracas at the Fort Railway station on the 27th July
1916. The hustling of police reporters at political meetings has
become a common occurrence.

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri (the President of the Servants of India Society) publicly denied membership of the Home Rule League, and stated that "he belonged to a different school."

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt.
of Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Madras, the 1st December 1916.

NO---4508 W-1.

The Home Rule League is arranging to open reading-rooms and libraries in different parts of the city, and two more "Home Rule Classes" were held on the 10th and 20th November, while on the 14th idem a Home Rule Volunteer Corps, limited, for the present to a strength of 75, was formed for the primary purpose of keeping order at league meetings; the volunteers who wear crimson turbans may also be made available for social and public service in the interests of local bodies which are not hostile to the cause of Home Rule.

Another meeting of the "Madras Parliament" was held on the 26th when discussion was devoted to a Bill purporting to provide for the separation of executive and judicial functions and the investiture of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council with special advisory powers as well as authority to hold sittings in India. Mrs. Besant herself took part in the debate for the purpose of answering the arguments of Mr. G.S.Arundale who as "leader of the opposition" again played the part of ADVOCATUS DIABOLI.

So far as the mufassal is concerned the reports received from Collectors do not indicate that much interest is taken in the Home Rule movement except among the student class and the younger vakils.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the
Government of Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Madras, the 18th December 1916.

NO---4788 W-1.

If the threatened suit against the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the Secretary of State, claiming a refund of the NEW INDIA Printing Press deposit, should be filed, the Government

propose to move the High Court to refer it to a Bench of three Judges, on the Original Side.

A further meeting of the "Madras Parliament" was held on the 10th instant. The Home Rule class met on the 24th and 27th November and the 1st instant, while the league opened new offices on the 7th instant, including another library. Mr. Arundale gave the Home Rule Volunteer Corps a first lesson in drill on the 29th November, and is stated to be devising a uniform for them. Two days later the police reporters attending another students' meeting were abused and hustled at the close of the proceedings. Another minor example of disorderly conduct is reported from St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly.

While Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants pay particular attention to the student class, there are indications of the initiation of a special campaign for village work based mainly on the distribution of vernacular pamphlets and the itineration of Home Rule preachers. Hitherto the district reports have for the most part pictured the Home Rule movement as confined to the younger vakils and students in central towns, ~~and~~ but in the report from the Guntur district for the past fortnight the Collector lays stress upon the activities of the league in the delta villages of the Tenali taluk. NEW INDIA, he writes, owing largely to its cheapness, has a very wide circulation in rural areas generally and ~~the~~ fact, in his opinion, is giving the Home Rule movement a marked impetus among English-knowing people of all classes; the paper has a specially large circulation in the lower ranks of Government service. The same officer chronicles a meeting convened by a Tenali vakil for the express purpose of enlisting Muhammadan co-operation. The principal speaker exhorted Muhammadans not to serve Government and advised them to leave off the study of English and to give up English customs.

In his judgments in the counter-cases arising out of the fracas at the Fort station on the 27th July, the Presidency Magistrate directly attributed the occurrence to the circulation of a misleading and mischievous leaflet at the Egmore railway station in the middle of July. This leaflet, headed "Reserved for Europeans", was a reprint of an extract from NEW INDIA.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1917).

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.

TO--the Hon'ble Sir JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Madras, the 1st January 1917.

NO.--5168 W-1.

Mrs. Besant and her lieutenant, Mr. Arundale, have temporarily transferred their personal activities to Northern India, travelling to Lucknow by way of Calcutta and Bombay respectively.

The Home Rule Class is now meeting in the League Office at Madras to which ^{only} members and associates are admitted, reporters being excluded. Mr. Kamath, the Secretary of the League, took some Home Rule volunteers with him to Lucknow. Little further evidence has been received regarding the working of the Home Rule Movement in mufassal districts, but from Malabar it is reported that local Home Rulers have been engineering a sensational suit against the Principal of the Zamorin's College at Calicut and also instigating combined action on the part of the students of the Palghat College for the exclusion of the MADRAS MAIL from the College library. In Madras itself an opportunity for the propagation of Home Rule opinions among students has been found in a meeting of the newly-created Madras Students' Convention under the presidency of Sir S.Subrahmanya Ayyar, who has expressed his views in a more open manner in a letter addressed to the Subjects Committee of the Congress in his capacity as Honorary President of the Home Rule League.

(Criticism has been evoked by ^{The issue of} a non-Brahman manifesto under the signature of Rao Bahadur P. ⁱⁿ Thyagaraya Chetti, who is President of the South Indian Chamber of Commerce, the oldest member of the Corporation of Madras and an ex-Legislative Councillor. This manifesto purports to be an attempt at defining the attitude of the important non-Brahman Indian communities in this Presidency towards the Home Rule movement, which it openly attacks in trenchant language, as an extravagant scheme devised by radical politicians of the Brahman caste not content with having secured the practical monopoly of political power and high Government appoint-

ments) It concludes with an appeal to the Non-Brahmans, who comprise 40 out of 41½ millions forming the population of the Presidency, to do everything possible to ensure the general development of their community on a broad and enduring basis and to quit their attitude of silence and inaction and definitely assert and press their claims as against the virtual domination of the Brahman caste. It is understood that this movement is supported by many large landholders and other influential persons, but at least one leading non-Brahman, Rao Bahadur Kesava Pillai, has definitely dissociated himself from it and there is reason to suppose that pressure is being put on others to follow his example. The movement is backed by a newly started weekly journal entitled THE NON-BRAHMAN and there is some prospect of its obtaining the control of a daily newspaper in the near future, a joint-stock company under the style of the "South Indian Peoples' Association" having been started for the special purpose in addition to general political association designated "the South Indian Liberal Federation".)

Reports of the Indian Christian Conference have led to expressions of satisfaction at the "sense of co-operation and national spirit" shown by that community, and the alleged complete agreement between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League has similarly been utilized as an argument in support of the contention that Home Rule is a truly national movement acceptable to all classes of the population. This view naturally derives support from the manner in which the Home Rule party has controlled the Congress proceedings at Lucknow.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th January 1917.
NO.--105 W-1.

The visitors to the Congress who returned to the district of Cuddapah have commented on the manner in which all the Madras delegates seemed to be in the palm of Mrs. Besant's hand, but the view which is perhaps most generally held is that it was the Home Rule propaganda rather than Mrs. Besant herself who captured the sympathies of the Congress. The practical connection between the Home Rule agitation and the organisation of the Theosophical Society is

brought out in Mrs. Besant's confidential address at the forty-first anniversary of the Society, which concluded with an impassioned ~~xxx~~ exhortation to her religious followers to help in the regeneration of India. A special enquiry which has recently been conducted by the Madras Criminal Investigation Department establishes the extent to which the machinery of the Society is being utilised by Mrs. Besant for the furtherance of her political ends. The local theosophical lodge is in many instances the centre of local agitation for Home Rule and in many quarters theosophists and Home Rulers are synonymous and but for the existence of Mrs. Besant's religious followers and her political disciples would be relatively few in number.

During the Congress week the Home Rule Class was apparently suspended being resumed after the return from Lucknow of Mr. Kamath.

(There have been no overdevelopments of the non-Brahmin movement, but confidential communications have been sent to leading men, inviting them to join the South Indian Peoples' Association and to co-operate in the arrangements for the publication of a daily English newspaper and the purchase of a printing-press, to be styled respectively "Justice" and the "Justice Printing Works"; negotiations for the purchase of printing materials and the selection of an editor are said to be in progress. Non-Brahmin students in general apparently disapprove of the movement and prefer to follow the lead of Mrs. Besant, whose tour in the Northern Circars on her return from Lucknow is stated to have been designed to influence the leading non-Brahmins in that part of the Presidency not to support the new association.)

(Doubts are expressed locally as to the genuineness of the alleged rapprochement of the Muhammadan and Hindu leaders; and dissatisfaction is said to be gaining ground among the local Muhammadans at the electoral proportion of 15 percent which was proposed for the Madras Presidency.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. J.P.BEDFORD, I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.

X TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd February 1917.

NO.--298 W-1.

An Indian boy scout movement is being inaugurated in Madras under the auspices of Mrs. Besant.

A lecture on "the Significance of the national week" was delivered on the 17th ultimo in Madras with Mr. G.S.Arundale in the chair. The lecturer, G. Harisarvottama Rao, who is now a prominent Home Ruler, is a notorious seditionist; in 1907 he was expelled from the Rajahmundry Training College; in 1908 he was convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The chairman's remarks showed some apprehension that the Home Rule movement might be adversely affected by lack of unity and especially by the non-Brahman movement.

(The non-Brahman movement is developing. Under the auspices of the South India Peoples' Association, a public meeting was held in Madras on the 21st ultimo to consider how the interests of non-Brahmans could be advanced. One speaker said that he would throw himself on the mercy of the Englishman, who, though "a selfish creature" and "a mercantile being", had ideals of freedom, justice and fairplay, rather than trust the Brahmans, whom he described as an "oligarchy, which played upon the people and their weakness".) Mr. Kesava Pillai was present at the meeting and was at some pains to reassure his audience as to his sympathy with the movement; his only anxiety was that it should be free from the appearance of working against any particular community. That the Home Rulers considered the movement somewhat formidable is suggested by Mr. Arundale's remarks (alluded to above) and also by current rumours to the effect that the Brahmans headed by Mrs. Besant are striving to bring about a reconciliation with the non-Brahmans and that Mr. Tilak is to visit Madras with this object in view.)

[DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. J.P.BEDFORD, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Port St. George, the 16th February 1917.] 120
NO.--620 W-1.

Mr. B.P. Wadia of NEW INDIA arranged to repeat his Amraoti lecture in Madras on the 2nd February under the chairmanship of Mrs. Besant. This lecture had been characterised by Sir Benjamin Robertson as being "from beginning to end a vilification of the British Government calculated to arouse racial feeling and to produce results which have to be guarded against and which the Defence of India is intended to guard against at a time like the present".

Action was taken under the Defence of India ~~xxx~~ Rules to prohibit the meeting and also to prevent the printing of the lecture in any local newspaper or by any local press.

In a letter to NEW INDIA, Mr. Arundale states that the Home Rule League now has 110 branches and 5,000 members in this Presidency. The same person in the course of a speech delivered on the 17th January, inculcated the idea that persons who desired Home Rule should pray for it every day at noon. The idea of gaining Home Rule by efforts of united will-power was previously suggested by Mr. Tilak. In pursuance of this idea, a leaflet has been printed at the Vasanta Press containing the following exhortation:--

"Home Rule for India. Use thought as well as speech and action. Translate into your mother-tongue and repeat aloud or to yourself every day at noon the following sentence, INDIA SHALL HAVE HOME RULE, and wish it with all your heart. Do not forget".

On the four corners of the leaflet the following sentences are printed:--

"Thoughts are things. Thought is the heart of action. What we think, that we become. Strong thoughts mean resolute actions".

Some local excitement was caused by a rumour that Dr. Nair intended to attack Home Rule and Mrs. Besant at a meeting over which the Prince of Arcot was to preside. The meeting fell through on account of Dr. Nair's illness.

(Rao Bahadur P. Theyagaraya Chetti, Secretary of the South Indian People's Association, has made the usual declaration as printer and publisher of a journal called JUSTICE, which is to be the organ of the Association. Dr. Nair's illness has resulted in postponement of its publication.) The capital required for the undertaking is a lakh of rupees and it is understood that 640 shares (of Rs.100 each) have already been subscribed for. An association has been formed in Cuddapah to watch the interests of non-Brahmans. The association has however taken pains to express its sympathy with "Home Rule", thus dissociating itself from the position taken up by the Madras leaders of the non-Brahmans' movement. Mr. Kesava Pillai is endeavouring to please Brahmins and non-Brahmins; the result has apparently been to displease both parties.)

Disapproval of

ons of the Public Serv

Commission continues to be expressed in newspaper articles, correspondence and public meetings. The indentured labour system is the subject of general disapproval. On the 30th January a public meeting was held in the Young Men's Christian Association Hall under the presidency of the Bishop of Madras to protest against the continuance of the system. This meeting was marked by much violent speech and has been followed by similar meetings at many mufassal stations. Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the Editor of the HINDU, has organized an "Anti-Indenture League" and is issuing leaflets in English and in the vernaculars, ~~in~~ warning intending emigrants "against recruiters who may come to your village inviting you to go out abroad (Fiji or Trinidad or Jamaica or British Guiana)". The continuance of the system will undoubtedly be made full use of by politicians of all shades of opinion, since it provides a convenient means for attacking the Government on moral ^{is} grounds, has the support of many sincere, if fanatical, persons and also in harmony with the self-interest of the very powerful class of landholders who have always been opposed to emigration in any form, on the ground that it raises the wages of labourers and makes them more independent. The District Magistrate of Chingleput has therefore some ground for his apprehension that this movement may gain far more recruits to "Home Rule" than the old cry of self-government for India.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. J.P. BEDFORD, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mxx SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st March 1917.
NO---846 W--1.

In Madras City Mrs. Besant and her party are exploiting the proposal to enrol Indians and are registering names at the NEW INDIAN office as volunteers. A meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall, Y.M.I.A., under her presidency at which five hundred persons are reported to have given in their names, Mr. C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Vakil, and Mr. A. Rangaswamy Ayyangar, editor of the SWADESAMITRAN, being among the number. This attitude will enable the Home Rule party to make political capital out of the enthusiasm with which the offer has been received without committing any one to anything definite, and in the event of subsequent withdrawals, the

will no doubt be laid on the Government for conditions and restrictions imposed.

The following notice has been issued from the Home Rule League Office:--

"It is proposed by Mrs. Besant that a more vigorous campaign must begin throughout the Tamil districts of the Presidency to form as many branches of the Home Rule League and enlist as many members as possible. To do this, fluent speakers in Tamil are required. Those who like to take part in this will please meet me at 4 p.m. on Wednesday and give their numbers and names."

(The South Indian People's Association issued the first issue of their paper JUSTICE on the 26th February. [XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX, XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX] Dr. Nair is to be Honorary editor.)

Mrs. Besant has managed to bring over Mr. Karunakara Menon, former editor of the INDIAN PATRIOT, by inviting him to preside over the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee at Cuddalore, and Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai is said to have arranged with Mrs. Besant and her party to raise a sum of Rs.25,000 and turn the INDIAN PATRIOT into a limited company pledged to support Mrs. Besant's propaganda. The object of these manoeuvres is to cause a split in the ranks of the non-Brahmans and so weaken the effect which the non-Brahman manifesto and subsequent action has produced.)

The report of the Public Services Commission continues to rise to vigorous comment, and Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim is held to have "immortalised himself" by his minute of dissent.

Another meeting to protest against the continuance of indentured labour was held on the 15th instant under the auspices of the Anti-indentured League and much violent language was used by Mrs. Besant, Mr. Sufder Husain (a retired Deputy Collector) and others. Mrs. Besant "could not but wonder whether Lord Chelmsford would not be impatient if his own wife and daughter were in Fiji at the present moment", and added that "he and none else than he is responsible for the misery of the men, for the dishonour of the women. The blood of those men and the shame of those women cry to him from the ground so long as he does not interfere to save them. Another spectator said among other things that "Sri Ramachandran in narrating the state policy to Bharata, says that every man, woman or child will burn to ashes the King and

seven generations to come, and therefore we feel it as our duty as loyal Hindu subjects to tell the King-Emperor that he shall not tolerate, for the safety and prosperity of ~~xxxxxxx~~ His Majesty and his family, that this system shall continue". The speeches were stimulated by cries from the audience (mainly students) of "Shame on the British Government", "Down with Lord Chelmsford" and "let the Colonies be burnt", and the like. The language used by certain papers in the Northern Circars, when dealing with this subject, is most inflammatory.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. J.P.BEEFORD, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th March 1917.
NO.--1051 W-1.

There are indications of waning interest in the Home Rule classes held in Madras. The attendance at two recent meetings was poor, so much so that in one case the class could not be held.

A public meeting was held in the Y.M.I.A. Hall on the 27th February under the auspices of the Home Rule League to protest against the orders passed by the Punjab Government and by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi prohibiting Mr. Tilak and Mr. B.C.Pal from entering into their respective Provinces. Mr. S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Editor of the HINDU, occupied the chair on the occasion. The speeches were generally moderate; but Mr. Wadia remarked that "if Indians could not be trusted by the Government, then the Viceroy or Lord Carmichael or Sir Reginald Craddock cannot expect themselves to be trusted by the Indians". Mrs. Besant ascribed the trouble to the Criminal Investigation Department "who always see mischief where there is none" and to the informer, "the vilest human creature that ever disgraced the land". These observations are said to have elicited applause from students.

(Tension between Brahmins and non-Brahmins has been a feature of local politics during the last few weeks and is particularly marked in Cuddalore, where it is said that non-Brahmins have decided not to have anything to do with the conference.)

[DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. J.P.BEDFORD, I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble ~~KEY~~ SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd April 1917.]
NO---1250-1.

The revolution in Russia has produced no impression in mufassal districts; Mrs. Besant however has tried to make some capital out of the incident for the purpose of her Home Rule propaganda. NEW INDIA Contains the following comment:-- "Verily, a changed map of the nations will there be after the war. And in the midst of these whirling events, some wiseacres expect India alone to be unchanged, to care nothing for Liberty, for her future, but to be wholly interested in raising a War Loan". The Muhammadans in Madras are pleased at the downfall of the Tāzar, whom they look upon as an enemy of Islam.

Home Rule classes continue to be held in the "Gokhale Hall", but the interest in them continues to decline.

[Dr. T.M.Nair's lecture on "Our Immediate Political Outlook" vigorously attacked Mrs. Besant's propaganda. The HINDU has taken up the cudgels on behalf of the Brahmans, and there has been a smart exchange of polemics in that paper and in Dr. Nayar's paper JUSTICE. Mr. Kesava Pillai is held to have deserted his non-Brahman friends and has been vigorously criticized.]

The order prohibiting emigration of Indian labour has been well received.

A notice under rule 3 (c) of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules has been served on one Krishna Ayyar alias Krishnaswami Sarma directing him to abstain from delivering public lectures and from publishing any matter without the approval of the Commissioner of Police or that of the District Magistrate of Chingleput. This person was a travelling lecturer paid from the Madras National Fund and was convicted and sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment on the 14th September 1908 under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code. He has recently been delivering Sunday lectures in Tamil on the beach at Madras, in which he has contrasted the past glories of India with its degradation in recent times, the general tendency of his speeches is to stimulate discontent; his hearers (mostly students) are exhorted to unite and strive for some goal which is not clearly specified.

Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner, American subjects, who have been working at the Krotana branch of the Theosophical Society, Los Angeles, California, and who arrived in India in November last, were found to have associated themselves with political movements. They have been warned that, unless they eschew all connection with such movements, the provisions of the Foreigners Act will be used to secure their removal from India.

Mrs. Besant's application for leave to appeal to the Privy Council in the security case against NEW INDIA was dismissed by ^{same} the Bench of the High Court that heard the original petitions. The application was not opposed by the Government. Justices Abdur Rahim and Seshagiri held that their proceedings in the original case were neither a judgment, decree or order, as contemplated in clauses 39 and 40 of the letters patent nor an order under section 10 of the Civil Procedure Code. Mrs. Besant has expressed her intention of moving the Privy Council direct.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
F.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 15th April 1917.
NO.--1458 W-1.

A business meeting of the Madras branch of the Home Rule League was held on the 27th March for the election of office-bearers, the president selected being Mr. K. Nageswara Rao, editor of the ANDHRA PATRIKA, ^{and} the Secretary Mr. Kamath, According to the statement of accounts, the expenditure, Rs.1,359, was in excess of the receipts, Rs.1,103.

The March session of the "Madras Parliament" was held on the 31st March; a religious education Bill and an Emigration Bill being discussed, read for the third time and passed; the Financial Statement and Budget will be brought in on the 28th April.

(9) (A private meeting took place in the office room of the editor of the HINDU on the 4th April for the purpose of devising means to show that political activities have the strong support of the non-Brahman community in spite of assertions to the contrary in JUSTICE.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st May 1917.
NO.--1660 W-1.

Two more lectures in connection with the Congress League Reform were given on the 13th and the 20th instant with Mrs. Besant in the chair, the first by Mr. M.S. Kamath on "Local Government" and the second by Mr. B.P. Wadia on the "Position of the Civil Service". A district conference was held in Malabar under the presidency of Mr. C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, one of the chief supporters of Mrs. Besant, who delivered an address of portentous length. Another conference will shortly be held at Cuddalore in South Arcot, where feeling is running high in consequence of a sharp division between the local Brahmans and non-Brahmans; it is understood that Mrs. Besant herself intends to be present.

What is known as the Andhra movement took a step forward by the appointment of a provisional committee for the formation of a separate political association for the furtherance of the Andhras or Telugus. Prominent among these present were the Hon'ble Mr. B.N. Sarma of the Indian Legislative Council, Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu (the editor of the ANDHRA PATRIKA) and G. Harisarovvattama Rao, a journalist who was convicted for sedition a few years ago.

Among the topics which have given rise to discussion in the press mention may be made of the action taken against Mr. Gandhi in Bihar and of Mr. Lionel Curtis's recently published letter to the people of India. (JUSTICE on the one side and NEW INDIA and the HINDU on the other, continue to carry on mutual polemics. It is interesting to note that the former paper is said to be gaining ground in at least one important district, viz., Godavari, and that a non-Brahman society apparently unconnected with the Madras movement has been formed at Conjeevaram in the Chingleput district.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th May 1917.
NO.--1926 W-1.

The principal political event of the period under report was

the meeting of the 23rd Madras Provincial Conference held at Cuddalore on the 9th instant and succeeding days under the presidency of Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao, ex-Diwan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda, who took the opportunity to deliver a violent attack upon "Bureaucratic Government" singularly out of harmony with his own record as administrator in the States mentioned.

(A sharp controversy has taken place over the extent to which non-Brahmans participated in the Provincial Conference. It is certain that Brahmans constituted the great majority of the delegates present who numbered about three hundred. Some 90 of these were classed as non-Brahmans, but JUSTICE contends that this figure includes a number of persons who subscribed to the funds under Brahman pressure.)

(Mrs. Besant has written a series of violent articles on the subject including one under the title of "The New Tyranny", which warns the Government of Madras/^{to} "take care that it does not turn this province into another Bengal". The tenor of the argument is that by driving young men out of "the arena of constitutional politics" they will inevitably be swept into "the dangerous chaos of anarchical crime", a development for which the Government be regarded as entirely responsible.)

Among the supporters of the Home Rule agitation whose conduct has recently attracted special notice mention may be made of the headmaster of a high school at Ottapalam in the Malabar district M.K. Krishnama Achariyar, B.A., L.T., This teacher had been taken from place to place delivering lectures in praise of Mrs. Besant and in support of her Home Rule propaganda.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON, C.S.
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--OOTACAMUND, the 31st May 1917.
No.---2180 W-1.

The Ganjam District Conference at Berhampur, mentioned in paragraph 10 of my last report, was signalized by a definite split between the Uriyas on the one hand and the Telugus, or Andhras as they call themselves, on the other. The Uriyas refused to continue as delegates because they would have nothing to do

with the transfer of any part of the district to the "Andhra Province"

A meeting of the Madras Legislative Council was held on the 22nd 23rd and 24th instant and at the end of the proceedings His Excellency the Governor took the opportunity to make a public pronouncement on the attitude of Government with regard to the movement for the immediate grant of Home Rule. With two striking exceptions His Excellency's warning has so far been well received by the press; NEW INDIA is of course one of the two exceptions and the other is the HINDU, whose first leader on the subject, published at the earliest possible opportunity, was of a very provocative and mischievous character. The editor of the latter paper is being given a strong warning.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th June 1917. 167
NO.--2372 W-1.

The fate of the Coimbatore District Conference still hangs in the balance; the Collector reports that the reception committee met on the 3rd June and decided that a conference should take place this year but postponed fixing the date to a further meeting to be held next month. The real issue, it is said, is not so much the question of Brahman VERSUS non-Brahman as the question whether Mrs. Besant should or should not preside at the Conference. 167

(In Andhra Conference convened at Nellore) on the 1st June and succeeding days gave rise to a sharp dissension between the delegates from the Nellore district itself and those from the Northern Circars. The issue mainly in dispute was whether the voting for and against the formation of an Andhra Province should be by districts or by delegates. Representatives coming from the Northern Circars took the former view, while the Nellore delegates, especially those of the Reddi caste who are non-Brahmans, opposed them stoutly. On a poll being taken of those present, it was decided by a comparatively small majority that the voting should be by districts, whereupon a large number of the Nellore delegates withdrew and held an opposition meeting at which they carried a resolution declaring the formation of a separate Andhra Province to be "unreasonable and undesirable".

It may be mentioned in passing that the Telugus of the Ceded districts to a large extent share this feeling.

✓ (National Education is the subject of an elaborate scheme published by Mrs. Besant in the papers of the 5th June as a counterblast to the order of the Madras Government prohibiting the participation of students and school boys in political movements. On the 24th May 1917 she sent out letters to 74 persons inviting them to join the Governing Body of a Board of National Education to be entrusted with the duty of framing curricula, appointing examiners, conducting examinations and issuing diplomas in the different branches studied in National schools, colleges and workshops, which it is proposed to systematically to establish throughout the country in order to save the "unfortunate youths" in Government schools and colleges "from becoming either slaves or rebels" under the "more and more rigid and deadening official pressure" of the Government Educational service, "which crushes out patriotism and the "sense of pride in the country". It was proposed to nominate Mr. G.S. Arundale as Honorary Registrar of this National Board.

It is now necessary to give a brief account of the action taken by this Government to counteract the activities of Mrs. Besant. (CD) Printed copies of His Excellency's public warning at the Legislative Council meeting of the 24th May 1917 were communicated to the heads of Government departments with a memorandum, dated 5th June 1917, desiring them to point out to all Indians who are likely to listen to reason that any thought of early Home Rule should be put entirely out of mind and that violence of language used in support of such an agitation is bound to prejudice rather than benefit the cause of Indian political development. Orders were then drafted in consultation with the Advocate-General prohibiting Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia from taking any part in meetings, from making speeches or publishing their speeches or writings, subjecting their correspondence to censorship and requiring them within a brief appointed period to leave the political centres of Madras and the Adyar and take up their ~~xxxxxxx~~ residence in one of six prescribed areas, namely, the districts of the Nilgiris, Coimbatore and Bellary, the Palni Hills, the Shevaroy Hills and the town of Vizagapatam. The actual issue of these orders, which derive their validity from Rule 3 of the Defence

Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, was intentionally deferred until His Excellency the Governor should have had a personal interview with Mrs. Besant with the object of offering her the alternative of immediate departure from India. This was fixed for Saturday the 16th instant and the issue of NEW INDIA dated the preceding day was signalized by the publication of a valedictory address under Mrs. Besant's signature, "To my Brothers and Sisters in India", prefaced by the statement that, as she had "to see His Excellency the Governor on the following day, she thought it safer to print it at once lest she should be interned and unable to speak.". The same issue contained a leading article, entitled the "Law on Samitis", also written by Mrs. Besant, indicating the course which should be adopted by Home Rule Leagues in the event of their being declared unlawful associations by the Governor-General in Council; it is contemplated that in that contingency they should vanish as separate entities and be absorbed in the local Congress Committees. In the newspapers of the same evening this Government had published a press communique bringing out clearly that exception was in no way taken to the natural aspirations of ~~[XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX]~~ Indians to bear a larger part in the burdens of the public administration or to the political ideal of self-government within the British Empire, but intimating that with the utmost desire to show forbearance the Government could not regard unmoved the conduct of persons persisting in unscrupulous attacks and insidious calumnies upon the existing administration, accompanied by attempts to persuade the ignorant and credulous that the obvious remedy for all the ills and hardships of life is to sweep away the present system of Government and by the deliberate appeals addressed to the young and inexperienced to join in public agitation. Mrs. Besant, however, elected to pay no heed to this emphatic warning and the result of her interview with His Excellency was the service upon her of the prohibitory orders referred to above. Telegraphic intimation has been received that both Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia were similarly served with those orders.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt.of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Ootacamund, the 2nd July 1917. 167
No---2143-W-1.

What little interest there is in the war has been over-shadowed by pre-occupation with the action taken under the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. With a few exceptions the Muhammadans community appear to have kept aloof from the agitation to which that action has given rise, but there is some reason to suppose that endeavours to bring the Muhammadans of Madras into line are being promoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah of Bombay. 167

The principal meeting of protest was held in Madras at the Young Men's Indian Association Hall on the 21st June. It was very largely attended and hundreds of people were unable to obtain entrance.

A collection for the Besant Fund was taken during the proceedings and, at the suggestion of Dr. Nanjunda Rao, the audience took the "Swadeshi" pledge, rising in their seats and cheering vociferously. The meeting came to a somewhat hurried close in order to allow those present to see Mrs. Besant off from Madras, 167

There have been numerous meetings in the mufassal organized by local branches of the Home Rule League or Lodges of the Theosophical Society, either independently or in co-operation with district and taluk associations and Congress Committees. The attendance has not unfrequently included Government pensioners, teachers and members of local boards and municipal councils, including unofficial office-bearers, and occasionally students, though the latter have ordinarily been formally warned not to attend.

A "National fund" has been started by Sir S.Subrahmanya Ayyar in aid of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League and contributions are coming in, which will probably be utilized for the purpose of pushing the League propaganda and meeting the expenses of a deputation to England. Numerous petitions have reached Government, usually in stereo-typed forms, and Tamil memorials have been in circulation in Madras city. The latter are couched in objectionable language and are understood to have been circulated as the result of a joint

consultation of certain members of the Home Rule League, the Mahajana Sabha and the Congress Committee, notably Messrs. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and Rangaswami Ayyangar, editors of the HINDU and the SWADESHAMITRAN, Mr. V.C.Seshachari of the Mahajana Sabha and the Hon'ble Mr. T.Ranga Achariyar of the local Legislative Council. So far as the general lines of the agitation now in progress are concerned, perhaps the most important point is the Moslem League and the repeated assertion that her methods and those of her followers were strictly constitutional. ✓

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON? T.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th July 1917. 129
NO.--2787 W-1.

Meetings protesting against the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia continue to be held throughout the Presidency and numerous letters and telegrams of protest, for the most part in stereotyped forms, have been received by Government. It is very noticeable how large a part the Brahman and the vakil elements play in the movement; perhaps the most striking example is to be found in a meeting at Palamcottah in the Tinnevely district, where the District Superintendent of Police, who was received with much friendliness, counted 58 persons present, of whom 50 were vakils and 47 were Brahmans. In other places endeavours have been made to secure prominent non-Brahmans or Muhammadans as chairmen but without success. 29

The taking of the vow is said to have caught on with the student class, some of whom have even burnt European articles of clothing, such as ties and caps. A Public meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall of the Young Men's Indian Association on the 2nd July for the purpose of appointing a committee of trustees for the "Besant Fund" and making a special appeal for contributions. The committee finally elected consisted of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar as Chairman, the editors of the HINDU and NEW INDIA, and four other staunch supporters of Mrs. Besant; Mr. C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyar, Mr. C.S.Govindaraja Mudaliyar, Mr. G.Subbaigga Chettiyar and Mr. A.Ranganatha Mudaliyar, of whom the two former

are High Court vakils, the third a retired appraiser in the Madras Customs House and the fourth a deputy collector who has recently resigned to take up political work.

Mention may be made of the formation of a new body styling itself "the Indignant Group of the Home Rule League", the members of which wear as a badge the "Besant pendant", repeat as a chain of union a prayer for undying love of liberty and willingness to make sacrifices for its sake, and are pledged by vow to carry on any two of the following specific forms of activity:--

- (1) A monthly subscription of 4 annas;
- (2) the spreading of the vow of swadeshi;
- (3) the giving of weekly Home Rule lectures;
- (4) the securing of at least one new member a week for the Home Rule League;
- (5) the ~~including~~^{inducing} of householders to fly Home Rule flags;
- (6) the composition and popularization of national songs; and
- (7) the organization of processions on national days.

The Chief Recording Secretary of this organization is Mr. S.V.Khandekar of the Young Men's Indian Association, presumably a visitor from Bombay. A more sinister feature, if it is not merely an ebullition from some foolish boy, is the sending broadcast from Madras to tahsildars in mufassal districts of seditious leaflets purporting to issue from the "Swarajya Central Office" and containing direct incitements to rebellion and mutiny accompanied by threats of death to those who do not actively support the cause of swaraj.

It must not be supposed that the Home Rule movement has had the entire field to itself. On the 30th June a manifesto was published by a large number of leading zamindars of the Presidency, definitely dissociating themselves from the movement and repudiating the pronouncements of their representatives on the Indian and Madras Legislative Councils, namely, the Hon'ble Mr. K.V.Ranga-swamy Ayyangar and the Hon'ble Mr. K.R.V.Krishna Rao Pantulu, of whom the latter is apparently now endeavouring to make it clear that his support of the Home Rule policy is at least qualified. Individual letters of warning and protest have also been published by the Maharaja of Bobbili, late member of the Executive Council, by the ~~(xxxxxx)~~ Raja of Kollengode, an ex-member of the Madras

Legislative Council, by the Kavalappapa Nayar, a present member of the same body, and by Mr. Mirza Abdul Hussain, the Persian Consul and until recently a member of the Legislative Council in Burma.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Sir JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 3rd August 1917, (Simla.
NO---3025 W-1.

So far as the districts are concerned, it still appears for the most part to be the case that but little interest is taken in the Home Rule movement by the general population. Meetings, it is true, continue to be convened but the attendance is largely confined to the Brahman vakil element, supplemented by teachers interested in "national" colleges and schools.

The editorials in NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL are illuminating with regard to the question of the future policy of the Home Rule party. It is clearly the intention of as far as possible to import a religious sanction for the movement, while every endeavour will be made to enlist the interest and sympathy of the ryot population and of women. An advertisement is appearing daily in NEW INDIA under the signature of the ex-convict, Harisarovvattama Rao, appealing for graduates, under-graduates and young men to be trained in Madras and thereafter posted to district and taluk centres for national work. Stipends are promised during the period of training and the invitations are addressed only to "young men with the spirit of sacrifice". Simultaneously, the preparation of vernacular leaflets is proceeding, the co-operation of the Muhammadan community is being invited by coupling the names of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali as fellow martyrs with Mrs. Besant, and passive resistance is being preached as a prominent plank in the Home Rule platform. Among the leaders of political opinion who are taking an active part in the Home Rule propaganda, mention may be specially made of two members of the Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur V.K.Ramajuna Achariyar and the Hon'ble Mr. B.V.Narasimha Ayyar. A more dangerous personality, namely, Mr. V.R.Karnadikar

a sub-editor of the NEW INDIA, has been dealt with by the issue of orders under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, requiring him to leave the Madras Presidency within forty-eight hours; this was served upon him on the 30th July and it is understood that he was leaving Madras by train on the 31st idem for his native province, Bombay.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th August 1917. 16
NO.---3250 W-1.

As a matter of general policy, District Magistrates have been demi-officially instructed to discourage public meetings of protest against the action of Government in internring Mrs. Besant and her colleagues and more especially street processions. Reports from districts, however, continue to indicate that the general population in the mufassal takes but little interest in the Home Rule movement. On the other hand, (the Collectors of Godavari, Nellore and Coimbatore refer specially to the growth of the anti-Brahman feeling. In Coimbatore the relations between Brahmins and non-Brahmins seem particularly strained and both parties have elected to hold conferences on the 19th August, a date which incidentally coincides with that fixed for a fete in aid of the Madras War Fund.)

The Home Rule organization continues to push the campaign for the enlightenment of the mufassal both by the distribution of vernacular leaflets and illustrated post cards, of which very large numbers have been struck off and by the enlistment of paid itinerant preachers.

(A prominent feature in Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's speech, which was read for him by Mr. P.K.Telang, the editor of NEW INDIA, was a long letter of sympathy with Mrs. Besant from the mother of the internes Shaukar Ali and Muhammad Ali, obviously introduced for the purpose of eliciting sympathy from the Muhammadan community. The chairman in his concluding remarks was careful to say that the "passive resistance movement must not be confounded with the Home Rule League movement They welcomed all who were desirous of joining the Home Rule League even though they were

not prepared to become passive resisters". In addition to the recruits from Bombay the speakers included Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar who cautiously deprecated so ambitious a programme as refusal to pay taxes and Mr. P.K. Telang who appealed to the vanity of his audience by citing Mr. Polak as authority for the opinion that "the Tamil is the best of all resisters because he is so steady and so firm".

(NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL have furnished various expositions of what is meant by the "passive resistance". The underlying idea clearly is that every one is entitled personally to refuse obedience to any law of executive order which in his private judgment it would be morally wrong to obey. As specific instances of laws coming under this category, the Indian Press Act, 1910, and the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, are cited. Mr. Telang may now decide to show how far he is prepared to put into practice the doctrine which he preaches, for on the 16th instant he was served with an order under section 4 of the Press Act, forfeiting the security which he deposited as keeper of the printing press at which NEW INDIA is published.

Another editor whom it has been found necessary to warn is Mr. G.A. Natesan the publisher of the INDIAN REVIEW, who has not only allowed most objectionable matter regarding Mrs. Besant to appear in that journal but has also taken this opportunity to republish selected speeches and writings of Mrs. Besant and a cheap edition of her life and her services to India, which are hardly less open to objection.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st September 1917. (C)
NO---3415 W-1.

So far as the Home Rule movement in the mufassal is concerned, there is comparatively little material for report and reference need be made only to the districts of Coimbatore, Kistna and Chittoor. (In Coimbatore, rival conferences were held on the 19th August, and though both were well attended, newspaper reports suggest that the audience at the non-Brahman conference was substantially the

larger. This meeting was presided over by Mr. P. Ramarayaningar, (ED) lately a member of the Indian Legislative Council, and the opportunity was taken to formulate the views of the non-Brahman community on the principal political issues before the country.)

The Kistna district calls for mention merely with reference to the fact that the Home Rule movement is reported to be progressive only at Masulipatam, where the staff of the National College are working enthusiastically for it.

In Chittoor a district conference was held at Madanapalle. This town is the seat of the Theosophical College which is intended to form the nucleus of the proposed 'National University'. 'National' classes have already been organized at this 'University' College and the professorial staff includes various persons keenly interested in the Home Rule movement. In these circumstances it is not a matter for surprise that the professors and students are reported to have mustered strongly at the conference and also to have taken a prominent part in the Internment Day celebrations of the 16th August. The Government have under consideration the question of disciplinary action against the college.

In Madras City events took much the same turn. A special meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee had been summoned for the 25th August and the papers of the previous day published a manifesto approving the policy of passive resistance, in theory and given suitable conditions, but strongly deprecating resort to it under existing circumstances as likely to create an unfavourable impression at the critical period of Mr. Montagu's mission in India. This manifesto issued under the signature of seven politicians of the front rank, namely, the Hon'ble Messrs. B. Narasimheswara Sarma and V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, now on the Indian Legislative Council, Mr. N. Subba Rao, formerly member of that Council, the Hon'ble Messrs. M. Ramachandra Rao, P. Siva Rao and P. Venkatapathi Raju, present members of the Madras Legislative Council, and Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao, ex-Diwan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda. At the special meeting held on the following evening, however, their attitude formed the subject of pronounced opposition led by the Hon'ble Mr. V.K. Ramajuja Achariyar of the Madras Legislative Council whose vehemence and personalities gave rise to much ill-feeling. The proceedings generally seem to have been of

stormy nature but the party in favour of passive resistance definitely gained the upper hand, and a resolution in favour of that policy was passed by a very large majority.

(Mrs. Besant was nominated for the presidentship of the Congress by 50 votes to 12 at a special meeting of the Madras Congress Committee held on the 12th August and she has since been similarly nominated, it is believed, by every province possessing a vote except Bengal.)

The Government of India have been separately, addressed with regard to the desirability of embodying in the Government Servants' Conduct Rules a special restriction on the political activities of pensioners. The need for some such step has received confirmation during the past fortnight by the manner in which pensioned Government servants of high status have taken the lead in advocating passive resistance as a means of forcing the liberation of Mrs. Besant and her associates, which is described as an essential preliminary to any co-operation with Mr. Montagu.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th September 1917. (Simla.)
NO---3589 W-1.

In the mufassal there has, with certain exceptions, been a comparative lull in the Home Rule movement. Coimbatore, as the place of internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, was naturally a centre of special activity and the relations between Brahmans and non-Brahmans were subjected to further strain. In the opinion of the District Magistrate there would undoubtedly have been a disturbance if the Home Rule flag had not been pulled down.

(As already reported to the Government of India by telegram on the 12th instant, incitements to disobey G.O.No.559, Home (Education), dated 1st May 1917, prohibiting students and school-boys from taking any part in political movements, have been a feature of the Home Rule agitation, not only at Coimbatore but also in Trichinopoly, Guntur, Rajahmundry, Socanada and the City of Madras. Timely and judicious action relieved the situation

in Guntur where the local authorities arranged for the immediate suspension of the principal offending students for short periods, coupled with the intimation that re-admission to their classes would not be permitted unless their parents is guaranteed good ~~the~~ ~~visa~~ conduct. It is probable that the policy there adopted served as a useful warning to the mischief-makers in other places.

Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar has been to the fore in other respects. In NEW INDIA of the 30th August his signature appears under a lengthy and violent article in favour of passive resistance. A new and somewhat surprising departure is introduced by an article in the issue of 11th September on "Native States and Home Rule" in which Sir Subrahmanya ^{Ayyar} warns Ruling Chiefs to take heed of what has recently happened in Russia and to give their subjects every opportunity of advance towards self-government in friendly rivalry with British India, failing which not only will destiny deal with them but it will be the duty of the suzerain power to force them forward in the right path.)

(The non-Brahman movement continues to make itself felt, the most note-worthy development being in the Godavari district, where action was taken at Cocanada for the formation of a non-Brahman association for the Northern Circars on the initiative of the Hon'ble Mr. K. Subyanarayana Murti of the local Legislative Council.

(New India)
These journals and their supporters have however been making a strenuous endeavour to show that Dr. Nayar and Rao Bahadur Tyagaraya Chetti of the South Indian Peoples' Association are in no way representative of non-Brahman feeling. To this end the papers of the 10th instant and following dates have been publishing signatures to a non-Brahman manifesto in favour of the Congress demand. The other party have made capital out of the fact that this manifesto is subject to an important qualification, stipulating for the principle of adequate representation of the various communities of Southern India.)

Both NEW INDIA and the Hindu have indulged in provocative language, directed particularly against the Anglo-India and Anglo-Indian newspapers. The allegation is that there is an organized

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conspiracy to prevent the release of the internes and to block any substantial advance towards self-government.]

According to published lists, apparently not quite complete, there are now 130 branches of the Home Rule League in the Madras Presidency with an aggregate membership of a little under four thousand. The subscriptions to the "Besant Fund" up to the 13th instant amounted to Rs. 52,391, while Rs. 364 had on the same date been contributed towards the "Besant Statue Fund".

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

4/ Having been informed that the Government of India are satisfied that the restrictions imposed upon Mrs. Besant and her colleagues under Rule 3 of the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915, may now be removed, the Madras Government have resolved in deference to the strong recommendation of the Government of India to remove those restrictions.)

P. T.O.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 5th October 1917. 16D
NO.--3768 W-1.

Mafassal districts report a certain number of demonstrations on "internment day", the 16th, and for the purpose of celebrating the release of Mrs. Besant and her associates. In Anantapur a Home Rule Conference was held at the headquarter town under the presidency of the ex-convict, Harisarovattama Rao, who was escorted in procession to his temporary residence and the meeting place of the conference, accompanied by a band and with Home Rule flags flying. In North Arcot vakils from Arni, Vellore and Chittoor went to Katpadi junction in order to congratulate Mrs. Besant on her journey to Madras.

In connection with a subsidiary Home Rule flag case at Erode in this district, criticism has been evoked by OBITER DICTA of Sadasiva Ayyar, J. The revision application was rejected by Sadasiva Ayyar and Phillips JJ., on the ground that the applicants aggrieved by the sub-magistrate's order had not sought redress of either the sub-divisional magistrate or the District Magistrate, but Sadasiva Ayyar, J., made the following remarks:--

"The flying of the Home Rule flag was a perfectly lawful and legitimate act and the duty of a Magistrate ought to be to protect citizens in the exercise of lawful acts. If any unreasonable man or men were to take into his or their heads to cause a breach of peace by seeing a flag flying, such man or men likely to cause a breach ought to be bound over. In times of political agitation like this, lower ranks of magistracy and the police ought not to impute disloyalty to those taking part in any meeting and go about manufacturing evidence against them because their political opinions, for reasons good or bad, were considered to be objectionable".

As the Government of India are aware, the learned Judge is a prominent Theosophical worker. The triumphal procession of the 21st made a halt at the entrance to his bungalow the arch of which bore the words "Welcome, O guru, O brothers".

In Ganjam the only procession reported took place at Berhampur where the demonstrators were nearly all Brahmans and pleaders

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but included amongst their number the Public Prosecutor and an honorary first-class Magistrate.

In Guntur unrest among the students was very noticeable. In Guntur itself, owing to the possibility of trouble with the students, the District Magistrate found it necessary definitely to prohibit a procession on internment day under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. His order was disobeyed by a few persons and criminal proceedings have been instituted against one of these, a municipal councillor.

In Malabar also there has been great difficulty with the student class both at the Zamorin's College at Calicut and the Victoria College at Palghat. Strikes took place at both institutions, being undoubtedly encouraged by the Home Rule element. At Calicut, where the irritant cause was a desire to wear the "national dress", matters soon ended satisfactorily. The same cannot be said of Palghat where the origin of the trouble was the expulsion of three boys who attended a Home Rule demonstration, refused to express contrition and defiantly returned to their classes after expulsion; the moving spirit was M. Krishnama Achariyar, late headmaster of the Ottapalam High School, a post from which he was removed in consequence of his political harangues to the boys under his control.

As regards the general impression created by the release of the three internes the view most generally taken is that the action of Government is a direct result of clamorous agitation and that such agitation is bound to pay. Muhammadans, whom the Home Rule party are constantly endeavouring to win over, are informed, that the real reason why Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali have not been similarly released is that their community did not agitate. The moderates feel, as one reporting officer puts it, that they have been "let down", and it is not without apprehension that they look forward to the future. Such apprehensions are perhaps specially prevalent among Indian Christians and the influential landholders of Malabar. Feeling among non-official Europeans, already disturbed by the release of the internes has been heightened by the incident of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech and his subsequent expressions of apology, coupled with the Viceroy's comments. The MADRAS MAIL has taken up, with special vigour and some indiscretion of

language, the organization of European opinion and one result has been a series of editorial pronouncements in the HINDU and NEW INDIA, which have gone a long way to accentuate the relations already strained. In fact, it is not too much to say, in the words of the Commissioner of Police, Madras, that "racial antagonism is the dominant factor of the present political situation", and there is certainly no apparent prospect of the "calm atmosphere" desired by higher authorities. On the one hand, the Government are urged to take proceedings under the Press Act against the MADRAS MAIL and on the other hand both NEW INDIA and the HINDU have undoubtedly published matter which comes within the purview of that Act.

I have referred above to the endeavours made by Home Rulers to enlist Muhammadian sympathies. Two illustrations may be cited in which Mrs. Besant herself has taken part. They are both to be found in the issue of NEW INDIA dated September the 28th.)

There is so far no evidence before Government that Muhammadian feeling is being won over to an appreciable extent. An indication to the contrary indeed is to be found in the recent publication of a Hindustani pamphlet entitled "Iltijai Fakhari", by a Mylapore moulvi, categorically condemning the proposals of the Home Rule League and the joint scheme of the Congress and Muslim Leagues, exhorting Mussalmans not to join these organizations and impressing on them at the same time that Christian rule is preferable to that of idol worshippers.

Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's activities continue. Apart from his advice to students, to which I have referred above, and various contributions to NEW INDIA, he took the chair at a meeting held under the auspices of the Home Rule League on the 18th September to inaugurate a Home Rule League Training Scheme. This scheme, which was expounded by the ex-convict, Harisarvottama Rao, contemplated systematic arrangements for the training of young men to be sent out as vernacular preachers of Home Rule propaganda in villages and towns. This agency will probably be utilized for the procuring of signatures to the "monster" petition to the Secretary of State under initiation by Mr. Gandhi, who paid a visit to Madras during the past fortnight in order to enlist local support.

✓ 1 (The active participation of women in the Home Rule movement, calls for specific reference. On the 14th September a special meeting was held in a Triplicane Mantapam, attended, it is said, by some three hundred ladies, mostly Brahmans but also Vaisyas, and including Mrs. Jinarajadasa and another English lady from the Adyar settlement. The meeting was addressed among others by Mrs. Sivakamu Ammal and was followed by a procession to an adjacent temple, bearing a portrait of Mrs. Besant and flying a large Home Rule flag. The women's procession was avowedly undertaken in order to test whether the police would interfere, having regard to the orders previously issued prohibiting general processions.) ✓

✓ An illustration of the manner in which Mrs. Besant's personality is beginning to appeal to classes hitherto untouched is afforded by an incident which took place at a garden party given in her honour. According to the report appearing in NEW INDIA "a number of post peons spontaneously paid their homage to the patriots by garlanding them and ^{making} namaskarams, and this was without the previous knowledge of either the host or hostess or of the three guests". The significance of this incident will be grasped in the light of the strike in progress among Bombay postmen and the circumstance that the postal peons in Madras have followed suit and are presenting memorials for increased pay and allowances to the Postmaster-General. They evidently imagine that Mrs. Besant will be able and willing to help them.

✓ (Further evidence of the growing animosity between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans in the Godavari district is reported by the Collector, but the most noticeable feature of the non-Brahman movement during the period under report was the outcome of an endeavour to elicit an expression of non-Brahman feeling favourable to Home Rule at a public meeting held in the Gokhale Hall, Madras, on the 15th September. The conveners were adherents of the Home Rule party, but a strong contingent of non-Brahmans in the opposite camp occupied the immediate vicinity of the platform at an early stage, proposed one of their number for the chair and installed him in his seat before the other side had grasped the position. Confusion ensued and the premises had ultimately to be cleared by the police, since when, the local newspapers have been filled with contradictory reports of what took place. The orga

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the same place on the 20th idem, to which admission was restricted by tickets. Resolutions were passed in support of the Congress-League Association, designed to promote the interests of the non-Brahman communities in this province. Referring to this second meeting, the Commissioner of Police comments on the fact that not a single Muhammadan of position was present.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Acting
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th October 1917.
NO.--4003 W-1.

In the myfassal there have been no political developments of importance, except, perhaps, a special session of the Andhra Conference at Bezwada in the Kistna district under the presidency of Mr. C.V.S.Narasimha Raju, an ex-member of the local Legislative Council. Feeling ran high over the question of communal representation, but a resolution in favour of this principle was ultimately carried notwithstanding some volume of opinion, chiefly Brahman, in favour of territorial representation and mixed electorates. On the subject of passive resistance an amendment was actually put forward proposing to resort to this policy if liberty were not restored to men like Lajpat Rai, Arabinda Ghose and Subrahmanya Bharati. This proposition was ruled out of order by the chairman for want of notice, but a resolution was passed praying for a general amnesty to all political prisoners.

Home Rule propaganda were, perhaps, most actively in progress in the Trichinopoly district under the advocacy of the Hon'ble Mr. B.V. Narasimha Ayyar of the local Legislative Council, who held a number of special meetings and founded additional branches of the League in various small places besides taking part in the organization of the "monster" petition to the Secretary of State suggested by Mr. Gandhi. It is stated that Government servants on more than one occasion formed part of the audience. Evidence that this stratum of society is one of the agencies responsible for the spread of Home Rule ideas comes from the relatively backward district of Kurnool, where the District Magistrate reports, on the authority of a touring Missionary and his catechist, that in many villages the ryots are

thus being attracted, to Home Rule, which, they are induced to believe, will bring in its train various benefits such as the abolition of all restrictions on grazing and all other forest rules which they find irksome.

A further instance of student unrest in the mufassal is reported from the Vizianagaram College in the Vizagapatam district, where the students held a meeting of protest at the instance of a local vakil belonging to the Home Rule party. They requested the permission of their Principal to be allowed to forward copies of their resolution to Government and disregarded his refusal to grant it. The trouble in the Victoria College at Palghat in the Malabar district continues.

A self-constituted committee of "parents and guardians" comprising the local leaders of the Home Rule party has taken up the cause of the students and the recalcitrant attitude of the latter is known to have been largely influenced also by the advice of the headmaster of a private school in the same town.

Another institution where the staff as the students have prominently associated themselves with politics is the Theosophical College and High School at Madanapalle under the special aegis of Mrs. Besant. Enquiries regarding this case, which have long been in progress, were recently concluded with the result that it has been decided to give the responsible authorities notice of withdrawal of recognition on the 1st of January next, unless before that date the personnel is so reconstituted as to satisfy the Director of Public Instruction that political propagandism will cease and the educational rules will be loyally observed in the future.

(It cannot be said that there has been any approximation towards a calm atmosphere during the past fortnight. On the contrary there has been an undoubted increase of ill-feeling, between classes.

A further complication was introduced on the 7th October by a public meeting of Panchamas, convened in an open space in Madras by Dr. T.M. Nayar for the purpose of opposing the Home Rule movement, the attendance including some two thousand Panchamas with about three hundred non-Brahman caste Hindus. Some Brahman boys, who were playing foot-ball and hockey in the vicinity, are said to have been assaul-

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ted by the Panchamas without cause, though according to other reports a small Brahman element in the crowd raised cries of opposition which led to a disturbance terminating in their being chased away through the adjacent play-ground. Whatever the facts may have been, it is certain that the meeting was followed by disorderly conduct on the part of the individual Panchamas against Brahman passers-by in the same vicinity during the succeeding days. Five of the offenders have been prosecuted and convicted of misconduct.)

While the Ulemas of Madras have definitely given their religious verdict against the Home Rule movement, the refusal to release Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali from internment has been prominently utilized by the Home Rulers as a means of stirring up Muhammadan feeling. Sir William Vincent's answer to the Legislative Council question on this subject has been referred to in such a manner as to create the impression that the continued restrictions on the liberty of these two persons is the result of their putting their religion in the first place. Apart from these public meetings feeling has been stirred up by the distribution of printed leaflets on the subject. The Commissioner of Police has brought this matter to the notice of the Government. With his long and intimate experience of the conditions of Madras city, ^{he} regards the Muhammadan community as being stirred up to an extent which has not been equalled for very many years; and he ~~sh~~ urges that, if there is a strong case against Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, it should be disclosed fully and without delay in order to counteract the misrepresentation which is now in progress. He believes that, if they were proved to have been actively disloyal, the inherent respect of Muhammadans for constituted authority would lead them to withhold all support from the agitation which is being fomented by Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule party for their own purpose.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd November 1917.
NO.--4187 W-1.

Home Rule meetings continued to be held in the mufassal, but attention was directed more particularly to the collection of signatures for the "monster petition" to the Secretary of State, a proceeding which has been accompanied by a variety of misrepresentations; in an out-of-the way part of the Ganjam district, for instance, support for Home Rule was invited of the villagers on the ground that its introduction would entail inter alia the abolition or reduction of taxation on liquor and drugs, land revenue assessments, income-tax and house-tax, while education would become free. Statements of this description are now being propagated not only by ambitious politicians but also by paid agitators believed to be financed by the Adyar coterie; the agents employed include persons of very dubious character.

The circulation of political pamphlets and leaflets is carried on concurrently. The attention of Government has been drawn particularly to two pamphlets entitled "The Lesson from Russia" and "Freedom and Democracy, America's ideal". Of these the former holds up the Russian revolution by implication as an example to be followed, while the latter utilises President Wilson's address to the American Congress as a peg on which to hang the conclusion that "if only the American Republic and its great President knew the facts" about the "benevolent despotism" which deprives India of "all political liberty", there would surely be "hope coming from the new world" to free "one-fifth of the human race from bondage".

Thanks to the special precautions adopted by the local officers the Muharram and Dasara have passed off without any serious disturbances except at Chennur in the Cuddapah district, where a determined attack on a Hindu procession by a party of Muhammadans led to a riot which had to be quelled by the use of fire-arms. The police, acting under the orders of the Subdivisional Magistrate who was present, fired a volley which resulted in the death of three persons and the wounding of at least eight others; five constables received serious injuries. The measures taken restored quiet and the ~~Sis-~~

District Magistrate

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~~trate~~ reported the local situation to be normal on the following day. A telegraphic summary of the facts has been separately submitted to the Government of India and will be followed in due course by further reports.

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An editorial note on the 25th/October succinctly states "one of the Home Ruler's charges against the administrative system in India" in the following language:-- "The officials in charge are obsessed with an inordinate greed for power, which increases the irresponsibility of the whole system and causes all the mischief complained of" (The whole machine on the civil side, to apply a criticism of the Army Department, is) "really souless and is swaddled and throttled in red tape, hung on a massive dark wall of pride and prejudice."

(Some evidences of the vitality of the non-Brahman movement opposed to Home Rule is furnished by the formation of the South Indian Liberal Federation at a public meeting held on the 14th/October in Madras, which was followed up by a further meeting a week later for the purpose of explaining the objects of this association. The attendance included a number of influential non-Brahmans, and the speakers strongly deprecated the agitation for the immediate grant of Home Rule, which in their opinion would be tantamount to rule by a Brahman oligarchy. The establishment of mufassal branches is contemplated.)

15 (At Bikkavole in the Godavari district, again, a non-Brahman Conference of considerable importance was held, nominally for that district only, but in reality for the Northern Circars in general. Here also the audience included influential persons, and the presidential address delivered by the Kumara Raja of Chellapalli, a graduate-zamindar, furnished a clear and definite pronouncement against Home Rule.)

✓ The student strike at the Palghat College continues, though a few of the recalcitrants have been allowed to rejoin their studies after apologizing. The Indian-owned press loses no opportunity of taking up supposed student grievances.

DEMI-OFFICIAL---from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 19th November 1917.
No---4515 W-1.

In Tanjore the Collector is investigating an allegation, which he thinks not improbable, that municipal servants are being employed for the purpose of collecting signatures. The Government have had under consideration the advisability of prosecuting one agitator who in July last procured signatures to a Home Rule memorial to the Viceroy in a village in the Kistna district by falsely representing that it was a petition for the repair of a local road. The investigation conducted made it clear that many of the signatures were not genuine and that others had been obtained ~~by~~ by false representations.

The Government have found it necessary to adopt special measures for the surveillance of the activities of one of the many wandering agitators, a medical quack named P. Varadarajulu Nayudu who has been using language of exceptional violence and exciting much ill-feeling. This man on one occasion invoked the police for the protection of his own person. A dangerous feature of the agitations now in progress is that meetings for and against Home Rule are occasionally held ~~in~~ almost simultaneously at the same place, e.g., Dindigul and Bezvada, while elsewhere, e.g., Tuticorin, the police have had to interfere to keep the ^epace between the two parties.

An after-math of the ill-feeling arising out of the coincidence of the Muharram and Dasara festivals is reported from the Nellore district, where in one or two places Hindus are said to be boycotting Muhammadans as a retaliation for the behaviour of the latter. A definite pronouncement against Home Rule has been issued in the shape of a formal FATWA signed both by Sunni and by Shia Maulavis of Madras. A resolution to the same effect was passed at a meeting attended by a number of responsible Mussalmans in Madras on the 1st November under the presidency of the Persian Consul, formerly a member of the Burma Legislative Council.

Mrs. Besant appeals to Mussalmans not to be disheartened, but the appeal concludes with the following advocacy of Home Rule:--

"If the Government of India were our own and responsible to us, we should accept their decision wholeheartedly, as it is impossible for us to do today when their ears are poisoned by the Criminal Investigation Department, when the European clamour for repression and when any step of theirs towards trust in the Indians and true statesmanship is met by the howls of the Anglo-Indian press for whom the Press Act has no terrors. . . . The more Mussalmans feel that our brothers should be set free, the more should they strive to win the freedom which will make such internments impossible in the future and will enable us to dismiss any Government which, when peace is reached, can be shown to have abused the powers necessarily entrusted to it in the time of war".

A new expedient for the dissemination of Mrs. Besant's propaganda is to be found in advertisements in NEW INDIA which show that, in addition to the Besant stamps noticed in paragraph 9 of my last report of which a gift has been made to the Home Rule League, "Home Rule rings", "Home Rule buttons", and "photo-buttons" of Mrs. Besant and other leaders are being offered for sale at cheap rates.

(The tone of the HINDU is, if anything, more violent, and JUSTICE continues to take a strong polemical line on behalf of the non-Brahman movement. Meetings of importance in support of this movement have been held at Pulivendla in the Cuddapah district and Bezwada in the Kistna district while in Madras city the Panchama community has also taken to the pastime of political discussion.) An incident of special importance is to be found in the proceedings at a meeting of the Madras Landholders' Association, a body which includes many of the leading zamindars of the Presidency. The object was to discuss a memorial to be laid before the Secretary of State and the draft was

they were outvoted by a narrow majority obtained by the aid of proxies, the validity of which was open to grave doubt and formed the subject of protest. Some of the proxies were put forward by Brahman vakils appearing on behalf of absent zamindars. This incident has led to much newspaper controversy and the final outcome ~~is not yet clear~~ is not yet clear, but indications point to the conclusion that the majority of the association will definitely repudiate the memorial. The paid secretary of the association is a Brahman and a thorough-going Home Ruler and he received powerful support from the Hon'ble Mr. K.V.Rangaswamy Ayyangar of the Indian Legislative Council, who is the organizing secretary of the Home Rule League, and also from the Raja of Ramnad who presided at the meeting and who was possibly induced to take this line by the inclusion in the memorial of a clause advocating that the status of leading zamindars in this Presidency should be raised to that of Ruling Chiefs. The suggestion is that a measure of support from the Home Rule party was promised in this direction.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 3rd December 1917.
NO.---4864 W-1.

(In Godavari and Kistna mention is made of the fact that some of the higher castes have definitely joined with the Brahmans in the Home Rule agitation, notably the Rajus (or local Kshatriyas) and the Komatis and Vaisyas; in Godavari this is ascribed partly to considerations of dignity, as these castes do not like to be classes with non-Brahmans, who are chiefly Sudras. Such persons are naturally utilized as figure-heads, at Home Rule meetings; thus at Ramachandrapur in Godavari a special Conference of the District Association intended as a counter-blast to a non-Brahman meeting of considerable importance at Biccavole was presided over by a Raju from Vizagapatam, while the Chairman of the Reception Committee was another Raju of little education and quite incapable of making the speech credited to him.)

In Ganjam the Collector speaks of Uriyas generally as being "against anything like immediate Home Rule, partly because they are likely to suffer at the hands of Telugus even more than they do now". The Home Rule agitation is consequently confined to Telugus, and is "largely run by young men of no standing or balance".

(The Collector of Guntur cites various instances of factious opposition on the part of Home Rulers to persons who have associated themselves in any way with non-Brahman conferences. Thus, endeavour has been made to render impossible the position of the Municipal Chairman of Tenali, who is a delegate in the non-Brahman deputation to the Viceroy and Secretary of State, while a non-Brahman member of the District Board complained of harassment from the karnam of his village and spoke of karnams generally and other Brahman subordinates as adopting similar tactics in two taluks of the district.)

The investigation of Muharram-Dasara riot at Chennur in the Cuddapah district, mentioned in paragraph 6 of my report of the 2nd November, has been completed and charges have been framed against 38 Muhammadans, of whom five are absconding. The District Magistrate, himself a Hindu, found extreme difficulty in eliciting the Muhammadan version of the disturbance, and the nature of the defence which is likely to be put forward is still practically unknown.

Muharram-Dasara disagreements in Guntur, which were firmly handled by the District Magistrate and his Brahman deputy in circumstances by no means without danger to the public peace, have resulted in notices of civil suits against the officers concerned and false and misleading representations from the Hindu party in the shape both of communications to the press and a petition to Government.

At Madanapalle in the Chittoor district the control of Dasara processions resulted in some boycotting of Muhammadans, much to the indignation of the latter, whose resentment was specially directed against the Hindu President of the Taluk Board. This gentleman was slipped by two Muhammadans in a lonely thoroughfare.

Urdu pamphlets in favour of the Congress League scheme are being distributed by the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan, the retired Deputy Collector Khan Bahadur Safdar Hussain and Moulana Abdus Subhan Sahib, all three of whom were severely criticized for assisting Home Rule propaganda by the highpriest of the big mosque in Triplicane in the course of a sermon delivered on the 19th November. Muhammadan opposition to Home Rule is further indicated by the publication in the MUKBHIR-I-DEKHAH of an appeal Bihar under from the signature of Shah Sulaiman Sahib, the high priest of the Nadwa, invoking "God's curse" on the Home Rule agitation and "those misguided Mussalmans who are bent upon ruining the rights of the community" describing the Congress Muslim League scheme as "absolutely fraudulent", and praying for pecuniary assistance from Madras for the suffering Muhammadans of Bihar. Nawab Saiyid Muhammad has definitely refused to take any part in the deputation of the Madras Mahajana Sabha to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, for which his name had been sent in as leader, and the Madras Presidency Muslim League is showing signs of break-up. The Prince of Arcot has resigned his office as President and others have withdrawn their membership and a new Muhammadan Association has been formed under the style of "the South Indian Islamia League", which claims to voice the real feelings and sentiments of the Muhammadans of Southern India. The President of this body is Shifa-ul-Mulk Zain-ul-Abidin Sahib Bahadur, formerly a member of the Madras Legislative Council and ex-Sheriff of Madras, and among the Vice-Presidents are the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar and three brothers of the Prince of Arcot. This development is severely criticized by NEW INDIA as an attempt on the part of "the enemies of Indian aspirations" to create "at least a semblance of opposition" to Home Rule by putting forward "half a dozen reactionaries".

Much the same criticism is applied to the opponents of the memorial of the Madras Landholders' Association, mentioned in paragraph 11 of my last report. As a fact, however, the opposition was of so formidable a character that the address sent in by the Secretary ~~was~~ was withdrawn, as unauthorized, by the President of the Association, the Maharaja of Bobbili.

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Meetings in favour of, and in opposition to, Home Rule continue to be held, and there has in particular been a luxuriant crop of special conferences convened by local organizations.

In the papers of the 10th November Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar published an appreciation of the recent pamphlet, styled "India's claim for Home Rule", eulogizing in particular the introduction, the importance of which, in his opinion, consisted in "the effectual refutation of the prevalent mischievous view that the demand for Home Rule is solely due to a foreign intruder and intrepid agitator ~~xx~~ Mrs. Besant". The writer of the introduction, according to Sir Subrahmaniyam, shows conclusively "that even the term Home Rule with reference to India did not originate with Mrs. Besant but with a well-known Indian, Mr. Shimaji Krishna Varma, who was WORKING FOR HIS COUNTRY long before Mrs. Besant made her appearance on the scene". This notorious revolutionary is not the only worker for his country whose name has been brought before the public during the past few weeks. Another is Lala Lajapat Rai.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Port St. George, the 19th December 1917.
NO.--5180 W-1.

The Presidency of the newly-created South Indian Islamia League has been resigned by Shifa-ul-Mulk- Zain-ul-abdin in order to make room for the Prince of Arcot, who has also take Mr. Zain-ul-abdin's place as leader of the deputation to present the address of the League to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

Meetings for and against Home Rule continue together with the series of special conferences. The Home Rule party are concentrating on a special Provincial Conference, to be held in Madras on the 22nd instant under the joint auspices of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee and the Madras Presidency Association, and a similar demonstration is contemplated a few days later by the opposing party. So far as any general statement of

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of the tendencies can be hazarded, indications point to the hardening and extension of the feelings of opposition aroused by the advanced programme of the Home Rulers; (considerable sections of the community which formerly were indifferent to politics have been stirred up to serious consideration of such questions and distrust or fear of Brahman predominance has been a potent factor in shaping their views.) One straw which, perhaps, shows how the wind is blowing is perhaps to be found in the result of the election to the municipal chairmanship of the important town of Calicut in Malabar, where the Home Rulers are stated to have been greatly disappointed by the defeat of their candidate.

The same veiled sympathy for indiscipline in colleges and schools continues and incidents which can be utilized for the disparagement of the established administration are seized with eagerness, e.g., the evidence given before the Industrial Commission by Mr. Karimbhoy Fazulboy, the alleged partiality shown in framing the Madras programme of deputations and addresses, and the absence of opportunities for the indiscriminate entertainment of His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu, which, as the Government of India are aware, is the direct consequence of the general instruction issued that, owing to the limited nature of the time available and the business character of their visit, His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State would be unable to take part in any public social or ceremonial functions.

Mrs. Besant herself is, if anything, losing ground. In Madras city it is reported that some of the Home Rule leaders are looking askance at her attitude and believe her to be playing too much of her own hand; they complain, for instance, that she was determined to secure the Presidentship of the Congress and would not yield when the Calcutta dispute arose and that similarly she insisted on leading the Home Rule deputation at Delhi and would not give place to Mr. Tilak.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1918).

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON? C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNEEL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 5th January 1918.
NO.--5386 W-1.

A special conference was organized by the Committee of the Madras Provincial Congress, and a few days later the South Indian Liberal Federation convened a largely attended meeting of the supporters of the non-Brahman movement, which was presided over by the Raja of Venkatagiri and evoked influential support. The non-Brahman organization in the Home Rule camp, known as the Madras Presidency Association, is taking action to acquire the INDIAN PATRIOT as its own organ and an appeal has been published under the signature of Mr. Lodd Govindas, Mr. Salla Guruswamy Chetti and Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai inviting subscriptions to the amount of Rs.20,000 as the sum immediately required to supplement an advance of Rupees 6,000 made for that purpose by the association.

Advantage was taken of the presence in Madras of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as a member of the Women's Deputation to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to hold a series of meetings in which her eloquence was utilized for the double purpose of--(1) influencing the student population in favour of Home Rule and (2) inducing the Muhammadan community to give in their adhesion to the Congress-Muslim League scheme.

In her presidential address at the Theosophical Convention, Mrs. Besant proceeds to discuss the world-war and attributes its continuance on moral, though not on physical grounds, to the refusal to grant Home Rule. "Rightly did the Bishop of Calcutta, faithful to his trust as Minister of Christ, warn British of the danger of hypocrisy in her prayers . . . How can Englishmen in India honestly pray for victory over autocracy in Europe while they are writing and working to maintain here over 255 million of people their own bureaucratic rule? In Hebrew story the Israelites were defeated by the enemy because one of their number dishonestly took that to which he had no right, and not until the crime was expiated

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could victory be won. While the sin of Achan is found in the allied camp, victory is delayed. If Britain would cleanse her hands from enforcing her irresponsible rule over a great nation panting for freedom and would act in Asia consistently with her professions in Europe, the war clouds would be scattered and the Sun of Peace would rise with healing in his wings".

That section of the local press which has placed itself in bondage to Mrs. Besant naturally received her presidential address at the National Congress and with unqualified applause, and continues to describe the scheme of the Congress and Muslim League as the last word in practical statesmanship.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th January 1918.
NO.--166 W-1.

In the district of Guntur the election to the chairmanship of the headquarter town resulted in the complete defeat of the late chairman, a Brahman, supported strongly by the most advanced local Home Rulers. The successful candidate was a non-Brahman Mayudu described by the District Magistrate as "at the most a very moderate Home Ruler" and he owed his success mainly to the Komati vote.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 4th February 1918.
NO.--300 W-1.

In Trichinopoly further lectures on "Patriotism" and "The Present state of India" were delivered by the agitator, Varadarajulu Nayudu, to audiences consisting mainly of students. The District Magistrate reports that this man is doing real harm and is deliberately trying to stir up racial feeling. With a view to restrict his activities legal opinion is being taken on a collection of his speeches. (X)

National Education has played a prominent part in the columns of NEW INDIA. A leading article of the 16th January expatiated

on the scheme, referring to the amalgamation of Bengal efforts in this direction with the Theosophical Educational Trust and to the resultant formation of a society for the promotion of National Education under the presidency of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh with Mr. Madhava Rao and Saiyid Hasan Imam Sahib as vice-presidents, and an X executive committee including Mrs. Besant, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar, Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar (editor of the HINDU) and others. The first National University established at Madanapalle has as Chancellor Sir Rabindranath Tagore, with Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar as pro-Chancellor Mr. Justice Sadasiva Ayyar as acting Vice-Chancellor and Mr. G.S. Arundale as Registrar.

It is proposed to hold a "National Educational Week" in the spring and a summer school for National teachers is being arranged at Adyar in May or June.

Neither NEW INDIA nor Mrs. Besant has however been entirely absorbed by questions of education. In the issue of the paper dated 19th January there appeared under the signature of the Assistant Secretary a revised constitution of the All-India Home Rule League, the avowed object of which is to widen the narrow scope of the previous organization. Mrs. Besant has been elected President of and Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, Honorary Life-President; while the office of Organizing Secretary previously held by the Hon'ble Mr. K.V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar has been replaced by the appointment of four General Secretaries chosen respectively from Bombay, United Provinces, Bengal and Madras. (Mr. A. Rangaswamy Ayyangar, editor of the SWADESHAMITRAN), Mr. B.P. Wadia continuing as Treasurer. Provision is made for the organisation of provincial councils and a central council. The system of associateship has been abolished and the age limit for membership raised from 18 to 21, students and undergraduates being expressly excluded.

In the issue of the 23rd January Mr. Arundale was allowed to publish sentences such as the following:--

"What is India fighting for? First, for her own freedom.... Where are the millions of free Indians who might have helped to end this terrible war long ago? Half-starving on the land,

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uneducated, overtaxed, thankful to fawn at the feet of the officials, for they must either fawn or die. There are no free Indians in India today. What can India care for Belgium, or for Poland, or for Serbia, what is their freedom to her who knows not what freedom is". ✓

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dept.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 16th February 1918,
NO.--589 W-1.

✓ (The agitator Varadarajulu Naidu, visited Madura and Malabar but his language was comparatively speaking restrained. One more municipal chairman of pronounced Home Rule views has lost his office, namely, the Hon'ble Mr. B.Venkatapati Raju of Vizagapatam. Small meetings for and against Home Rule are reported from out-lying parts of Trichinopoly, a circumstance showing that the Home Rule organization tends to stimulate the counter-movement. Similarly, there have been further meetings of the Adi Dravidians in the City of Madras in opposition to the Home Ruler and the Brahman. The Honorary Secretaryship of the South Indian People's Association has been given up by Rao Bahadur Tyagaraya Chetti on the ground of ill-health and he has been succeeded by the Zamindar of Telaprole, who for some time past has been a prominent leader of the non-Brahmans.

The outstanding feature of the Home Rule propaganda continues to be National Education.

The Collector of Madura referring to a demand for higher pay made by the hands in the Madura mills and a threatened strike, connects it with the agitation going on in the town and especially with the activities of Varadarajulu Nayudu.)✓

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 5th March 1918.
NO.--719 W-1.

Home Rule meetings are reported from North Arcot, Bellary, Chingleput, Madura, Malabar and Tanjore, but generally speaking

there has again been little political activity in the mufassal. In North Arcot the principal speaker was P.Varadarajulu Naidu, ✓ who is an accredited representative of the Madras Presidency Association. In Malabar the lecturers were endeavouring to enlist the sympathy of the Mappillas with Home Rule. In Tanjore the principal meeting was presided over by a pensioned Sub-Judge. It is reported that Muhammad Safdar Hussain, a pensioned Deputy Collector who has been freely utilized by the Home Rule party for the purpose of working on Muhammadan feeling, has absconded to Pondicherry to avoid his creditors.

National Education continues to be in the fore-front of the Home Rule propaganda.

Mrs. Besant has contributed more freely to NEW INDIA and the tone of that paper is becoming noticeably more violent, especially with regard to comments on the internments and what is commonly described as the "Sydenham Gang". Particularly objectionable matter is to be found in the following cases:--

(i) In an unsigned article entitled "The Cult of Efficiency", appearing on the 13th February, analysing the meaning of "Pax Britannica" the writer alleges "that any British officer in India can with impunity insult her leaders or treat their advice or demands with indifference, if not always, with contempt: further that the colourless variety of His Majesty's subjects anywhere, or any Europeans for the matter of that, can treat their 'coloured' fellow-subjects as if they were so many persons specially created for the service and sport of the other". Again he writes of "the efficient" as having "allowed the missionary propaganda; matchless in vilification and calumny, to grow apace and . . . thus pushed back the day of our social redemption". Again, the alleged deterioration of India under British rule is illustrated by a contrast between "the glorious pictures of refinement and prosperity of the old travellers of not so very long ago" with "the spectacle of unparalleled poverty of the most pitiless kind" to which "every traveller of the modern day bears witness".

(ii) In a leader of the 16th February ("Enemies at Work") the members of the Indo-British Association are described as "played-out exploiters and exhausted bureaucrats" enriched with

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money "amassed from the helpless masses" who pursue "a wicked policy" for "unworthy and mischievous ends" in co-operation with their "brother conspirators", "a handful of commercial exploiters" in this country who started a campaign of vilification "of course with the passive sympathy of the Anglo-Indian bureaucrats". "One would treat the activities of this ignoble band", says the leader writer, "with the contempt which they deserve, were it not for the fact that by means of atrocious falsehoods they are trying to mislead the British public and that it is our firm conviction that, if they succeed, the British Empire in India will collapse like a house of cards within a short time".

(iii) In the same issue a paragraph headed "Civilized Barbarism" cites a description taken from the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA of the solitary cells, in which internes are said to be confined as a preliminary measure, as a text for comparison with the Chinese penal methods; sarcastic comment is passed on "the more civilized European methods of torture" and the paragraph continues "We do not wonder that some of the detenus 'have gone mad or committed suicide'; rather the wonder is that many of them are still sane and more suicides have not occurred."

(iv) The same note is sounded in another paragraph, "The fate of Hunger Strikers", on the 18th February; referring to a case in the Amraoti Jail it is asked how long the Government will permit this "inhuman" and "barbarous" treatment of "those who, for aught the public knows, are innocent, victims of a vindictive and unscrupulous set of people who go by the name of the members of the C.I.D." "Such callous indifference to human life", it is said "under a civilized Government would not have been tolerated for one moment."

(v) On the 20th February Mrs. Besant herself contributed a signed article "At Work", written in Bombay on the 17th. Identifying Home Rule with the declared object of British policy in India loyally accepted by the Viceroy, she writes "it is the Local Governments who oppose Home Rule, the police and the civil servants who prosecute Home Rulers, who are disloyal to the Crown and who are trying to frustrate His Majesty's policy in India and thus to bring disaster upon the Empire". "It is an astounding

thing that Englishmen commit, and permit to be committed, this injustice of sending untried men to jail. One wonders if the war can ever be won while such deeds are perpetrated under the Union Jack".

(vi) A continuation of the same contribution, written on the following day and appearing on the 21st February, contains such matter as the following:-- "The Anglo-Indian organs are never tired of sneering at the Germans because they cannot 'trust the people', but we do not find the Germans intern^{ing} young men by hundreds and thousands without trial, keeping them imprisoned indefinitely and treating them so badly that some hunger-strike, others become insane, others commit suicide, while yet others develop phthisis and die, though strong young men when seized"

. . . "Nothing is done to ease the frantic anxiety and agony of the relatives and friends, the countless Rachels weeping for their sons". . . . "Lord Willingdon and his Councillors

are fond of accusing the Home Rule League of being at the bottom of agrarian and labour disputes. The accusation is false, so far as direct action is concerned, for it is the misery and hunger of the people that drive them to resist. . . . I

think, however, that it is true that the ideal of Home Rule is indirectly at the bottom of the disputes and the restlessness, for that ideal has given them Hope. The masses of Indians are beginning to understand . . . that their hunger is not due to

is due to

a Divine Decree but to which they should humbly bow their heads, but human blindness and human stupidity. . . . Mahatma Gandhi is

doing splendid work in this connexion, and the organization of labourers and artisans will stave off the Revolution of Hunger, which has long been a nightmare to many of us".

(vii) On another page in the same issue a paragraph, "internments", is devoted to the "outrage on two purda ladies in Bengal"; from internal evidence this paragraph would seem to have been composed, or at least inspired, by Mrs. Besant herself. The C.I.B. officers "go gaily on their way and the smouldering anger grows red in the hearts of the people. It was the peril to which women were exposed in Eastern Bengal which gave birth to the revolutionary movement in that province. . . . The C.I.B. are the greatest revolutionary force in India and the sooner they are

disbanded the better for the peace and safety of both the Government and people". After a threat to invoke the intervention of the Government of Great Britain and the Labour Party if His Excellency the Viceroy does not take action on the evidence which Mrs. Besant submitted to him regarding the ill-usage of the suspects, the paragraph concludes, "No civilized country treats political suspects as they are treated here. Their treatment is one of the reasons for obtaining Home Rule as quickly as possible for this unique treatment of men suspected of revolutionary tendencies is due to the difference of race. Germans do not treat Germans, nor Englishmen Englishmen, ^{as} Anglo-Indians treat Indians".

(viii) The leading article of the 27th February, "A heart-rending case", expatiates on the sufferings of Jyotish Chunder Ghosh, "the latest instance of the havoc caused by the policy of internments," in language of the most extravagant character. It is alleged that "these cases of lunacy during internment and imprisonment are occurring with cruel persistency".

(ix) Finally, the case of Babu Sarad Charan Maitra is dealt with in a paragraph, "Death in Internment", on the 28th February, concluding "Even if these detenus are revolution^{nists}~~aries~~, as the Government would have us believe, the treatment that is given to them in the name of peace and security of the country, is more in keeping with the Middle Ages than with a civilized Government of the twentieth century".

9. The Home Rule papers have published further matter on the subject of the grievances of postal subordinates, but more direct evidence of the interest taken by the organization in labour unrest is probably to be found in popular addresses to the labouring classes of Madras. The principal lecturer is Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, lately a Tamil Pandit of the Wesleyan Mission College, who forsook his profession to become a Home Rule journalist, and is now editor of the DESA BHAKTAN, the Tamil organ of the Madras Presidency Association. It has just been found necessary to issue a special warning to him with regard to the conduct of this paper.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Depart-
DATED--Fort St. George, the 20th March 1913. (ment.
NO---887 W-1.

In the mufassal generally there has again been comparatively little political activity, though Home Rule meetings have been specifically reported from Tinnevely, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Chittoor and Malabar. The agitator Varadarajulu Nayudu was at work in the Tanjore district, where the Collector refers to one of his speeches as particularly calculated to cause racial animosity. The Collector of Trichinopoly notices the growing strength of the feeling against Home Rule; in his district two anti-Home Rule Leagues have actually been started at Musiri and at Karur and it is expected that this will exercise a decided influence on a municipal election about to take place in the latter town. At Kalahasti in the Chittoor District a non-Brahman conference was held on a considerable scale on the 11th March under the presidency of Rai Bahadur K.Venkatareddi of Ellore.

The anniversary of the first publication of the non-Brahman paper, JUSTICE, formed the subject of a special celebration in Madras on the 26th February, attended by a number of prominent non-Brahmans.

On the 12th March another meeting was held in the Gokhale Hall to protest against the policy of internments. This took place under the auspices of the newly formed Civil Rights Committee and NEW INDIA comments that a significant feature was the prominent part taken in the proceedings by the younger politicians. The language used was exceptionally violent and extravagant. Speakers used language such as the following:--

"The sufferings which the detenus are undergoing are abominable; some have preferred ^{death} and others are enduring a living death...

"The authorities were mercilessly playing with their (Indians' fundamental rights as British subjects . . . they embarked upon a policy of inhuman repression which was sure to stagger a humanity, if only those acts of repression were exposed

"It was to gag the mouth and curb the tongue of the liars

who were crying hoarse for Home Rule" "The administration had been carried on with an avowed partiality to white exploiters and to the utter misery and poverty of the children of the soil".

"Woe be to the Anglo-Indians of the Welby type wicked and malicious in their intentions."

(Failing action to avert the calamities arising from the policy of repression) "He did not mean that there would be another Indian mutiny. But people might have recourse to such acts as passive resistance as would easily secure for them the object they had in view. If the workmen (the barber, the dhoby, the coachman, etc.,) came to know of the real authors of the repressive policy, they might refuse to do any service to such haughty and overbearing autocrats. The autocrats would then find themselves completely interned"

"It was unfortunate that the rising patriotic young men in India were placed under a cloud of suspicion. Love of motherland and freedom was considered a crime"

Mr. Arundale's comment on the earlier meeting protesting against the internments, which appeared in NEW INDIA on the 13th March, cannot be passed over in silence. He wrote INTER ALIA:--"Case after case of most shameful treatment . . . of criminal negligence, of death, of ruin, of desolation, of anything save justice. (In Bengal) Innumerable households are in misery . . . There languish in jail thousands of political prisoners whose detention sullies the fair name of Great Britain . . . To treat young men as Indian political detenus have been treated, hopelessly to embitter those who might have been won by justice and generosity . . . , to permit irresponsible and unbalanced persons to vent brutality upon helpless prisoners: this is a denial of the great principles for which England has stood in the past and which are her only title to victory in the present war".

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd April 1918.
NO.--1016 W-1.

✓ The agitator, Varadarajulu Nayudu, moved from Tanjore town to Negapatam, where his lectures were much more largely attended and are described by the Collector as noticeably more mischievous in tendency, especially in the case of one dealing particularly with the internment of Muhammad Ali and Shaikat Ali, which was obviously intended to stir up the Muhammadans who form a large section of the population in and near Negapatam.

National education continues to be in the fore-front and a preliminary programme has been issued detailing the activities contemplated in the "National Educational Week", which opens with religious processions in various parts of Madras on Sunday the 7th April.

✓ (The chief public meeting in Madras was held in Gokhale Hall on the 26th March under the auspices of the newly formed "Civil Rights Committee" for the purpose of protesting against the action of the Government of Burma in prohibiting the circulation of NEW INDIA, the HINDU and the AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA within that province.)

In the issue of the 28th March the Press Act is the text of a tirade ("The Bureaucratic Crusade") which charges the bureaucracy with making a violent raid upon the Indian papers for the purpose of strangling discussion just before the publication of the Secretary of State's proposals: "Every paper which advocates responsible Government is in daily peril of its life and is launched to the blank of guillotin looking into the basket".

In what purports to be a translation from an article in the KESARI, the following reference to Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in December last is repeated by the ^{Swadeshabhimanyu} SWADESHAMITRAI, a West Coast newspaper: "His Excellency the Viceroy is said to have shown Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar his letters to President Wilson and called it treason to have written them . . . Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar is not the person to feel afraid of such threats. He admitted he wrote the letters and asked if the Viceroy would like to see some more which he had yet to send to Dr. Wilson. It is said the next day the Viceroy expressed his regret

at what had happened the previous day. We
is true or not. We think there is nothing surp
if it be true".

DEMI-OFFICIAL--From the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSO
Acting Chief Secretary to the Governmen
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
to the Government of India, Home Departm
DATED--Ootacamund, the 19th April 1918.
NO.--1199 W-1.

There was not much political activity in the mufassal durin
the period under report. Meetings both for and against Home Rule
and against Home Rule are reported from Tinnevely, Trichinopoly,
and North Arcot, while in Guntur the local Home Rulers have again
revived political processions, but, according to the Collector,
are likely to lose ground, because plague is to the fore and they
are adopting an attitude of opposition to inoculation, whereas the
majority of the population are acting sensibly in this respect.

Tanjore was the scene of a largely attended non-Brahman conference
common to that district and the district of Trichinopoly, which
opened on the 30th March. The principal feature was a public lec-
ture by Doctor Nayar on the present condition of political affairs.
Some excitement was caused by the publication of printed Tamil
pamphlets containing virulent attacks on the Brahman caste. These
leaflets which were disowned by the non-Brahman leaders formed the
subject of a Brahman protest meeting.

Public interest was undoubtedly much more excited by the visit
of Mr. Tilak and his party to this Presidency on their way to Ceylon

The Commissioner of Police in dealing with the local effect of
these demonstrations (from which however Muhammadans seem to have
kept almost entirely aloof), describes Mr. Tilak's speeches as
having undoubtedly inspired the Home Rulers and enormously
strengthened their agitation. As a matter of fact the City Police
had a very difficult time of it on the opening day owing to the
very defiant and intentionally irritating attitude of some of the
young men in the crowd and it was only the great self-restraint
which they showed that prevented a collision.

Both NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL have specially advocated
passive resistance on the lines adopted by Mr. Gandhi and no

opportunity has been lost to magnify his campaign in the Kaira district. The tone of both papers continues to be open to grave objection.

(The proceedings of the 13th April were probably a counter-blast to a meeting of workmen held on the 5th April for the purpose of starting an association to be called "The South Indian Labour Party" accepting the creed of the South Indian Liberal Federation and therefore avowedly opposed to Home Rule.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--From the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st May 1918.]
NO.--1319 W-1.

[A noticeable feature of the past fortnight is an appeal made by the non-Brahman leaders for men of their own class to join the army. A meeting was held in Madras on the 19th April under the auspices of the South Indian Federal Liberal Association and was addressed by Dr. Nair, the Zamindar of Telaprole and others.]

In Trichinopoli and in Tanjore there has been more friction between the Home Rulers and the conservative non-Brahman party and in one instance (at Tanjore) it was found necessary to disperse rival meetings held in close proximity and at the same time.

(Subrahmanya Siva is writing to the papers and issuing leaflets for the organization of a society to work for SWARAJ on what he calls "the old nationalistic lines". Chidambaram Pillai and another ex-political convict (Krishnaswami Sarma) are said to be working with him and the movement seems to be substantially identical with the Home Rule campaign, though an attempt is made to distinguish it by laying stress on social and religious reformation as an essential prelude to large political powers.)

In the Home Rule Press, which now definitely includes the INDIAN PATRIOT and the HINDU as well as NEW INDIA, there have been continual references to Mr. Gandhi's work in Kaira. In a paragraph appearing on the 17th April in the last-named paper emphasis is laid on the fact that Mr. Gandhi's campaign is in no way confined to the Bombay Presidency but has reference to a "problem of All-

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India importance, and pertains to the poorest and the most helpless of our countrymen".

Hand in hand with the organized opposition to the payment of land revenue goes concerted action for the awakening of labour unrest. Perhaps the most dangerous worker in this direction is Mr. B.P. Wadia who has succeeded in reviving the Sunday labour meetings in the city of Madras, is arranging to open an office or reading-room in the labour quarter of Perambur and seeks to establish an organized labour association.

It is however on the wider political field that Mrs. Besant has recently been concentrating her activities. Her papers, NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL, have from the first taken up an attitude of uncompromising opposition to His Excellency the Viceroy's appeal for a truce to political agitation. The language used in a succession of articles has been of exceptional violence. At the time when the orders cancelling Tilak's passport were issued Mrs. Besant was herself lecturing in Bengal. She immediately broke up her tour and returned to Madras, where together with Tilak she organized a meeting of protest on Sunday the 21st, the proceedings at which amounted to a definite defiance of the Government of India. Tilak himself described the Delhi Conference as "packed" and as "some humbug to get the Government scheme passed". He suggested that as the leaders of the Congress including Mrs. Besant were not asked they were not bound by the decisions arrived at, and he urged that they should "fight to the end" for the Congress Home Rule scheme, using the "weapon of passive resistance" which would bring the Government "down on its knees". This, he said, is "just the time when political agitation ought to go on, adding~~ing~~ that the struggle had been begun by Government and it now remained to be seen who would succeed. "If the Conference decides in our ~~favours~~ favour, well and good. If it does not, we will have to organize our forces". Mrs. Besant who presided at the meeting fully supported this line, lauding the method of bargaining and ending up by saying that "in the coming struggle Madras would not be found wanting".

On the following day, the 22nd, NEW INDIA published a manifesto

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signed by Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, Mrs. Besant, Tilak, Horniman and a number of extreme Home Rule politicians from all parts of India, the purport of which was that definite promise of Home Rule should precede any appeal for assistance with men or money. To this document was appended a foot-note of Mrs. Besant stating that some of the signatories were disposed to stand entirely aside from any co-operation with Government in view of the tone of the War Cabinet's communique and the proposal to stop political discussion. She herself contributed in the same issue a signed article, entitled "The Indian Manifesto", couched in extravagant language and describing the Viceroy's task as impossible and doomed to failure because the War Cabinet had made the India that would have given men and money "angry, sullen and resentful".

(A further special meeting of protest was held in Madras on Wednesday the 24th under the presidency of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, who advocated passive resistance when appealed to by one of the speakers for counsel and advice, and finally Mrs. Besant, Tilak and Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar jointly signed a telegram of protest to the Viceroy condemning "any attempt to stop any political discussion as fraught with serious danger to public tranquillity and an unheard of inroad on the fundamental rights of the people to be resisted by all constitutional means". This document was evidently timed to reach Delhi on the opening of the Conference and is one of a series of steps by which it was intended to put pressure upon the Madras representatives at that assemblage. All congress and Home Rule League organizations had been specially urged ~~(to have not with any widespread response. There have been a few such meetings.~~ so early as the 20th April to hold public meetings for the same purpose, but so far as can be judged from the columns of NEW INDIA this appeal does not appear to have met with any *spread* response. There have been a few such meetings outside of Madras, the most important perhaps being one which took place in Tanjore under the presidency of Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao, ex-Diwan of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda.

Mr. Arundale has continued his mischievous campaign among the student class, presiding at a students' convention in Palghat and permitting himself to use unpardonable language when commenting on

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the disturbances which took place some time ago at the Palghat College and the disciplinary measures with which they were visited.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th May 1918.
NO---1551-W-1.

There has been a ^{good} ~~great~~ political deal of/activity in the mufassal during the period under report. Bipen Chandrai Pal made a series of speeches in the districts of Tanjore, Madura and Trichinopoly.

✓ The agitator, Varadarajulu, continued his lecturing tour in the Tanjore district and was, after all, not restrained from visiting Negapatam.

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and Subrahmanya ~~xxxx~~ Siva took further part in public life. The former was given a farewell entertainment by his admirers in Tanjore, and at Conjeevaram during the Provincial Conference he publicly advocated the demand of a declaration regarding self-government as a preliminary to any enthusiastic co-operation in the matter of recruitment. The latter held two Home Rule meetings in the Salem district, in the course of which the suggestion ~~xxx~~ was made that recruitment should depend on a promise of Home Rule; it is noteworthy that a prominent part in these meetings was taken by Adinarayana Chetti, formerly an Honorary Magistrate of Salem town, who recently returned from Ireland after a law course in Dublin, where he is said to have associated closely with Sinn Fein rebels.)

Tellicherry in Malabar was the scene of a District Conference. Violent speaking followed with reference to the stoppage of Tilak's journey to England. There were not many Brahmans present but a certain number of Mappillas attended the meeting. The District Magistrate regards it as not without significance that at such an assemblage the more violent young Home Rulers should be able to have their way.

✓ A Provincial Conference was held at Conjeevaram on the 9th, 10th and 11th May. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was the President of the Conference. Mrs. Besant moved the following resolution which consisted of four clauses:--

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(a) expressing loyalty to the King-Emperor and a determination to respond to his gracious message;

(b) calling upon all patriotic organizations to aid in recruiting, especially for the creation of a citizen army consisting of the young men of the middle classes enrolled under Indian officers;

(c) urging the introduction into Parliament without delay of a bill to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period to be specified in the Statute with the acceptance of the Congress League Scheme as the first step in the reform - this "in order to invoke the whole-hearted and real enthusiasm among the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man-power, material and money"; and

(d) recommending the immediate removal of all racial distinctions. //

The second clause of the resolution was forced upon the Subjects Committee by Mrs. Besant after acrimonious debate. Mr. Satyamurthi, the head of the section of more violent Home Rulers moved an amendment for the removal of the second clause. The amendment was put to vote after a day of violent debate and heated speeches from both sides. The counting of votes showed 140 for and 118 against it and there can be no doubt that this result correctly represented the opinion of the conference. Mrs. Besant's followers demanded a poll and in spite of strong opposition the President conceded the demand. With the result a number of delegates left the hall rather than their names recorded. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu finally declared the votes to be equal - 122 on either side and gave her casting vote against the amendment. Mrs. Besant thereupon proposed to withdraw the entire resolution but Mr. Satyamurthi suggested that it should be passed unanimously and this suggestion was accepted by the Conference. The conclusion which must apparently be drawn is that Mrs. Besant is unable to restrain her more ardent young supporters.

The Sessions case against C.S. Sitarama Ayyar, who endeavoured to get treasonable communications through to the Crown Prince, Von Hindenberg and other high authorities in Germany, has come to a close. The accused was found guilty under certain of the counts put forward and sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--OOTACAMUND, the 1st June 1918.
NO.--1723 W-1.

✓✓ (Mrs. Andinarayana Chetti is also figuring as a leader of the women's movement and in her endeavour to stir up her sisters to a more active life cited the Rani of Jhansi as one great example of what Indian women could do. / 11

✓ Mrs. Besant selected Varadarajulu for a vicious attack in an article entitled "Agents provocateurs" appearing in NEW INDIA of the 28th where she denounced him as a cowardly mischief maker for egging on "the untrained Indian youth" to distrust of all who were less violent than himself and then carefully "retiring from the area of violent excitement" which he had stirred up by his vehement speeches. This is one of several indications that Mrs. Besant is losing her temper with those of her former supporters who have been definitely in opposition to her since the dissensions at the Conjeevaram Provincial Conference.

It seems likely that a considerable volume of advanced opinion would not be sorry to depose Mrs. Besant from her position; she has been described as a "hysterical autocrat" and repeatedly condemned, directly/^{or} by implication, because of her professed readiness to co-operate with the Government in promoting recruiting and to accept (though only as a half-way stage) an inadequate instalment of reforms.

That Tilak is regarded as in the opposite camp to Mrs. Besant is further indicated by the fact that one of Mrs. Besant's chief opponents at the Conjeevaram Conference, the Municipal Chairman of Salem, proposed that Tilak should be invited to preside over the next Indian National Congress, a proposition carried unanimously at a crowded meeting in Salem town, and subsequently supported in an editorial note appearing prominently in the HINDU of the 30th May.)

While Mrs. Besant is professing readiness to co-operate for "purposes of national defence", it is doubtful whether this profession is genuine, for Mrs. Besant and her papers have confined

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their advocacy chiefly to the ideal of a Citizen Army and the columns of NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL have been thrown open to a good deal of matter likely to impede recruiting for the regular forces; nor has there been any serious attempt to assist the New War Loan.

The Home Rulers are continuing to show special interest in the organization of labour, particularly at the railway centre of Nega-patam in which a labour association has been formed, and among the mill-hands of Perambur in Madras.

An endeavour is being made to push a special appeal on behalf of the detenus in Bengal. A delegate of the Local Civil Rights Committee, of which Mr. B.P. Wadia is the Secretary, recently paid a visit to Bengal and on his return published an extravagant account *Support* of their condition coupled with an appeal for contributions towards the of their families. This article was backed by a special note of commendation under the signature of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th June 1918.
NO---1949 W-1. 1ED

War loan meetings are being held throughout the province, but it cannot be said that the campaign has awakened any enthusiasm. The subscription promised at such meetings as a rule compare unfavourably with the record of 1917 and the attendance is often poor. At the headquarters of the Salem district it was actually found necessary to adjourn the proceedings for want of a quorum; in Ganjam influential zamindars were noticeably backward; in Godavari the Marwaris and other merchants entirely boycotted a meeting at Rajahmundry while officials only were present at a meeting convened at Razole.

A leading ~~xxxx~~ article ("If we had Home Rule") on the 12th June directly attacks the present methods of recruitment as "alienating" the people's sympathies", while two other articles, both appearing on the 13th June, emphasize that "the flow of recruits is sure to be very limited until they realize that they are fighting for a free India" and denounce the bureaucracy in India, as in Ireland, for the manner in which they are "alienating the best influences in the country", and thus depriving the Empire of "probably the best fighters in the world".

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✓✓ Home Rule meetings are reported from Chittoor, Salem, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore and Malabar, and the opposition party was active in Ramnad, Salem and Tanjore. In Coimbatore and Malabar the principal speakers were two of the delegates turned back at Gibraltar, namely, the Hon'ble Mr. B.V. Narasimha Ayyar and Mr. Manjeri Ramaiyer whose language was particularly lacking in restraint. The same comment applies even more to the oratory at Trichinopoly on the 6th June of Mr. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, the editor of the DESABAKTHAN (the organ of the Madras Presidency Association); the District Magistrate mentions that in addition to advocating passive resistance and the spread of Home Rule propaganda in rural areas, the speaker laid special stress on the need to organize in each village bands of a hundred or more men to be drilled and trained "to put down the wicked and prevent offenders". In the Magistrate's opinion the speaker was guilty of distinct incitements to violence and the general drift of his proposal was to create an organization on the lines of the Sinn Fein volunteers. Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar is a close associate of Mrs. Besant's opponent Varadarajulu Nayudu, whose cause has been warmly espoused by a more reputable member of the party opposing her, namely, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Municipal Chairman of Salem. This gentleman has been accused in NEW INDIA in this connexion of "barefaced and deliberate lying" and denounced as an enemy of Home Rule for "choosing these critical months to foment new divisions". The upshot of the quarrel was that Mr. Rajagopalachari presided at a public meeting in Trichinopoly on the 11th June, where Varadarajulu Naidu himself, in spite of his vow of silence, was one of the speakers as also Kalyanasundara Mudaliyar, and Adinarayana Chetti who now figures as a pronounced opponent of Mrs. Besant, and the returned Home Rule delegate, Mr. G. Joseph, who took the opportunity publicly to commend Varadarajulu Nayudu's work. A vote of confidence in Varadarajulu Nayudu had previously been passed at a public meeting held in Salem on the 4th June, and similar resolutions with matter involving direct condemnation of Mrs. Besant, were carried at a more important protest meeting held on the Beach in Madras, on the 6th June under the chairmanship of the ex-convict, Chidambaram Pillai, with his former colleague and fellow convict, Subrahmanya Siva, as one of the principal speakers.)✓

There are indications of a rapprochement between Mrs. Besant and the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri on the common ground of suffering, for their services to India, from personal attacks in the HINDU and at the hands of the more ardent Home Rulers. Mrs. Srinivasa Sastri wrote a letter of effusive thanks to Mrs. Besant for a "generous" reference to him in NEW INDIA of the 29th May and occupied a seat on the platform with her at a lecture given by Syed Husain on Home Rule on the 3rd June, while a few days later Mrs. Besant stayed with Mr. Srinivasa Sastri in Poona on her way to Bombay and Lucknow. The object of this journey was to consult with Mr. Tilak on the subject of the proposed Special Congress and, in alleged agreement with him, it was continued to Lucknow in order to induce the Raja of Mahamudabad to take the chair at any such Congress. With a view to compose differences on this issue a general letter (published in NEW INDIA of the 7th June) was addressed by Mrs. Besant to ~~kax~~ members of the All-India Congress Committee inviting their opinion.

Far from being ashamed of the publication of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's letter to President Wilson NEW INDIA has republished all the matter which appeared in its issue of the 30th April in the form of a pamphlet procurable for two annas at the COMMONWEAL office. Mr. Montagu's condemnation of the letter in the House of Commons appears in NEW INDIA of the 13th June and forms the subject of a leading article denouncing the Secretary of State for his "unjust, uncalled for and slanderous" attack on "our venerable leader" which, it is said, will naturally raise the latter in the estimation of his countrymen, and merely serves to give wider publicity to his "heroic and noble action". It is emphatically stated that Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar "was in the right", he is congratulated for his "sterling services" and the readers of NEW INDIA are told that Mr. Montagu's attack proves one thing - "Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's letter has done its noble work".

In NEW INDIA of the 1st and again of the 4th June are published lengthy contributions from Mr. B.P.Wadia, strongly advocating refusal of ~~allx~~ co-operation if the Congress-League scheme is not granted as the first step and advising systematic obstruction in that contingency. As regards the proposed political truce he

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writes: "You want our men. ~~It shall come into~~ You shall have them, but listen for a moment to our terms. You want our money. It shall come into your coffers, if you will consent to pay the interest of Home Rule on the sums you require". If a German invasion of India should take place it will not be the fault of the Indians, but divine retribution on the "stiff-necked" arrogance and haughty inefficiency and criminal negligence" of the bureaucracy. (Mr. Wadia then appeals for "an immediate organization of all our forces for a great and serious, and perhaps prolonged constitutional struggle", and suggests the probability of resort to passive resistance in such forms as the refusal of the payment of land-tax by the poor, as in Kaira, and of income-tax by the rich) ("Above all a thorough-going Swadesi movement will have to be organized". He concludes by ~~xxxxxx~~ describing the Delhi Conference as "an eye-wash and its resolutions as not binding on the Indian public") //

The organization of labour in various departments has been the subject of voluminous articles and other contributions in NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL. The latest development is the organization of a Rickshawallas' Union by Mr. B.P. Wadia with reference to a temporary strike which took place last week in consequence of their employers' proposal to raise the daily hire of a rickshaw from 4 to 5 annas.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R. HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 5th July 1918.
NO.---2127 W-1.

War Loan meetings were held in a variety of places but the prospects are again generally described as unfavourable". In Chittoor, on the other hand, there was no attendance whatever at a meeting convened at Tirupati. In Tanjore at a public meeting held on the 13th June in commemoration of Sivaji's day a resolution was passed protesting against a proposed War Loan meeting on the 15th idem on the ground that "the public should not hold the war in men or money unless the interned and political prisoners were released, reactionary and repressive laws abrogated and Hon

Rule given to India as for Ireland.

Both NEW INDIA and the Commonweal have published further matter directly or indirectly discouraging contributions to the War Loan - see in particular articles entitled "War Loan or War Taxation".

The Home Rule press continues to discourage recruitment for the regular army.

Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar advocated passive resistance as a constitutional means of enforcing the grant of the Congress-League Scheme. Mrs. Besant ~~she~~ then justified Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's appeal to America for help rejoiced at the consequent spread of Home Rule movement in that country under the presidency of Lala Lajapat Rai.

(V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and his former colleague Subrahmanya Siva have now given up the idea of a separate organization on the old nationalistic lines and intend to join the Home Rule League but only in union with the party antagonistic to Mrs. Besant.)

Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar has been the subject of volumes of eulogy. The publication of a copy of a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government (actually received by the addressee on the 24th idem) formally returning Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's insignia as a K.C.I.E. and his badge as Diwan Bahadur on the ground that "he could not continue to bear these titles with any self-respect after the contemptuous terms which Mr. Montagu thought fit to use towards him in the House of Commons". Mrs. Besant pointed the moral by an editorial postscript referring to the "dignified and self-respecting action of Dr. S. Subrahmanya Ayyar" which in her words "would claim universal Indian admiration.

Instances of further pecuniary assistance from Home Rulers towards the Rickshawallas' union are advertised and at an open air meeting held on the 15th June in Negapatam Adinarayana Chetti of Salem is reported to have emphasized the need for the collection of union fund in the following significant sentence: "Money was needed to feed the hands thrown out of employment during STRIKE". Diwan Kesava Pillai Bahadur has contributed to the papers a long list of grievances in the Choolai Mills at Madras.

National Education has received but little attention, though

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there have been references to the opening of a girls' school at Mangalore.

This report may be concluded with extracts from NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL furnishing further evidence of Mrs. Besant's increasing violence of tone.

In an article on "Princes and Politics" appearing in NEW INDIA of the 19th June the following passage occurs: "Autocracy supported by espionage flourishes ~~xxxx~~ in India more than in Prussia; Prussia does not imprison thousands of men without trial for years, nor carry on such spying into private letters and bank accounts, nor such harrying by the police and persecution of suspects as go on here, nor has she such an Arms Act or Press Law as that which exist in India".

COMPARE the COMMONWEAL of the 28th June where in the "outlook" notes Mrs. Besant describes the Czecho Slavs and Jugo Slavs as "living far more happily under the Austrian sway and under far less coercive legislation than do the Indians".

In an "On the Line" note in NEW INDIA of the 25th June and a similar note in the COMMONWEAL of the 28th ~~idem~~ the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Bombay is attacked for his acquittal of a European member of the staff of the TIMES OF INDIA on a charge of assault brought by an Indian. "The accused was an Anglo-Indian and so was the Magistrate". . . . "It only involves cost, delay and disappointment to prosecute English assailants. The best remedy is for the Indians to pay back the bullies in their own coin. One hit back from an Indian struck by a foreigner will be more convincing than a prosecution" (NEW INDIA).

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGGELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th July 1918.
NO.--2376 W-1.

The prospects of the War Loan continue to be generally unfavourable, notwithstanding the organized effort which is being made to secure better results.

At the important town of Rajahmundry in the Godavari district a meeting held by the Collector with the District Judge in the chair

which is described as "rather more successful than usual", only resulted in the sale (to a Government official) of a single cash certificate, though the Postal Superintendent had brought numbers of such certificates in the expectation of large sales.

In Ramachandrapuram when approached by the Tahsildar and the District Munsif for subscriptions towards the War Loan the pleaders in their Bar room "told those officers plainly that no subscriptions could be expected from them until the people of India were granted the Congress-League Scheme of reforms" an answer which is said to have been "warmly received by the public of that place and the surrounding villages".

(Mr. B.P. Wadia delivered a lecture on "The Present Situation" to an open air audience in Trichinopoly, concluding with advice to continue systematic agitation if the Congress-League Scheme be not adopted) and to pursue obstructive methods on the Irish plan in order to prove that other reforms are not workable.

The district officers' reports contain nothing which need be chronicled except (1) the Madura Collector's statement that in his district/^{the} non-Brahman movement has gained ground a good deal lately.~~and~~

So far as the local press is concerned, the reception of the proposals for constitutional reforms has been generally unfavourable. NEW INDIA, the COMMONWEAL, the INDIAN PATRIOT and the HINDU vie with one another in the violence of their condemnation.

The debates in the Madras Provincial Congress Committee indicate that there is still a definite cleavage between Mrs. Besant and her supporters on the one hand and the party of Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the editor of the HINDU, on the other,

Mr. Ramachandra Rao is almost alone in counselling careful examination of the proposals and advising against the policy of summary rejection advocated by other contributors to the Home Rule press.

Mention may be made of an article entitled "The goal of the British in India" appearing in the issue of NEW INDIA of the 2nd July, which by implication suggests the use of force for the attainment of Home Rule, and of an extract from the speech of an Irish Nationalist in 1907, appearing in the issue of the 9th, which

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lays down that in Ireland each step has been gained by recourse to open rebellion or because of apprehension that rebellion would otherwise result.

Attention continues to be devoted to the labour movement, the object, in view, as stated in a leading article in NEW INDIA of the 3rd July, being the protection of the labouring classes against exploitation and also assistance to the Home Rule cause. Mrs. Besant has taken personal interest in the Madras Rickshawallas' Union and endeavours are being made to attract large numbers of this class by gifts of rickshaws, by the establishment of cheap co-operative stores, and, in the case of one meeting, by the offer of free meals to persons willing to attend; notwithstanding these inducements the audiences secured have been small. Various prominent Home Rulers have taken part in this campaign.

Attention has been diverted from the Buckingham and Carnatic mills to the Choolai Mill under Indian management, the employees in which are agitating for conditions approximating to those enjoyed by at the Buckingham and Carnatic mills. This agitation has been supported by ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai and the workmen have taken ~~xxxx~~ to leaving the mill at their own time in the evenings. The Commissioner of Police considers the members of the labour union to be at the bottom of the trouble.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L. DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S. R. HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st August 1918.
NO.---2556 W-1.

The Trichinopoly District Magistrate refers to a curious incident illustrative of the length to which caste feeling runs in Southern India. A boat-load of Brahmans crossing the Cauvery found in mid-stream that a Paraiya was on board and insisted on his being immediately put out on to a tiny islet, where he was left marooned. The non-Brahman sub-magistrate of the place hearing what had happened, the place took a boat and went to his rescue. The ferrymen were on their trial and convicted; only one of the Brahman passengers could be found and the evidence in his case was considered insufficient to warrant conviction.

~~insufficient to warrant conviction.~~

In an adjacent district the Municipal Council of the town (Salem) was recently engaged in the discussion from the Brahman residents against the innovation of Panchama peon in the Salem College and two Panchama in the agrapharam, or Brahman ward, of the town; a motion to remove the latter was only rejected by a majority of

In Tanjore, where a Tamil lecture was given by Dr. Rajan, a well-known political suspect, with Mr. V.P. Madhavan, the ex-Diwan of Travancore, Mysore, and Baroda, in the lecture the lecturer advocated summary rejection of the Reform Scheme.

It has been decided to hold a Special Provincial Conference at the Gokhale Hall in Madras to discuss the Reform Scheme on the 3rd and 4th August. Mrs. Besant herself has been elected as the Reception Committee with Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, of the HINDU, as one of the Vice-Chairmen, while Mr. C.V. Achariyar, late a member of the Indian Legislative Council, has been nominated for the post of President of the Conference.

NEW INDIA, the COMMONWEAL, and the HINDU continued to recently to advocate the summary rejection of the Reform Scheme; there are now indications that this attitude of uncompromising opposition is undergoing modification.

A manifesto has been published by some of the "Moderates" by Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar, late of the Madras Executive Council, including Diwan Bahadur Govindaraghava Ayyar, Mr. G.A. Natesan (of the INDIAN REVIEW) and other persons hitherto regarded as supporters of the Home Rulers; the signatories consider that the path of wisdom lies not in the rejection of the scheme but in the securing of considerable modifications in it. The principal modification which they advocate is the classification as "Transferred" subjects of all departments except Law and Justice and the Police coupled with a proviso designed to secure the automatic transfer of those departments also after a short fixed period unless a Royal Commission definitely advises against the change. Variations of this proposal are to be found in the utterances of individual "Moderates". The press has of course been deluged with opinions on the Reforms, the chief commentator being Mrs. Besant herself, who is daily contributing

Please read the following before 'A special meeting
under report of the 20th August 1918.

A number of district conferences have been held to discuss the Reform Scheme, e.g., in Madura, Ramnad, Tanjore, Chittoor, Salem and Malabar, where the resolutions passed follow more or less stereotyped forms ranging from summary rejection to acceptance with drastic modifications designed to assimilate the scheme to the joint proposals of the Congress-Muslim League. These district-conferences organizations are clearly under the general control of the central executive at the Presidency headquarters and there is little evidence of the independent thought or action. With the exception of these conferences and a strike at the Madura Cotton Spinning Mills to which reference will be made later, the mufassal in general has been little affected by political activities.

The District Magistrate of Trichinopoly states that the Subdivisional Magistrate of Musiri (a Brahman Deputy Collector) has reversed the conviction of the ferryman (referred to in Paragraph 5 of my last report) who marooned a Paraiya in the middle of the Cauvery for the convenience of the Brahmans who were his fellow passengers.

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ing notes on the subject in the leading article of NEW INDIA.

The general tone of NEW INDIA, the COMMONWEAL, the INDIAN PATRIOT and the HINDU has been as objectionable as usual. The publication of the Rowlatt Committee's Report has given rise to a particularly violent outburst of criticism.-

It remains to refer to the Labour Movement. In the mufassal this does not seem to have caught on much; the District Magistrate of Tanjore describes the League started in Negapatam as far from flourishing. In Madras, on the other hand, there has been much activity. Mr. Wadia, who had for some time preserved silence signalized a numerously attended public meeting of the Madras Labour Union held in Perambur on Saturday the 13th July by a lengthy address published in NEW INDIA of the 15th under the headline "Injustice will bring the mightiest on earth to ruin".

The position which Mr. Wadia and the Labour Union seek to obtain may be inferred from the following sentence:--

"Report every single case of grievance at the Labour Union office and I promise to do whatever is necessary".

The strike mentioned in my last report as having taken place in the Cigar Department of the Madras firm of Messrs. McDowell & Co. came to an end on the 19th July.

The labour movement continues to receive the editorial blessing of NEW INDIA. There was a deliberate attempt to extend the sphere of operations to the Madras Tramway system. ✓

✓ DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras. TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.R.HIGNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department. DATED--Ootacamund, the 20th August 1918. NO---2755 W-1.

A special meeting of the Madras Provincial Conference to discuss the Reform Scheme was summoned for the 3rd and 4th August. (Next day) When the Conference met, Mr. Satyamurthi and his party who advocated the total rejection of the Reform Scheme were only outvoted by 187 votes to 154. Mrs. Besant and other speakers were unable to secure a hearing. Mrs. Besant expressed grave regret at the "brutal insults" heaped upon those who disagreed with them. She concluded her address by declaring, "I do not want to force myself on your meetings. I can

work without talking except when invited by friendly Indians.

I INTEND TO RESIGN THE PRESIDENCY Of the Home Rule League ^{at} ^{by} the next annual meeting". An agreement was eventually arrived at and resolutions were put to vote by the chair and the most important of which was Resolution No.III which,

(i) denounced the reform proposals as furnishing an inadequate advance towards self-government and embodying nothing resembling responsible government,

(ii) advocated complete provincial autonomy and the incorporation of the essential provisions of the Congress-League Scheme together with other measures indicated in detail in succeeding resolutions, and

(iii) described these changes as the minimum necessary "to enable the British Nation to go into the Peace Conference with clean hands and to justify its professions during the war".

In addition to detailed proposals on administrative matters resolutions were proposed (a) condemning the proposals of the Rowlatt Committee as utterly inconsistent with any reform scheme and calculated to produce deep and abiding discontent and (b) urging full facilities for the passage of Home Rule deputations to England.

The general tone of NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL continues to be objectionable. There have been special denunciations of the Rowlatt Committee's proposals and attacks on Lord Ronaldshay for his condemnation of Mrs. Besant and on Sir Michael O'Dwyer.

Mention should be made of the advent to this Presidency of Swamy Satyadev (well-known, it is believed, to the Criminal Investigation Department), who has come south ostensibly for the purpose of spreading a knowledge of Hindi. In his first lecture, this gentleman (~~after recounting his varied experiences in that country~~), impressed upon his audience that the secret of commanding respect with a white man was not to take his blows and insults lying down but to pay him back in his own coin. His propaganda was admittedly designed, by the introduction of a common language to facilitate the attainment of Swaraj and he is apparently an emissary from Mr. Gandhi.

In Madras City the meetings of the Labour Union in Perambur have continued, the speakers including Mr. Satyamurthi Ayyar, the Hon'ble Mr. V.K.Ramanuja Achariyar of the Madras Legislative Council and Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai. The Government have just (16th evening) received a representation from the management of the Tramway Company complaining of the unsettling effect which these manoeuvres are having on their men and expressing the apprehension that the movement may extend to the Madras Electric Supply Corporation, another public utility company under practically the same management.

The most serious trouble during the last fortnight however has been the occurrence of a strike at Messrs. Harvey & Co.'s cotton spinning mills in Madura which employ about 5,000 work people. This occurrence is attributed to the action not of a Home Ruler, but of an anti-Brahman agitator named J.N.Ramanathan, who seems to have been actuated by a desire to get hold of the mill hands for political purposes before they were approached by Mr. Wadia or Doctor Varadarajulu Nayudu. When it became apparent that he had secured a large measure of success, the Home Rule politician George Joseph (who was recently turned back at Gibraltar) joined forces with Ramanathan. It has been found necessary to issue a prohibitory order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, against the agitator Ramanathan restraining him for a period of one month from speaking at any public meeting within 10 miles of the Madura temple. The mill is indirectly connected with the production of war material but on the information before Government the case does not appear to come clearly within the purview of the new rule 24-A of the Defence of India Rules.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Ootacamund, the 31st August 1918.
NO---2998 W-1.

(The most important of the political meeting of the fortnight was a special Andhra conference held on the 17th August in the district of Guntur. The Subjects Committee contained a major of extremists in favour of the total rejection of the Reform

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proposals, but when a resolution to that effect was laid before the general meeting it was after a heated discussion rejected by 97 votes as against 76. This result is attributed by the District Magistrate mainly to the advocacy of the Hon'ble Mr. B.N.Sarma of the Indian Legislative Council and to the intervention of the Guntur lawyers and their non-political friends.

The labour troubles in Madura were aggravated by the advent to that town of the agitator Varadarajulu Nayudu. The Government have authorized his prosecution under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code; a complaint has been filed accordingly and according to newspaper reports Varadarajulu Nayudu, who had left Madura, was arrested at Trichinopoly on the 29th August.

Meanwhile in Madras the anticipations of the local Tramway Company have been realized and the machinations of Mr. E.L.Ayyar and other Home Rule partisans have resulted in the strike which they professed to deprecate. Much inconvenience has thus been caused to the general public.

Mention should also be made of another movement for the organization of a labour union, got up by a vakil of the Tellicherry bar who summoned a meeting of Tiyyans at Cannanore on the 18th August with the alleged object of remedying the grievances to which this caste is said to be subjected by the abkari administration.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th September 1918.
NO---3131 W-1.

By far the most serious feature of the fortnight, however, was the general and sudden rise in the price of common necessities of life. Unrest on this score prevailed almost throughout the Presidency and actual disturbances were reported from no less than fourteen out of the twenty-five districts in the presidency.

The criminal proceedings against Varadarajulu Nayudu had hardly commenced before the local Home Rule politicians thought fit to hold meetings for the purpose of expressing sympathy with him and collecting funds for his defence.

According to an "On-the-line" note in NEW INDIA of the 12th instant the Tiyans in North Malabar had determined with effect from that date to give up tapping for drinking purposes in case they failed to get a favourable consideration of their memorial from Government, their intention being to tap instead for sweet toddy with a view to manufacture of jaggery.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. L.DAVIDSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 1st October 1918.
No.--3421 W-1.

The period under review has been characterized by a continuance of general unrest, From four of the districts mentioned in my last letter further disturbances connected with the economic situation have been reported.

At Madras, however, much local excitement has been aroused by the criminal proceedings against the agitator Varadarajulu Nayudu. The trouble was with difficulty avoided at the close of the proceedings against the agitator when the accused (who is on bail) was taken to his house in procession through the streets. On the following day these scenes were repeated, the District Magistrate having in the interval obtained the assistance of 200 troops from Trichinopoly. When the court rose (an hour earlier than on the previous day) and the accused came out, the crowd rushed the cordon and the police fired, one constable being accidentally killed and three or four of the crowd wounded.

One of the ringleaders in this movement is Adinarayana Chetti the Dublin barrister, who was closely associated with Sinn-Fein politics.

Mrs. Besant took the chair at a lengthy debate on the Congress-League Reform proposals under the joint auspices of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee, the Mahajana Sabha and the All-India Home Rule League; in her concluding words she reminded her audience that their work would not be over even if all those proposals were incorporated in the Reforms Scheme and asked them to remember the words of Dadabhoi Naoroji: "Agitate, agitate, agitate, until Swaraj is won".

The telegraphic announcement regarding the constitution of the two committees to be appointed in connexion with the Reforms Scheme has given rise to adverse comment both in (1) NEW INDIA, which sneers at the inclusion of Bureaucratic opponents of Indian liberty and Indian gentlemen who are "all naturally seceders from the Congress and must be made as much of as possible", and (2) JUSTICE, where criticism centres on the inclusion of politicians opposed to communal representation and pledged to the support of Brahman predominance. The HINDU comments on a strain similar to that of NEW INDIA.

The Labour Movement has been comparatively quiescent, though weekly meetings have been held in Madras and addressed by the Home Rule politicians who have devoted themselves to this branch of their campaign. On the 24th and 25th September, however, there were threatenings of trouble at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills.

and at one time it seemed ^{*****}likely that it might prove necessary to close the mills.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. C.G.TODHUNTER, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Depart-
DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th October 1918. (ment.
No.---3694 W-1.

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The principal topics in the press and on the platform during the fortnight have been the prosecution of Varadarajulu Nayudu at Madras and the riots arising out of the same, the constitution of the Reforms Committees, the renewed refusal of passports to representatives of the Congress and the Moslem League, and Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar's proposal that the Congress should appeal to President Wilson.

The composition of the Reforms Committee has been attacked by both sides. On behalf of the Non-Brahmans a large number of meetings of protest have been held and JUSTICE and the ANDHRA-PRAKASHA take the line that the committees should be boycotted by Non-Brahmans altogether. The Landholders' Association have also protested. The HINDU, on the other hand, objects to the inclusion of men who have seceded from the Congress and in an article entitled "Reward of Virtue", suggests that they owe their selection to their having consented to submerge the critic in the acolyte.

The proposed legislation on the subject of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee is strongly condemned by the HINDU and NEW INDIA. The former objects to the indiscriminate application of the same drastic remedy to sedition as to serious crimes. The latter has an article by Mrs. Besant in which it is suggested among other things that "if Britain cannot rule India without recourse to these inhuman proposals, she should for her own credit's sake abandon her connexion with India", that "the turning of these proposals into law would be a premium on conspiracy", and that no reforms can be of any value if they become law.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. C.G.TODHUNTER, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st November 1918. (EO
NO.---3891 W-1.

A large number of political meetings have been held, mainly

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for the purpose of discussing the Reform proposals. Mention may be made of the Non-Brahman Conferences held at Madras, Madurai, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Masulipatam, Gudivada, Coimbatore, Bezwada, Kovur, Vizagapatam, Ellore, Rajahmundry, Guntur, Bellary, Palghat, Kalahasti and Chittoor, generally to discuss the composition of the Franchise Committee and the question of communal representation. Protests in respect of the same matter have been received from the Madras Dravidian Association, the South Indian Liberal Federation, the Canjam District People's Association and the Madras Zamindars and Landholders Association. One of the chief features of these gatherings was an emphatic expression of discontentment at the inclusion of the Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Srinivasa Sastri among the members of the Committee. A special meeting was held at Madras by the South Indian Non-Brahman Confederation at which representative Non-Brahmans from the several districts of the Presidency were present and several resolutions were passed expressing dissatisfaction with the composition of the Franchise Committee, including one urging non-Brahmans to decline to co-operate with the committees unless one or more Non-Brahmans representing the Confederation were appointed to each of them.

Home Rulers were especially active during the fortnight in connexion with labour organization. Mrs. Besant is stated to have said that an all-India Labour organization was necessary in India to make the European capitalists respect Indian opinion. The actual formation of the Association was not immediately carried out but NEW INDIA of 29th October announced the formation of the Central Labour Board, Madras; the main objects of the Board are to establish Labour unions in the City of Madras and in the districts, to create harmonious relations between employers and employed and to endeavour to get increased wages and other amenities for labourers, also to promote legislation for fixing a minimum wage.

There has been a recurrence of trouble at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills ending with a lock-out of all the hands on the 29th October. The men were led by the addresses of Mr. Wadia and other organizers of the Labour Union.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. C.G. TODHUNTER,
 Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
 TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.
 Secretary to the Government of India, Home Dep
 DATED--Fort St. George, the 19th November 1918,
 No.--4094 W-1.

The Labour movement in Madras continues and efforts are being made to increase the membership of the Labour Union and at the same time to force the employers to recognize it. There was a strike during the fortnight of the ward boys, scavengers and bearers in the General Hospital. This appears to have been the outcome of visits to Mr. E.L. Ayyar at his house.

The comments in the press testify generally to a spontaneous feeling of rejoicing, at the end of the war. Mrs. Besant alone strikes a discordant note likening the King Emperor's rule over India to the autocratic regime of the rulers of Russia, Germany and Austria and hoping that as the war has swept away those despotisms so may India now achieve the freedom which is her right.

Some excitement has been caused by the filing of a suit by Mrs. Besant, as representing the Home Rulers, for defamation against the MADRAS MAIL, claiming a lakh of rupees as damages. The defamatory passage complained of was as follows:--

"Now that Bolshevism, as displayed in Russia is proved to have been a huge German conspiracy, a new term of abuse must be found for 'Home Rulers', says a local extremist journal. We fail to follow the argument. The so-called Home Rule movement, as the San Francisco trial, the revelations of the Rowlatt Commission and the admissions contained in the Chelmsford-Montague Report serve to place beyond doubt, enjoys a very real, if subterranean, connection with Germany. Bolshevism, as a term descriptive of the kind of rule the 'Home Ruler' would set up in India, is, therefore, as appropriate as ever. One cannot touch pitch and not be defiled".

Another matter which appears to have excited much criticism is the announcement that endeavours will be made to find employment for officers injured in the war. On this subject NEW INDIA says: "It looks as though the public services of India will also have to provide for thousands of Englishmen who will be declared unfit for military service. It is stated that a big scheme is

worked out in England for the maintenance of those who have been crippled in the war; and we shall not be surprised if public opinion in England asserts itself to such an extent in the matter that ultimately endeavours may be made to rush more non-Indian spinsters into the Indian services". The INDIAN PATRIOT with execrable taste refers to the discharged officers for whom employment may be sought in India as the 'refuse' of the Navy and Army.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM "NEW INDIA" , DATED THE 12TH NOVEMBER 1918.

THE GOLDEN AGE AND PRESENT AUTOCRACY.

Has a nation no Rights? By what law does Britain claim to keep India as a subject race? Ought one country to be allowed by the remaining nations of the world to imperil the world's future peace by maintaining autocracy in India, using for that purpose repressive measures, abolished everywhere else, to keep down insurrection? Can Britain be admitted into the League of Nations while she maintains autocracy, and can only hold her own in India by a system of LETTRES DE CACHET and other arbitrary methods, which the rest of the world has outgrown? There were four great Autocracies at the beginning of the war; the Tsar over Russia, the Austrian Emperor over Austria, the Kaiser over Germany, the British Emperor over India. Two have fallen; one is falling; is the fourth to remain, to be the amazement of, and a menace to, a world set free?

EXTRACTS FROM "NEW INDIA"? DATED 14th NOVEMBER 1918.

"AUTOCRACY".

I hear that some people are absurd enough to suppose that speaking on Tuesday of the ~~xxxxxx~~ disappearance of the British Emperor as an Autocrat in India, I meant the disappearance of the Crown. I thought my loyalty to the Crown was too well known for such a silly reading of my words. I want King George as a constitutional Monarch, in India as in the Dominions, not as an Autocrat.

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EXTRACT FROM THE "COMMONWEAL" DATED THE 15TH NOVEMBER 1918.

Mr. Lloyd George did well, in his first glad announcement of the end of the war, to remember India and to include her in the recognition of the sacrifices which had brought the triumph. May he remember also her right to share in the freedom she has bought for others by the pouring out of her blood and treasure. If our Emperor George would lay down his autocracy, if he would prefer to it the glad homage of a free people, if he would proclaim an amnesty to all political prisoners and detenus, if he would bid his Viceroy repeal all coercive measures, and trust his Imperial Crown to a Nation, acclaiming him as its Liberator, then ~~xxx~~ would India indeed rejoice, without a pain at her heart, over the triumph of the Allies, over her place in the future. Oh, for an Akbar on the throne, as well as a Caesar in the field! Is not our Emperor great enough to rival Akbar's policy, as Generalissimo Foch has proved himself great enough to rival Caesar?

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. C.G.TODHUNTER, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st December 1918.
NO.--4364 W-1.

In Madras, while a so-called 'victory' meeting at the Madras Labour Union appears to have been really nothing but a propaganda meeting in which much stress was laid on the part that labour had played in the war and on the prospects of a Labour Government in England. Mr. Wadia speaking at this meeting made use of the following phrases:--

"Now we have all to remember that there are people in this country of India who, in the way of thinking and in their habits, though not exactly like Germans and Austrians, come near their form of character and life. Now therefore our duty will be to wipe from this our country all these expressions of autocracy, tyranny, unrighteousness and unbrotherly conduct. And how are we going to do it? In Russia, in Germany, in Austria the wiping of that autocracy had to be attained by bloodshed, by misery and suffering and by deaths of thousands upon thousands of people. But in this country of India

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we want to attain that happy and peaceful condition without bloodshed, without difficulty, without trouble, by the weapons of truth and the arms of righteousness. Before the war there existed in the world a few great autocracies where tyranny was rampant and human liberty was curtailed. Of these few countries Russia was the first to wipe out that autocracy. It has been wiped out in Turkey, in Austria and in Germany, But there are still certain countries in the world where forms of tyranny exist and our country is one of them.

(Two notable meetings were the anniversary of the Theosophical Society and a meeting of the Depressed Classes Mission. At the former Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar was one of the chief speakers.

The Depressed Classes Mission meeting was an occasion for an outburst of Brahman and anti-Brahman feeling. Justices Sadasiva Ayyar and Seshagiri Ayyar took part in the meeting. The following is an extract from the speech of the former:--

"all the higher classes were oppressing the depressed classes. Brahmans were cunning and instigating others while they themselves would keep behind the scenes, and it was the non-Brahmans that were seen prominently oppressing the depressed classes. He cited the instance of the Zamorin of Calicut and the Mayars there closing the Tali road to the Tiyyas. He said it was really the high caste non-Brahmans that stood in the way of the progress of the submerged classes. He added that the Brahman-non-Brahman cleavage has affected an institution like the Pachaiappa's College also. He understood that the Brahma Samajists or non-Brahmans wanted to keep out others from the Depressed Classes Mission Society. He thought it was a very bad policy."

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. C.G.TODHUNTER? I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Fort St. George, the 16th December 1913.
NO.--4589 W-1.

The trouble at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills continued throughout the fortnight.

The prospects of settlement have not been rendered more

by daily meetings held by Mr. Wadia and others, at which exhortations were addressed to the labourers on political questions. The following, for instance, are extracts from a speech by Mr. Dandapani Pillai in which he professed to explain to the labourers the points of the 'Declaration of Rights':--

"If we had the natural rights that are enjoyed by human beings, we also should have turned out to be valiant soldiers and would have had trained armies like those of the Westerners. In our country the sepoys themselves, who were under Government, have plundered Even though you are hundreds of you, you will have to be afraid of them. Why? Are we not paying taxes to the British Government to give us security of person and property? We may talk and talk but we have no arms to be used. In England, France and Germany each ryot has got a gun to defend himself with The King is our servant So for our benefit there are Collectors and policemen. So they must be submissive to the people or at least they can enjoy equal rights with the people. They must be in a lower status than the people In England, Germany and elsewhere in Europe even a poor beggar has got the right to be tried by a Judge, and verdict given by jurors of the same class; whereas to us the black people - any white man - even a dog can try and dispose of our cases. . . . The Madura labourers are getting more wages, because they struck work. Therefore the idea of striking may cross your minds. So we must have a newspaper to better our union. So we are going to start a paper There is no meaner action than beating or whipping a human being (by this civilised government). Such things are not done in England and France. Here if a crime was committed, we are punished with whipping. Now the sepoys can be whipped. The sepoys being illiterate, they commit crimes. Now in the Indian Defence Force, educated men - Deputy Collector Tahsildars, B.A.s, M.A.s - have enlisted themselves. But if they committed a mistake, they won't be let off because they are educated men. Even if they should be whipped, they can be If the white men committed mistakes, whip them also, we will and gloat over it. . . . Should all of you be convinced of necessity for such modifications, I ask you to affix your

ture to this memorial and send on to Government. / 2

The most important meeting of the fortnight was one the Gokhale Hall to discuss the question of self-determination. The following are extracts of the speeches:--

The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan:--(Reported by the Commissioner of Police to have been the only Muhammadan present).

"Slavery of individuals has been abolished, but the slavery of nations continues, to exist even in the modern times. As long as autocracy was the only form of government prevalent in the world, it mattered not by whom a people were governed . . .

The Hindu, subjects of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, who form the bulk of the population, and the Mussalman subjects of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, who are in majority in that State, love their Princes whole-heartedly. So no one dare question our devotion to our King. But at the same time we must confess that we hate to be ruled by England. No self-governing country, however advanced it may claim to be in the so-called modern civilisation, should be permitted to govern another country however backward it may be alleged to be in the same direction. This war would prove to have been fought in vain and the terrible sacrifices it occasioned would turn to be sheer waste if the personal autocracy that it has overthrown is replaced by the overlordship of one nation by another. Let the latter be also overthrown wherever it exists as it does in India and let it not be imposed afresh anywhere. . . . We, Mussalmans of India, are waiting with bated breath to see how the principle of self-determination is to bear fruit in the case of luckless Turkish Empire. A wise nation while demanding freedom in the management of her own internal affairs would desire, for the sake of her own safety, to remain a component part of a large Empire and would therefore willingly impose upon herself obligations which are for the common benefit of the whole empire. This is the position India is taking in respect of the British Empire.

MR. B.P.WADIA:-- "The Peace Conference is the Peace Conference of all the great Nationalities of the world. It is our business, it will become our business more and more as time rolls by, that we should appeal, if need be, to American democracy . . .

democracy, Italian democracy and now that Germany is no more an autocracy and the German enemies, at the Peace Conference we should appeal to German democracy. Stage by stage we should proceed. If we fail to move the British rulers we may have to fail at the Peace Conference and ultimately invite some German representative to say to the British people 'You talk of self-determination for African colonies, for Mesopotamia; what about Ireland, what about Egypt, what about India?'".

Echoes of the 'Autocracy' articles, which were extracted from my letter of the 19th November, continue to come in. Rumours reported from Anantapur that the King-Emperor is a despot, and is shortly to be deposed and that the British Government will soon establish a republic. The following is an extract from the DESABAKTHI of the 29th November:-- "While the rule of the Czar and the Kaiser has ceased in the west, the rule of the bureaucrat in India is gaining strength ^{day} by day and we do not know how long this rule will continue. To do away with the liberty of the Press is only a step regarding public opinion, and to attempt to screen the excesses of the bureaucrats, instead of condemning them, means the extension of the regime of the Czar and the Kaiser in India".

Women's franchise has also been the subject of a considerable amount of speaking and writing. The following is from the COMMONWEAL of the 13th:--

"The way in which women's franchise is taken for granted here is delightful. No one seems to question it; its acceptance is taken as a matter of course. The Indian women's associations, so wisely started by Mrs. Dorothy Jinarajadasa, are meeting all over India, and are arranging to send a women's deputation to England. It would indeed be an admirable thing to give English women a chance of seeing what Indian women really are, and so disprove the monstrous slanders of the missionaries.

NEW INDIA has been more violently anti-British than usual. The following campaign conducted under the title of "The Mining Tragedy" is a sample of the methods employed. Messrs. Best & Co. who had owned for twenty years a small mica pit, which they had

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been unable to dispose of, proposed to work it and to prospect over an adjacent area of 20½ acres and for that purpose applied for and obtained a certificate of approval under the Mining rules. On this being gazetted, NEW INDIA on the 5th protested against the firm being enabled "to carry out prospecting or mining operations over the whole of the Madras Presidency". The article continued:- "Evidently the process of intensified exploitation has begun, and unless it is checked in the mintial stage, it maysoon assume serious proportions. . . . So far India was being exploited from a distance. The attempt now is to strengthen the chains of our industrial bondage by developing methods of exploitation on the spot . . . If this mischievous deal is to be acquiesced in, we are afraid the consequences to India will be disastrous. To-day it is the question of mines. To-morrow it will be one of forests, and the day after one of agricultural produce. Exploitation will thus go on AD INFINITUM until the status of the people of India is confined to that of drawers of water and hewers of wood". When it was pointed out by a Muhammadan gentleman that the certificate of approval was essential to the conduct of any mining operations, that it implied no more than that the applicant was a fit person to apply for a prospecting licence and that similar certificates were already held by several Indians including himself as well as by Europeans, the paper professed to have been aware of these circumstances all the time. Meanwhile the COMMONWEAL of the 6th instant had repeated the charge as follows:-

"This province is not believed to be very rich in precious ores, but still there is abundance of iron and mica. Under any circumstances the grant of such a certificate to a non-Indian firm in these days is intolerable. We cannot permit our mining industry, for for the matter of that any industry, to be monopolised by foreigners, and the mischief thus begun in Madras must be nipped in the bud".

As a sequel to the anticipated purchase of the MADRAS TIMES by the local branch of the European Association, it is reported that negotiations are going on with a view to the transfer of the INDIAN PATRIOT and its Press, which the Madras Presidency Associa-

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tion has been working at a loss; according to one story the purchasers are likely to be Mr. C.P. Ramaswamy Ayyar and other Brahman vakils in close adherence to Mrs. Besant, who contemplate running the paper as a rival to the HINDU which from time to time disagrees with her views.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE
STATE OF THE COUNTRY (1919).

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. C.G.TODHUNTER, I.C.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Fort St. George, the 4th January 1919.
NO.--4823 W-1.

The strike at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills was settled in on the 16th December, much on the lines indicated/my letter of that date. Labour unrest continues however to manifest itself. Two small strikes occurred in Madras in the course of the fortnight, one at the works of the Burma Oil Company and the other at Messrs. Oakes and Company's engineering works. In the latter case the men stopped work without informing their employers of their grievances. Mr. Andrews was called in by the men in both cases. Both strikes were shortlived. Mrs. Andrews has also given one or two lectures on emigration questions during the fortnight and a speech of his at a meeting held on behalf of the men from the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills was notable for the statement that students take an active part in labour struggles in England. A student was one of the speakers at a meeting of the Tramway Union held the next day.

The press has been comparatively quiet. The following from NEW INDIA of the 28th December on "Self-determination for India" is a sample of the writing that is indulged in on this subject: "Applied to the Reform proposals now before the country, England has but to grant the demands made as modified, or added to, by the Special Congress and Muslim League in Bombay, with any further changes that may be suggested at the present sessions to suit the swiftly changing spirit of the times. The Congress is the most representative institution of India, pre-eminently so this year, because it is attended by many peasant delegates, and the proposals put forward by it are to be deemed as the result of Self-Determination of the Indian Nation". As an example of the anti-European and Missionary campaign the same issue of the paper describes as "A New Danger" the fact that the Roman Catholics propose to establish a first-grade college in Madras.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--[from the Hon'ble M.
Acting Secretary to the Government of India
Revenue (Special) Department
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.
Secretary to the Government of India
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th January
NO---65 W-1.

The first of the cases in which Varadarajulu Nayudu was prosecuted for an offence punishable under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code (see paragraph 10 of Mr. Davidson's letter 2998/W-1, dated 31st August 1918) has ended in his conviction by the First-class Magistrate; he has been sentenced to fifteen months' rigorous imprisonment.

There was a meeting of the Madras Tramway Union on the 6th January 1919; about 110 men attended. The employees of the Madras Corporation workshops have organised a union and held meetings on the 27th December 1918 and 3rd January 1919.

Mrs. Besant returned on the 6th January and has published in NEW INDIA a series of articles on Indian policy. On the results of the general election she considers the Prime Minister is now practically the ^{Dictator} ~~Director~~ and that the second outstanding feature is the defeat of the Labour party and of other friends of India. She concludes that India has nothing to hope from the Peace Conference. On the other hand she argues that the uncertain condition of things in Asia makes the British connexion with India imperative to the safety of the country.

In an article headed "The Congress, general and personal" Mrs. Besant details nine points of difference between herself and the majority of the Delhi Congress. The differences were due to the following action by the Subjects Committee:--

- (i) Rejection of the resolution of welcome to the Prince of Wales;
- (ii) Rejection of the agreement at the Bombay Special Session and demand for complete provincial autonomy;
- (iii) The proposal that Mr. Tilak should be elected to represent India at the Peace Conference;
- (iv) The resolution that delegates to England must advocate and press the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress and should not be allowed to negotiate on the draft bill as proposed by Mrs. Besant;
- (v) The cancellation of the choice of the deputation committee made at Bombay;
- (vi) Rejection of the proposal to have a Congress in London;
- (vii) Rejection of the proposal to submit a petition to the King;
- (viii) Destruction of the British Committee and INDIA;

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- (ix) Rejection of ... Besant's resolution relating to depressed classes.

Mrs. Besant has announced the policy of her party under twelve heads including the following:--

- (i) to preserve continuity with the attitude of ~~parvansia~~ previous congress in respect of the King Emperor and his successors;
- (ii) to stand by the resolution of previous congresses on self-government and the modifications of the Bombay Conference in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme;
- (iii) not to imperil the introduction of responsibility in the Government of India by pressing for complete provincial autonomy;
- (iv) to gain fiscal autonomy;
- (v) to send a deputation to Britain to press India's claims and to negotiate for the utmost that can be obtained from Parliament;
- (vi) to take part in the Home Rule conference in London.

The formation of an Indian Civil Service association and a rough draft intended as a basis for discussion of a memorial regarding the bearing which the Reform Scheme has on the position and prospects of the service has been criticised in NEW INDIA, the HINDU and the INDIAN PATRIOT on the assumption that the association is formed with a political purpose and that the draft will be approved as it stands. Either of these assumptions is correct.

[Dr. T.M. Nayar has returned from England. He is reported to have stated that very few people in England have read the Montagu-Chelmsford report and fewer still understood it. He interviewed most of the editors of newspapers and the majority of them said that they had no time to devote to India. He found that the only way of spreading his views was by means of personal interviews. He appears to have interviewed a large number of influential people at home. He has announced his intention of ignoring the Reform Committees now in India as they are sitting in camera but of placing his case and pressing for communal representation before the Select Committee after the Bill has been introduced in Parliament.]

Muhammadans are watching with anxiety for the decision of the Peace Conference as to the fate of Turkey. In Madras attempts have been made by the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan and Mr. Abdul Khadir Sahib (a Carnatic stipendiary and Honorary Presidency

Magistrate) to arrange a mass meeting of Muhammadans against any diminution of the territorial sovereignty of Turkey and against any control by any allied power over the "holy places" of Islam. Some of the leading members of the Muhammadan community in the city, whose countenance to the movement was first obtained by the organizers, have since withdrawn their support, being convinced of the futility of holding the meeting and of the harm it is likely to create. The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan however persists in attempting to hold the meeting, but if it is held it is not expected to secure influential support.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--^{c.i.e} from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, I.C.S.
Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Revenue (Special) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Depart-
DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st February 1919. (ment.
NO.--- 248 W-1.

The conviction of Varadarajulu Nayudu (referred to in paragraph 3 of my letter No. 65 W-1, dated 17th January 1919) does not appear to have evoked much interest among the people generally, though it has been made the subject of criticism in NEW INDIA and the HINDU. The District Magistrate of Madura, where the trial took place, writes:-- "The political situation has undoubtedly very much improved from what it was six months ago and the difference between the scene at Varadarajulu Nayudu's conviction with ten or twenty spectators and that at the commencement of his trial with ten or twenty thousand persons was very striking". Varadarajulu Nayudu has been released on bail by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim.

The meeting referred to in paragraph of my last letter was held on the 17th January 1919. About 300 Muhammadans were present. The only prominent Muhammadans of Madras were the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan and the editor of the QAUMI REPORT. Seven resolutions were passed dealing with the integrity of the Turkish Caliphate, the restoration of all the sacred places of Islam to the Caliph and the restoration of all other portions of the Turkish territory to the Turkish Government, the placing of Mesopotamia under the immediate suzerainty of the Turkish Empire and dis-

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Please Read after ". . . the wisdom of Dr. Nair's advice", under report of the 1st February 1919, on page 5.

At a recent election to the Madras Legislative Council by the zamindars, a Brahman zamindar was supported by the Home Rule party against a non-Brahman zamindar. The latter was, however, elected by 65 votes to 41.

approval of the proposal to place Mesopotamia under His Highness the Aga Khan. It is reported from Malabar that not much interest is to be observed amongst the Mappillas in the questions of the future of Mesopotamia or Constantinople, although the Mappillas are in closer touch with Arabia than any other Muhammadans in the Presidency and are traditionally attached to the Sultan and to Constantinople especially as it is the place of exile of one of their former leaders.

✓ The non-Brahmans adopted the attitude of Doctor Nair towards the Reform Committees which was referred to in paragraph 10 of my last letter and no representative gave evidence on their behalf before the Committees. This was the result of a resolution on the subject carried at a meeting of the South Indian Liberal Federation, to which the non-Brahmans loyally adhered as a body, though it is known that some at least of their number doubted the wisdom of Dr. Nair's advice. *λ. Please read page 4 Ca).*

The Bills based on the Rowlatt Committee's report have been severely criticised in NEW INDIA and the HINDU.] It is suggested that legal opinion should be obtained regarding the competence of the Council of the Governor-General to pass these Bills, and that attempts should be made to enlist sympathy in England and carry the agitation in Parliament.

DEMI-OFFICIAL²—from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras
Revenue (Special) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th February 1919. (Sent.
NO.--414 W-1.

A Mappilla outbreak occurred near Malappuram in the Malabar district on Friday the 7th February. The outbreak appears to have no political or religious significance. It arose out of the personal enmity of a Mappilla named Check Haji towards certain Nambudiris and others. The outbreak was a small one and it was speedily suppressed.

Attacks on the Rowlatt Bills continue to be made both in the press (including signed articles by Mrs. Besant) and at public meetings.

(There is a rumour that Mrs. Besant intends to shift her headquarters to Bombay in connexion with her future political activities, as she is losing influence in this Presidency. Mr. Arundale has resumed office as organizing Secretary of the Home Rule League and will probably tour throughout the Presidency to organize branches.)

(The political ex-convict, V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, has been appointed a political worker on Rs.50 a month by Mr. Tilak and is to form in Madras a branch of the Poona Home Rule League and carry on political propaganda in accordance with the policy of that League. Subrahmanya Siva who was associated and sentenced together with Chidambaram Pillai in connexion with the disturbances at Tuticorin in 1908 is expected to co-operate. The movement is said to be supported by Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, the Editor of the HINDU, Krishna Sarma and others. Krishna Sarma (another political ex-convict) in a casual conversation with an officer of the Police department said that as a foreigner Mrs. Besant had no right to speak on behalf of Indians on the subject of Home Rule or to advise them to accept instalments and that nothing short of complete self-government would be accepted; he observed that the conditions in India would soon approximate to those in Ireland. Subrahmanya Siva has resumed meetings on the beach at Madras of a character similar to those prohibited in September 1918. In some of his recent speeches in Madras and elsewhere he has suggested that freedom must be won by violence, has charged Indians with want of physical courage and has decried and derided the British and attacked their fairness; he had endorsed the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan's views that the mutiny of 1857 will be repeated if the repressive measures are passed and bloodshed will ensue; he has exhorted young men to come forward for the service of the Motherland and fearlessly to undergo sacrifice if required. Both Subrahmanya ~~xxx~~ Siva and Chidambaram Pillai have been addressing meetings of tramway men at the Tramway Union and have dealt with the methods of conducting strikes; in this sphere they have had as an associate another political ex-convict, namely, Harisarvottama Rao.)

On the 1st February 1919 a strike occurred in the Burma Oil Company out of sympathy with 30 operatives whose services were dispensed with owing to the Company giving up their installation in the harbour. A strike occurred on the 3rd February in the workshops of Messrs. Oakes & Co. The men demanded an increase of 25 per cent in wages and a bonus of 50 per cent as granted to clerks at Christmas. The firm sanctioned an increase of 15 percent in wages and put up a notice to the effect that if the men did not resume work by 2 p.m. on the 7th they would be afterwards entertained as new hands. This had a good effect and with the exception of 50 men the strikers resumed work on the 7th February.

A meeting of the employees of the Perambur Railway Workshops was held on the 3rd February. About 400 workmen attended including some mill hands of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills and some strikers of the Burma Oil Company.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Revenue (Special) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Port St. George, the 5th March 1919.
NO.---628 W-1.

The agitation against the Rowlatt Bills continues. At a meeting held at the HINDU office on the 20th February, which was attended by Mr. B.C. Pal, Mr. B.P. Wadia, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and others, the following measures appear to have been considered:--

- (i) Resignation of all elected members of the Legislative Council;
- (ii) Agitation in England and in India;
- (iii) Passive resistance.

The Hon'ble Mr. B.V. Narasimha Ayyar, a member of the Madras Legislative Council, is reported to have suggested that the non-official members of the Madras Legislative Council should make violent speeches so as to make it difficult for less important men to be prosecuted for sedition on account of similar speeches.

On the 12th February about 4,000 people attended a meeting organised by Subrahmanya Siva on the beach at Madras to

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he Bills. Subrahmanya Siva said the
on 124-A and that he was also prep
on 124-B; he strongly advocated boyco
Lowndes, Sir William Vincent and others a
King. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, another political
convict, stated that the tyranny, ~~unrighteousness~~ highhandedness,
injustice and cruelty of the British were responsible for con-
spiracies, and observed that the only course left open for those
who are oppressed was to run away from the country or to get
out of the way of the Government or to get rid of the Govern-
ment. Another meeting was held on the beach on the 23rd
February. Mr. B.C. Pal spoke at length at this meeting.

Mr. B.C. Pal made an attack on Mrs. Besant in his speech
at a public meeting on the 18th February. Mrs. Besant replied
in the columns of NEW INDIA. Mr. Pal delivered a further speech
in reply at a meeting on the beach on the 25th February which
was very largely attended.

There seems no doubt that Mrs. Besant's influence in this
Presidency in political matters is on the wane. She has deli-
berately excluded from NEW INDIA all reports of Mr. Bepin Chandra
the
Pal's utterances on/ground that "It is no duty of a paper to
publish the speeches of a slanderer"; she has invoked the sup-
port of Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar in a special article echoing her
own angry protests at the systematic 'campaign of calumny' of
which she describes herself and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale as the
victims; she contemplates the possibility of NEW INDIA being
'killed by the party of violence' (a contingency brought nearer
by her own admission that the paper works at a loss and that she
"exhausted all her resources" by meeting a deficit of Rs.18,000
last year); she declaims against the "wave of excitement and
emotion" created by the unrestrained passions of Mr. Bepin
Chandra Pal and his friends (including the editor of the HINDU,
Satyamurthi Ayyar and other members of the more advanced
); and she complains that this "personal antagonism has "for the
almost impossible".

It is difficult to see how the breach to which these polemics have given rise can be closed.

A Provincial Branch of Tilak's Indian Home Rule League, the headquarters of which is understood to be at Poona, has been formed at Madras by V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subrahmanya Siva and others, but it has not been joined by S. Rasturiranga Ayyangar and other leaders who however are stated to have recognized the need for a new organization in the place of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League; they expect to be able to amalgamate the two leagues after some time.)

After consultation with the Advocate-General orders issued last week directing the forfeiture under section 4 of the Press Act, 1910, of the security deposited by the printing press which publishes the DESABAKTHAN, the Tamil organ of the Madras Presidency Association, which has for some months past been conspicuous for its lack of restraint in abusing Government and bureaucratic method. The editor of this paper, Mr. T.V. Kalyanasundaram Mudali, has also taken a leading part in the stirring up of labour unrest.

On the 14th February a public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall to protest against the Indian Civil Service draft memorandum and His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in the Legislative Council regarding the position of the Indian Civil Service under the reforms scheme. Mr. V.P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., presided. Mr. B.P. Wadia said that he never believed in the BONA FIDES of the Government of India as their record of broken promises and broken pledges was a unique one. He asserted that the Government of India was fundamentally a dishonest Government. He thought that the visit of the Secretary of State to India and other proceedings connected with the reforms were a huge sham. He charged the Viceroy with duplicity and asseverated that they could not expect anything out of the so-called reform scheme.

(V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subrahmanya Siva and Wadia continue to take part in meetings of the Tramway Union and Labour Union. The Collector of Tanjore refers to the fact that the agitators in his district appear now to be concentrating their attention on the men employed in the important railway workshops at Negapatam.)

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of
Madras, Revenue (Special)/Department. /(War)
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Fort St. George, the 20th March 1919.
NO---796 W-1.

The Rowlatt Bills continue to be violently criticised at public meetings and in the press. Mrs. Besant/^{has}declined to sign Mr. Gandhi's SATYAGRAHA vow, the signatories of which undertake to refuse to obey the Rowlatt Bills and such other laws as a committee to be appointed may think fit. Mrs. Besant's vow is one of refusal to obey the Rowlatt Bills only in such ways as a committee may direct. There are now two parties working against the measures in Madras, one adopting Mrs. Besant's pledge and the other Mr. Gandhi's pledge. On the 14th March 1919 it was stated in NEW INDIA that the total number of persons in Madras who have announced to the Madras Anti-Rowlatt Bills Executive Committee that they had taken the SATYAGRAHA pledge was 110. It is also stated that the Anti-Rowlatt Bills Executive Committee intends to adopt the following measures:--

- (i) Continuous protest meetings throughout the country;
- (ii) Presentation of a monster petition to Parliament;
- (iii) Agitation in England;
- (iv) Passive resistance.

The monster petition is now being signed by the leaders before it is submitted to the public for signature. It does not appear that the Bills are attracting much attention amongst the general public in the mufassal. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal has been lecturing on this and other political topics in mufassal centres.

The employees of the Madras Tramway Company went on strike on Tuesday morning, the 11th March 1919. The main demands of the men are--

- (i) Privilege leave on full pay for fifteen days to one one month per annum.
- (ii) New suits and clothes in addition to the supply now made by the Company.
- (iii) A donation of one month's pay for every year's service provided the workmen have worked for not less than five years.
- (iv) An increase of wages by As.2 a day in the case of men in the car-shed and workshops;

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(v) An eight-hours day instead of nine-hours day in the case of Permanent Way and overhead men and men in the workshops;

(vi) Three shifts instead of two in the case of men employed in the car-shed.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G.CAMPBELL, C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Revenue (Special) (War) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd April 1919. \B
No.--1007 W-1.

1919,

On the 18th of March, several resignations of seats on the Executive Committee of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee were announced, including those of Mr. L.A. Govindaraghava Ayyar, President, Mrs. Besant, Vice-President, Mr. B.P.Wadia, Secretary and Mr. C.P.Ramaswamy Ayyar, Member. The reasons given for the resignations are the resolution of the committee to address demands on behalf of India to the President of the Peace Conference without reference to the British Government, the increasing and lamentable tendency on the part of various members of the committee to resist attempts to secure co-operation in public questions and the disregard to the amenities of public life and the decencies of controversy not only in public gatherings but in meetings of the committee. On the 27th March office-bearers and members of the committee were elected to fill the vacancies. Mr. S.Kasturiranga Ayyangar (editor of the HINDU), was elected President, and the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur T.Ranga Achariyar, Vice-President.

(The agitation against the Rowlatt Bills continues. Meetings have been held almost daily on the beach at Madras, and were attended by audiences varying from 2,000 to 10,000. They have been addressed by, among others, G.Harisarvottama Rao, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and Subrahmanya Siva, political ex-convicts, and by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar (editor of the HINDU), and Mr. C.Vijayaraghava Achariyar of Salem, formerly member of the Indian Legislative Council. The principal object of the meetings appears to be to popularise resistance. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal suggested that the agitation be confined to the Rowlatt Acts and not to the Government of India.)

take away the liberty of the people, in other words to the printing of proscribed books and defiance of the law relating to public meetings. Mr. Gandhi arrived at Madras on the 18th March 1919 and after attending meetings in Madras visited Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madura. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal visited Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Coimbatore and Calicut and Palghat (in Malabar) for the same purpose; his speeches are reported to be comparatively moderate in tone, but to include misstatements likely to do harm. Mr. Gandhi has proposed a Satyagraha fast on Sunday, the 6th April 1919, as preparation for passive resistance.

On the 22nd March 1919 the Madras Branch of the Passive Resistance Movement was formed, Mr. Gandhi being President. Among the Vice-Presidents are Mr. S. Basturiranga Ayyangar (Editor of the HINDU), and Mr. C. Vijiaraghava Achariyar, formerly Member of the Indian Legislative Council, and among the Secretaries is Mr. G. Harisarovattama Rao, a political ex-convict. It is reported that there has been some difficulty in persuading persons to take off in the Committee.

In spite of all agitation, the ~~Saxx~~ Satyagraha movement does not appear to have made much progress in Madras. The number of persons who signed Gandhi's vow is reported to be only about 100. It is stated that the leaders of the movement recognise the danger of inciting the people to disobey the laws of the country for a specific purpose, as they may be unable to dissuade them from violence once the object of their agitation has been gained.

A manifesto has been issued condemning passive resistance which is signed by many Brahman and Non-Brahman Hindus and Muhammadans, including Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Kesava Pillai, the Hon'ble Mr. T. Ranga Achari, the Hon'ble Mr. P. Siva Rao and Mr. G. A. Natesan, editor of the INDIAN REVIEW. It is further proposed to form an association of 'moderates'. The 'moderate' leaders desire that steps should be taken immediately to put a stop to the inflammatory speeches which are being delivered at meetings on the beach at Madras.

Doctor Paranjapaye has formed in Madras a 'National' Prop

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Fund Committee'. The President is the Hon'ble Mr. K.V.Ranga-swami Ayyangar, Member of the Indian Legislative Council. Money collected will be remitted to Mr. Tilak to help him in his propa-ganda work in England. About Rs.3,000 have been promised al-ready. Doctor Paranjapaye and Secretary M.K.Achariya are said to be going shortly to the Telugu districts to collect funds.

(The Madras Tramway strike referred to in paragraph 7 of my letter No. 796 W-1, dated 20th March 1919, is not yet settled. The men meet twice a day on the Tramway Union premises to confer and have been addressed by G. Hariservottama Rao, V.O.Chidambaram Pillai and Subrahmanya Siva, political ex-convicts, and by Mr. B.P.Wadia and other persons whose object in interfering is poli-tical. Mr. Gandhi addressed them on the 21st March but was care-ful to qualify his support of the strike by prefatory remarks that he had not been able himself to examine the merits of the dis-pute and advised continuance on the assumption that the demands put forward were just. The immediate issue which now blocks dis-cussions between the parties is the question whether the President of the Labour Union, a merchant named Kumaraswami Chetti, should or should not be the medium of negotiations. The Company object to the intervention of an outsider but have offered to recognise a Tramway Union formed and led by tramway men only and to grant certain concessions including one day's leave a week without pre-judice to pay and bonus, some concessions as to work on Sundays and holidays, and to undertake not to replace the employees who have taken a prominent part in the present disagreement. Men accepting these terms have been directed to report on the morning of the 30th March. Their former supporters in the Municipal Corporation have pronounced the terms to be fair and reasonable but at present there are no signs of acceptance.

On the 19th March 1919 the employees of the Madras Corpora-tion Workshop struck work as some maistries were suspended for not giving information as to the person who caused damage to a mould the previous evening. The President promised to inquire into the matter but the men refused to return to duty. Mr. Wadia is said to have addressed the men.)

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Revenue (Special) (War) department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR JAMES DUBOULAY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Botacamund, the 21st April 1919.
No.--1190 W-1.

The celebrations on Satyagraha day (6th April 1919) in Madras City included processions and meetings on the beach which were attended by an unprecedentedly large assemblage estimated at about 100,000 persons. Shops were closed but there was no serious breach of the peace. There appears to have been much misapprehension regarding the reasons for the celebration and regarding the effects of the Rowlatt Bills and the incident at Delhi. One man addressing a labour meeting the other day said that, if a policeman coveted a handsome woman, he would get the husband out of the way by means of the Rowlatt Act. At one of the beach meetings a speaker said that the British Government would pass a law making women common property as in Russia. Among the rumours which were afloat as to the cause of the excitement on Satyagraha day were allegations--

- (1) that the Government intended to levy double income-tax on everyone, and
- (2) that there was a police order that all shops should be closed.

Considerable preparations had been made for the celebrations of the day. Meetings explaining the object of the celebrations and the manner in which the day was to be spent were held on the 4th and 5th April in several parts of the city. Large posters were placarded throughout the city and handbills were distributed broadcast.

In other parts of the Presidency very little notice was taken of Satyagraha day on the whole, though at various places shops were closed or meetings or processions held.

On the previous Thursday one of Mr. Gandhi's hosts informed the Collector of Trichinopoly confidentially that the Hon'ble Mr. K.V. Rangaswamy Ayyangar, Member of the Indian Legislative Council, and another were very anxious to have a repetition of the Delhi riots. The District Magistrate made the necessary arrangements for troops and reserve police and the Indian Defence

Force in case of trouble, but the troops remained in barracks; and there was no disturbance. The Collector's informant stated that Mr. Gandhi's plan of campaign was briefly as follows:-- There were to be riots on the 6th of April which were to be followed by the printing of all prohibited seditious literature; if that did not result in the imprisonment of a number of persons who have taken the Satyagraha vow, a campaign ~~against~~ ^{against} all the fiscal laws was to be undertaken; it was to begin with the manufacture of illicit salt and to go on with the refusal to pay income-tax; this was expected to bring the Government of India to their knees within six months. The Collector promised not to reveal his informant's name but has known him for a long time and believes his account to be authentic.

With a view generally to counteract the Satyagraha movement to refute the misrepresentations by which it is being pushed and to enlist the co-operation of law-abiding persons, the Government have caused vernacular leaflets to be prepared explaining the origin and main provisions of the Rowlatt Bill, and arrangements have been made for the distribution of these leaflets broadcast through the agency utilized by the late Publicity Board as well as by District Officers generally. The Government are also daily communicating the GAZETTE OF INDIA Extraordinary dated 1st April to All District Magistrates with instructions to bear in mind the paramount necessity of checking threatened disturbances in time and to remove any misapprehensions which may exist, to state the attitude of Government and their intention to deal firmly with the situation. His Excellency the Governor took the opportunity of the presentation of addresses at Madras on the 14th instant to make a public pronouncement on the same subject.

Information having been received that two printing presses in Madras City - The South Indian Press and the SWADESHAMITRA Power Press - were likely to be utilized for the dissemination of Satyagraha leaflets and proscribed literature, the Chief Presidency Magistrate called upon the owners to deposit security under section 3 of the Indian Press Act, 1910. In both cases a satisfactory undertaking was given and the Magistrate is reported to have suspended orders with a view presumably to make cert

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the undertakings are carried out. On the 14th instant a show of open defiance of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, was made at a public meeting on the beach at Madras by the distribution and sale of copies of the SATYAGRAHA described as an unregistered newspaper published by Mr. S. Sasturiranga Ayyangar, the editor of the HINDU. It was stated that this publication would be issued weekly on Mondays. The first issue which was quite innocuous consisted of a single sheet of matter typewritten or cyclostyled. In these circumstances it does not appear that there was any contravention of the provisions of the Act of 1867 which refers merely to printed or lithographed matter.

✓ NEW INDIA openly and forcibly opposed the Satyagraha movement, but the HINDU definitely supports it.

On the 1st April a meeting was held on the beach at Madras to express abhorrence at the action of the Delhi authorities in firing on the people and sympathy with the families of the persons killed. Above 3,000 persons attended the meeting, the majority being students and young men. Among the speakers was the Hon'ble Mr. K.V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, Member of the Indian Legislative Council. Mrs. Besant was criticised for saying in NEW INDIA that brick-bats should be answered by bullets.

Attempts are being made to stir up Muhammadan feeling in Madras regarding the Caliphate. The Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan, a Member of the Madras Legislative Council, who is to be one of the members of the Muslim League Deputation to England, is reported to have made arrangements with the editor of the QAUMI REPORT and others to start a vigorous agitation in Madras and elsewhere immediately after the departure of the deputation to England. *in order that the deputations may receive protests while in England* ~~is reported to have made arrangements~~ against the recognition of the King of the Hedjaz as Caliph. He is also reported to have said that he will make the British public understand that the feeling of Muhammadans is so strong regarding the internment of the Ali brothers that it would not be a matter for surprise were the great Indian Mutiny to be repeated; and to have boasted that he will do his utmost to poison the minds of the British Electorate against Anglo-Indian officials and will not even scruple to tell lies to achieve his object in accordance with the maxim of the Shi'ahs that all sorts of lies

may be told to attain a good end.

A new organization called the Madras Liberal League has been inaugurated. It is to consist of "Moderates". The President is Sir P.S. Sivaswami Ayyar, formerly Member of the Executive Council of Fort St. George, and the membership includes Mr. Yakub Hasan and others who hardly come under any reasonable category of Moderates. A committee has been appointed to draft a memorial to the Secretary of State asking him to have the Rowlett Legislation disallowed.

The Tramway strike to which reference was made in paragraph 13 of my letter No. 1007 W-1, dated 2nd April 1919, came to an end on 5th April 1919, certain questions being referred to arbitrators for decision. The arbitrators were Mr. J.C. Molony, I.C.S., President of the Madras Corporation, and the Hon'ble T. Ranga Achariyar. The question of the provident fund and of bonus on retirement after five years' service are to be settled in consultation with the Home authorities within six months. The Tramway Union is recognized but the committee is to be entirely of workmen. Mr. Kumaraswami Chetti, the President shopkeeper who had been supplying the strikers with food, was translated to the post of patron, thus removing the main obstacle to negotiation between the management and the men; and his duties as President are being taken by the personal assistant to the Manager of the Company.

The strike of men of the Madras Corporation Workshops, which was referred to in paragraph 14 of my letter No. 1007 W-1, dated 2nd April 1919, ended on the 27th March 1919.

On 5th April 1919 a meeting of the Madras Labour Union was held. It was attended by about a thousand millhands; the subject of the lecture was the "Observance of the Satyagraha day". Mr. Wadia is said to have advised the men not to take part in the observance of the Satyagraha day. The men were urged by another speaker, the agitator Dandapani Pillai, not to follow Mr. Wadia's advice and the latter seems to have fallen into discredit.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.B.,
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Revenue (Special) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.B., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 4th May 1919.
NO.---1418 W-1.

The Satyagraha movement does not appear to have penetrated deeply into the Madras Presidency, and further activities have been temporarily suspended, though it is said that Rs.40,000 have been collected towards the maintenance of families of those who may be sent to jail on account of civil disobedience. There have been no further issues of the unregistered paper styled the SATYAGRAHI (mentioned in paragraph 8 of my last report). Events in the Punjab seem to have had a quieting effect in some quarters.

In republishing the Government of India's resolution on Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act the Madras Government issued an order - of which I am to enclose a copy - which has published drawing the attention of heads of departments and District Magistrates to the announcement of the intention of the Government of India not only to use all the resources at the disposal to suppress ~~xxxx~~ organized outrage and rioting and concerted opposition to the maintenance of law and order but also where required, to use all preventive measures available to disorder; the Government have taken the opportunity of reiterating their assurance of support to executive officers charged with the duty of carrying this policy into effect and to all private persons who assist them in the performance of that duty; the Government did not consider it necessary to order any general prohibition of public meetings in connexion with the Satyagraha movement but they directed that all officers should bear in mind that an important feature of the approved policy consists in taking every opportunity of explaining openly and privately to the public to whom they come in contact the reasons that led to the passing of the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919, the object of its provisions and impressing on influential persons the fact that it is the duty of every loyal citizen to oppose such allegations that are being circulated.

The constitution of the National Home Rule League has been announced. In view of the essential differences between Mrs. Besant and the All-India Home Rule League, this was constituted as an independent organization on April 14th at Benares, April 20th at Bombay and April 25th at Madras. Dr. S. Subrahmanya Ayyar is the Honorary President and the general council for 1919 and 1920 includes Mrs. Besant as President, Mr. P. K. Telang of Bombay as one of the Vice-Presidents, Mr. B. P. Wadia as Treasurer and Mr. G. S. Arundale as Organizing Secretary. The following have been announced as the objects of the League:--

- (1) to secure Home Rule for India through all law-abiding and constitutional activity;
- (2) to maintain the connexion with Great Britain by becoming a free nation within the British Empire under the Imperial Crown of His Majesty the King Emperor George V and his successors;
- (3) to support and strengthen the National Congress which has laboured for more than thirty years to lay the foundation of Indian self-government;
- (4) to carry on a continuous educative propaganda on the necessity of Home Rule for India.

Provincial Secretaries have been appointed for Bengal, the United Provinces, Bombay, Delhi, Bihar and Madras. NEW INDIA will act as the general organ of the League. Branches are forming in the city of Madras and in the mufassal. On the 28th April thirty members, all residents of Adyar, met to form a branch league and then passed resolutions in favour of the despatch of a deputation headed by Mrs. Besant to England and of the submission of a petition to His Majesty praying--

(1) for Indians uplift from the position of a dependency to that of a free nation under the Imperial Crown on an equality with the self-governing dominions of the Empire;

(2) for refusal of the Royal sanction to the Rowlatt Act.

The deputation is expected to consist of Mrs. Besant, Mr. P. K. Telang, Mr. B. P. Wadia and Mr. R. G. Pradhan; Mr. John Scurr, Secretary of the British Auxiliary, may join the deputation and Mr. H. P. Mody of Bombay will probably also be a member.

There have been comparatively few comments in the HINDU regarding the disturbances in Upper India, but an article appearing in the issue of the 23rd of April discusses the 'Situation in

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the Punjab' in language of a very objectionable character, attacking Sir Michael O'Dwyer for taking advantage of the prevailing order "to set free forces of repression, coercion, spread terror and panic among the people and exaggerate the existing distemper a thousand-fold". The "lamentable and cruel excesses" in that Province are attributed to "the disgust and indignation aroused by his iron rule" and it is suggested that the acts of reprisal taken "are entirely out of proportion and proceed from an infuriated pro-counsul who has boundless faith in force and who has no trust in a policy of sympathy and conciliation".

The "Madras Liberal League" has not yet given any support worth mentioning to the Government. In a lecture given at a meeting of that body the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastrī formally dissociated himself from the Satyagraha movement and from all acts of violence, but then proceeded to charge the Government with making a mountain ^{out} of a molehill, to minimise the serious nature of the rebellion in the north, to impute lack of calmness and good temper to the Police and Military at Delhi, and generally to accuse the administration of being actuated by feelings of panic and alarm and having recourse to high-handed measures for which there was no further excuse, now that Mr. Gandhi had suspended civil disobedience. Utterances of this description differ only in degree from the more violent expressions of condemnation at public meetings held by the extreme party, e.g., a resolution passed at a meeting held on the Triplicane beach on the 12th April under the presidency of Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar "strongly deprecating the policy of terrorism and reckless disregard of human life involved in the entirely indiscriminate and wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable resort to fire arms and in the shooting of innocent and unarmed citizens".

The men of the printing department of the S.P.C.K. Press, Wepary, Madras, struck work on the Tamil New Year's day, 14th April 1919, as they had not got a holiday that day, but resumed work the next day.

On the 13th April, 100 workmen belonging to the several presses of the city met and resolved to form a union called the "Madras Printing Pressmen's Union" Mr. Gandhi was elected Honorary

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President and Mr. K.M. Subrahmanya Ayyar (of the Tramway Union), Vice-President. A meeting was held on the beach on the 20th April 1919 under the auspices of this Union. At this meeting was ~~xxxxxxx~~ proposed that the men of the Government Press should also ~~xxxxx~~ organize themselves into a union and that Mr. Haris tama Rao, an ex-political convict, should be the President of the Union. It is reported that the men present signified their approval of these suggestions.

DEMI-OFFICIAL-[from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL,
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of
Revenue (Special) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.
Secretary to the Government of India, Home
DATED--Ootacamund, the 19th May 1919.]
NO---1564 W-1.

Mr. Gandhi is said to have issued instructions that the Satyagraha movement is to be restricted for the present to distributing leaflets and to enlisting sympathisers and to the Swadeshi vow. The exponents of the movement appear to spread steadily and to become much more powerful with time. On the other hand the Collector of North Arcot reports the excesses committed in Northern and Western India and the attitude of many educated people towards the movement. He generally conceded that, whatever might have been Mr. Gandhi's motives in starting it, he acted foolishly in appealing to the more ignorant and excitable people to support it. The Collector mentions that the Marwaris in Calicut have received instructions to desist from any Satyagraha movement demonstration.

So far the reports received show that the situation in Punjab and on the Frontier has not led to any marked excitement in this Presidency.

The fortnight was marked by the departure of deputations including the Hon'ble Mr. T.M. Nayar, Mrs. Besant, Mr. B.P. Wadia and the Secretary of the British Auxiliary, Mr. Wadia, as the representative of various labour organizations. Mrs. Besant has resigned the Presidentship of

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The circulation of NEW INDIA has recently fallen by 2,500 copies to 5,700. Mrs. Besant's opposition to the extremists, her *her opposition to the Satyagraha movement* attack upon Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, from Rs.1-4-0 to Rs.2 are said *to the increase in the rate of subscription* to have been the principal causes which led to the fall in circulation.] The circulation of the HINDU, on the other hand, has increased recently by 900 copies to 6,000. The Secretary of State has intimated that the appeals have been dismissed that Mrs. Besant filed in the Privy Council in the NEW INDIA security forfeiture case.

✓ About 50 employees of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Workshops, Perambur, met on the 2nd May for the purpose of forming a union. Mr. Ranganatham Nayudu, who is treasurer of the Madras branch of the All-India Home Rule League, was elected president. Mr. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, the political-ex-convict, was elected vice-president, and Mr. N.Dandapani Pillai, Secretary.)✓

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G.CAMPBELL, C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Revenue (Special) Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 4th June 1919.
NO---1699 W-1.

The general impression is that the Muhammadans do not take much interest in the political status of Turkey, provided that the question of the KHALIFATE is left to the Muhammadans and their holy places are left in their custody. The Muhammadans would loyally accept any decisions which the Allies may arrive at regarding the Turkish Empire provided that their religion is not affected.

The hope of the Muhammadan community and the Peace Conference have formed the subject of discussion in the Urdu paper QAUMI REPORT which is apprehensive that the Conference will deal a death-blow to their aspirations and makes the following observations:--

"Sovereignty is passing out of our hands and the KHALIFATE is being trampled under foot, while we are seated with folded arms looking on at the spectacle of our own destruction. Which nation in Europe to-day is so lacking in zeal, self-respect and courage as we are? Even despicable and contemptible nations are planning their pinions for flight".

The editor of this paper has been since specially warned and at the same time reassured on the lines indicated in Sir William Marris' letter No. 816, dated the 8th May 1919.

At a Majlis-ul-ulema held at Tanjore on the 11th to the 13th May ostensibly for the purpose of discussing educational subjects some violent speeches were made regarding the KHALIFATE and at the end of the meeting one hundred itinerant preachers were selected from amongst the Moulvis to travel and deliver lectures to the Muhammadan community on moral and religious subjects. The Criminal Investigation Department has been instructed to watch these preachers and report if their activities become political.

The reports of the Southborough Committees on franchises and functions and the despatches of the Government of India have formed the subject of numerous articles in the press and leading men are publishing their opinions regarding them. The HINDU is of opinion that the committees reported in fairly liberal terms but regards the Government of India despatch on the subject of the reports as most reactionary in character.

On the 13th May 1919 the workmen of Messrs. Addison & Co.'s Press went on strike. They resumed work on the following day. The Managing Director had promised to give them an increase of

There has been some unrest amongst the postmen of Madras. The Presidency Postmaster has assured them that their case will be considered after the Calcutta strike is over. At present a strike does not seem probable.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. N.E. MARJORIBANKS,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Depart-
DATED--Ootacamund, the 20th June 1919.
NO.--2024 W-1.

(The Satyagraha movement continues dormant. There are reports of a campaign in favour of swadesi, but the speakers are as moderate in their tone and disclaim any intention of enacting an aggressive boycotting policy.)

Excepting the three journals which follow Doctor A. C. M. claiming communal representation for non-Brahmans Indian

on the whole favourable to the South, though it welcomes the withdrawal of martial law from the proposal to appoint a commission of inquiry; it denounces reactionary the Government of India's despatches on the Report; it praises Sir Sankaran Nayar's minutes of dissent, applauds him for his resignation and Sir Rabindranath Tagore his renunciation of his knighthood. Comment on the events the Punjab has become rather more reserved, perhaps as a result of the measures taken under the Press Act.

There have been numerous protests against the action taken by this Government under the Press Act against the HINDU and other newspapers. A committee of journalists and politicians was formed to open a Press Defence Fund. It does not, however, appear that any considerable sum has yet been subscribed.

In accordance with the opinion of the Advocate-General that the article headed 'The Cult of the Bullet' that appeared in the NATIONALIST (a weekly paper published by ex-convict Harisovatta Rao) came under the terms of section 4 of the Press Act; the Government have ordered forfeiture of the security of Rs.2,000 deposited in respect of the Press at which the paper is printed.

Mr. K.Venkata Reddi Nayudu, a leading advocate of communal representation for non-Brahmans, intends shortly to proceed to England to represent the non-Brahman' view of the Reforms scheme.

There were small strikes in Madras at the Christian ^{Literary} Liberty Society Press and at the Indian Aluminium Factory. The occasion of the first strike was the dismissal of a compositor who refused to do the duty of an absent wheeler. The men took the opportunity to demand a 10 per cent increase in wage, fifteen days' leave with pay and one hour for tiffin time. The management refused these demands and the strike continues.

The cause of the strike at the Indian Aluminium Factory is obscure. About 150 men are concerned. The management maintain that a substantial increase in wages had been recently granted and other concessions offered. The men left without notice.

The pressmen of the MADRAS TIMES are said to have resolved to strike unless the management cancel a recent order under which two

days' pay is forfeited by a man who absents himself for one day without leave.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. N.E.MARJORIBANKS, C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Ootacamund, the 3rd July 1919.
NO---2301 W-1.

There was very little political activity in the fortnight. Indeed, the newspapers have been commenting on the apathy of the people and the loss of faith in the efficacy of public meetings. The agitation for Mr. Kalindra Nath Roy's release was given prominence both in the press and at public meetings. A fund is being raised to enable him to take his case to the Privy Council, but money does not appear to be coming in freely. The Non-Brahman conference held at Trichinopoly passed a resolution supporting the Rowlatt Act and non-Brahman lecturers in the mufassal have also been defending it.

The Muhammadans of this Presidency show little interest in events in Afganistan. There is nothing to suggest that they are seriously agitated about the fate of Turkey.

The strikes at the Indian Aluminium factory was amicably settled during the fortnight. But a second strike occurred at Messrs. Addison & Co.'s printing works where the compositors refused to work because one of them had been dismissed for absence without leave. There was also a strike of about 130 men at Messrs. Addison & Co.'s motor works, the grievances in this case being the stoppage of war allowance and a refusal to enhance pay. The pressmen of Messrs. Hoe & Co.'s printing works have struck work for an increase of pay. It is said that the master printers are forming a federation to protect themselves against such strikes.

p.t.o.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. N.E. MARJOR
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.
Secretary to the Government of India, Home
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th July 1919.
No.--2546 W-1.

The Indian Reforms Bill does not appear to have given satisfaction. The news of the Viceroy's action in commutation of two years' rigorous imprisonment passed on Babu Roy to one of three months has been approved in certain parts of the sentences of transportation and for life passed in certain other cases by the Martial Law Commission has been made the subject of adverse comment.

The NATIONALIST has suspended publication being unable to meet the enhanced security demanded. The printer of EVERY MAN'S has been called upon to deposit a security of Rs.2,000 and the editor has been changed. The INDIAN EMIGRANT is willing to publish an apology and to replace the temporary editor (Mr. S. Manjaya Siva, an ex-political convict.) The HINDU has not been showing remarkable restraint. The SWADESHAMITRA and BAKTAN are now more careful regarding their utterances. This may be regarded as the first fruits of the recent action taken against the press.

The strike of the workmen of the Motor Works Department of the pressmen of Messrs. Addison & Co. continues. The workmen of Messrs. Hoe & Co.'s Printing Works are also still out. The workmen employed in the Commercial Press, Triplicane, were away on the 2nd July as they were not granted a holiday that day. They returned to work the next day. A strike has also occurred among the printers in the office of the JUSTICE.

An advisory Labour Board has been formed in Madras with the following objects:-

(a) to stimulate the organization of labour in general, in particular to assist the Labour Union in the city

(b) to act as a deliberative, co-ordinating and central body in all important matters relating to the several unions affiliated to it;

(c) wherever possible, to facilitate amicable settlement of disputes between employers and employees; and

(d) to enlist public sympathy on behalf of labour.

The Chairman is Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, a pleader and an ex-member of the Madras Legislative Council. The Board includes Mr. G.S. Arundale, editor of NEW INDIA, and other persons of advanced political views.

On the other hand the principal printing firms in Madras have formed themselves into an association called 'The Madras Presidency Master Printers' Association' with the following objects:--

(1) to promote and protect the interests of the printing and allied trades of the Presidency and the adoption of an equitable and uniform system of management among the members of the Association;

(2) to safeguard the interests and welfare of all employees of firms which are members of the Association;

(3) to formulate and carry into effect rules and by-laws for the better working of the printing and allied trades of the Presidency and to establish and adopt the principles, rules and regulations controlling the Federation of Master Printers in England so far as they are applicable to the conditions in the Madras Presidency and to carry into effect arrangements for the welfare and the continuance of the Association;

(4) to consider and advise on all questions relating to the printing and allied trades in the Madras Presidency as well as the hours of business, wages, holidays, etc.;

(5) to consider and promote or oppose any measure taken for or against the interests of the printing and allied trades in the Madras Presidency;

(6) to collect and circulate so far as it is permissible and beneficial to the Association such information as will tend to promote and protect the interests of the Association;

(7) to do all such other things as are incidental and conducive to the attainment of the above objects.

A well-attended conference was held at Madras by the

ment on the 5th July 1919 to consider the question of publicity with reference to the activities of Government. It was evident at the meeting that there was a certain amount of suspicion of the intentions of the Government, but there appears to be no doubt that the holding of the conference has had an excellent effect. The Government have decided to take measures to establish a publicity organization consisting of a special officer assisted by a board of non-official gentlemen.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. N.E. MARJOSIBANKS? C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 4th August 1919.
No.--2755 W-1.

As it was reported that it was possible that Mr. Gandhi would visit Madras to start a campaign of civil disobedience, an order was passed under Rule 3 of the Defence of India Rules, prohibiting him from entering the Presidency. This appeared necessary as the Local Government could not under Rule 4-A enforce the order passed by the Government of India under Rule 3 (b) restricting him to the Bombay Presidency, since the order issued had not been communicated to this Government for action. A meeting of the local Satyagrahis was held in Madras on the 14th, but only about 50 people attended. Opinion was divided as to whether Satyagraha should be revived or not and the meeting was unable to come to any conclusion. It was suggested that a dozen young men should be enlisted as volunteers, and sent out to districts to explain to the people the principles of Satyagraha. As, however, the collection of Rs.5,000 as a fund to pay these volunteers is a necessary condition to sending them out, it is doubtful whether this proposal will materialize.

The vernacular newspapers with one voice applauded the resignation of Sir Sankaran Nayar of his seat in the Imperial Executive Council. The appointment of the Hon'ble Mian Shafi has not been received with much satisfaction. It is said that, as he supported the action of the Military authorities in Punjab, he will be representative of the Government rather than of the people in the Council. The appointment of a non-official Muhammadan gentleman to

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the temporary vacancy in the Madras Executive Council and the increase through nominations in the non-official majority of the Legislative Council have been received with general signs of approval. The appointment of the Publicity Board has also been favourably received. The-ap- Meetings have been held to protest against the Bill which is under discussion in the South African Parliament which is said to deprive the Indians of all future rights of ~~ac~~ acquiring property and trading in the Colony. The Bill has been ~~ad~~versely criticised in many vernacular papers.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. N.E. MARJORIBANKS? C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 21st August 1919.
No.---3029 W-1.

There was little of any political interest to record.
compared

The result of the trial of Lieutenant Flunkett was/unfavourably with heavy sentences inflicted by the Courts Martial. The articles in the HINDU about the Punjab have been particularly violent and bitter and show that a spirit of malice still guides that paper. As a further proof of this tendency it is noticed that this paper does not fail to report fully a speech which is violent although it may be omitted or much condensed by other papers.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.V.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 3rd September 1919.
No.3221 W-1.

Two political conferences were held in the mufassal in the latter part of the month. At Anantapur the Andhra Provincial Conference and the Andhra Mahajana Sabha held consecutive sessions, the latter with G. Harisavottama Rao in the chair. It is reported that the attendance was thin and that there was not much enthusiasm. The resolutions were of the usual character. The meeting of the Madras Provincial Conference was held at Trichinopoly with the Raja of Ramnad in the chair. Both he and Mr. K.V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, the Chairman of the committee, delivered addresses condemning the Rowlatt Act.

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Read after " ... with full pardon for all political offenders", under report dated 3rd September, 1919 on page 30.

The Provincial Conference may be said to be definitely extremist and many of the speeches were objectionable in tone. On the second day there was considerable excitement. Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar had moved a resolution dealing with the Punjab situation, expressing sympathy with the people there and deploring the delay in the appointment of the commission of inquiry, and when the President rose to put the resolution to the vote, a man named Vaidyanatha Ayyar rose and asked that he should be allowed to move an amendment. It appeared that this amendment demanded the immediate recall of His Excellency the Viceroy who had lost the confidence of the Indian public through failure to control the illegal action of the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. This amendment had been duly sent in to the Committee, but (in the Collector's words) "it had been as carefully lost by one of the secretaries who was a man of peace". However, the mover was insistent and moved his amendment, but the President demurred to putting it to the vote and eventually adjourned it to the following day, when it was quietly dropped.

Read the following after ". . . . the subject of much unfavourable comment", on page 30.

The treatment of the Indians under the new legislation in South Africa has also been the subject of comment and it is argued that it showed a lack of gratitude on the part of the British Government ~~xxxx~~ that they have not yet stepped in to protect the Indians there in spite of the fact that India had contributed so much in men and money to the war.

ment of the rioters in the Punjab. Resolutions were passed protesting against the orders under the Defence of India Act passed against Mr. Gandhi, and asking for a general amnesty with full pardon for all political offenders. *Please read on page 29(a).*

* In Madras there appears to be a minor split in the non-Brahman movement, arising out of the recent elections to the Madras Legislative Council.

At a meeting of the Guntur District Association, in addition to the usual resolutions about the Punjab and one urging the Secretary of State to impeach Sir Michael O'Dwyer and recall the Viceroy, a resolution was passed approving the collection of funds for the prisoners who have been convicted in the Punjab Military Courts.

The vernacular press are still attacking the Government on account of the sentences passed by the Martial Law Commissions in the Punjab and are calling for the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. The delay in the appointment of the proposed commission has been the subject of much unfavourable comment. *Please read on page 29(a)*

Both the HINDU and NEW INDIA have published strong articles on the Bill which, it is said, is to be introduced to indemnify the official acts of the period covered by Martial Law in the Punjab. The former paper in especial criticised the Government of India for not having published the draft of the Bill. The latter paper considers that the attempt to push through any such Bill at the present time will be tantamount to treating with contempt the promise of the Secretary of State that a commission of inquiry should be appointed to inquire into the recent occurrences in the Punjab.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from ~~thax~~ E.M.GAWNE, Esq., I.C.S., Under Secretary to the Government of Madras.
 TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
 DATED--Ootacamund, the 17th September 1919.
 No.--3535 W-1.

Local politics continue to be subordinated to speeches on the events in the Punjab. A largely attended meeting was held on the 11th September at the Gokhale Hall to protest against the Indemnity Bill, and the pronouncement made by His Excellency the Viceroy in the matter of the Punjab occurrences at the Imperial Legislative Council and to express the opinion that only a Royal Commission of Enquiry composed of persons unconnected with the Government of India would inspire the confidence of the people. Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar took the chair. In addition to resolutions dealing with the Commission of Enquiry and the Indemnity Bill, a resolution was passed calling on the people of the City and the Presidency to unite to make the "Great Punjab Distress Week" a worthy demonstration of their sympathy with the people in the Punjab. It is proposed that during this week which is to commence on the 28th September benefit performances should be given at Cinemas and theatres and house-to-house collections should be made by members of the committee.

The suggestion of the Executive Committee of the Cosmopolitan Club to entertain His Excellency the Viceroy during his approaching visit to Madras led to a numerously signed protest from members of the Club and on the matter being put to the vote "a large majority negatived the proposal".

A public meeting convened by local Moulvis on the 4th instant and attended by some 400 Muhammadans was signalized by the hoisting of a Turkish flag and by prayers for the victory of the Sultan and the preservation of the Holy places from the infidel. On the following day the priest conducting the Bakrid service at the Triplicane Mosque similarly prayed for the victory of the Sultan, and the editor of the QAUMI REPORT not only called on the worshippers to cry "Amen" to this prayer with a loud voice, but circulated with his paper a special supplement containing a translation of the memorial recently presented in England to the Premier on the subject of the peace terms with Turkey. Extremist Hindus - notably

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Mr. C. Rajagopalachariyar of Salem - took advantage of the Provincial Congress at Trichinopoly to ~~inxxx~~ ingratiate Muhammadans by putting forward resolutions on the subject of the "Khalifate and the Ali Brothers".

The personnel of the Punjab Commission of Enquiry was the subject of much criticism in the vernacular press. The SWADESHAMITRAN observed that the two Indians on the Commission would not command the confidence of the public. Strong articles were written against the introduction of the Indemnity Bill, the purport of which seems to have been generally misunderstood owing to the delay in publishing the Bill and Statement of Objects and Reasons. The opening speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council was received with disappointment. The DESABAKTHAN remarked that the time has passed when the country could be governed by threats. The reply of Mr. Montagu to the deputation that waited on him to represent the case of the Indians in South Africa has not satisfied the press which does not consider that any real result will be obtained by a policy of retaliation. There have also been strong articles on the position of Indian labourers in Ceylon, the Fiji Islands and British Guiana. The tone of the HINDU, NEW INDIA and the COMMONWEAL is becoming noticeably more violent.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, C.I.E.,
I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the Nilgiris, the 2nd October 1919.
No.--3745 W-1.

(A meeting of non-Brahmans was held in Madras on the 20th September¹⁹¹⁹ to consider the subject of communal representation. About 50 persons attended it. A resolution was passed reaffirming the opinion of the non-Brahman public of Madras that communal representation was absolutely essential as a provisional measure and expressing apprehension and disgust at the misrepresentations made to the Joint Committee. A resolution was also passed in favour of the preservation of the Caliphate and the integrity of the Turkish Empire. This was proposed by Mr. Muhammad Oosman Sahib and seconded by the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur P. Tyagaraya Chetti.

On the 14th September a meeting was held on the Beach in Madras in pursuance of the agitation concerning affairs in the Punjab. It was attended by two thousand persons. After the usual speeches had been made, an appeal was made for the presentation of valuable articles to be sold for the 'Punjab Distress Fund'. It is reported that many articles such as rings, earrings, shoes, umbrellas, upper cloths, etc., were given by the audience.

Another largely attended meeting was held on the Beach on the 21st September to celebrate the 50th birthday of Mr. Gandhi. After a resolution had been passed conveying good wishes to Mr. Gandhi on his birthday, a resolution was moved that a purse should be started to be known as the 'Gandhi's purse' in aid of the Punjab Relief Fund as the most appropriate way of celebrating his birthday. Some articles were thereupon offered and handed in including Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar's upper cloth and these articles were immediately sold in auction. It is said that the Punjab Relief Committee have acknowledged the promise or receipt of about ten thousand rupees up to date, two thousand rupees having been contributed by the Hon'ble the Raja of Ramnad.

A few unimportant meetings ^{were} held in the Mufassal to pass resolutions about the Punjab and the Indemnity Bill. At the District Conference held in Tanjore although many of the resolutions were borrowed from the meeting of the Provincial Conference held at Trichinopoly in August the speech of the President Rao Bahadur N. Krishnaswami Ayyangar is reported to have been noticeably restrained.

A joint meeting of the various Labour Unions in Madras was held to protest against the nomination of Mr. N.M. Joshi as the Indian Delegate to the International Labour Conference to be held in Washington. As has already been mentioned in previous letters the Madras Labour Union was strongly in favour of the nomination of Mr. Wadia. Speakers at the meeting contended that the Government of India had not consulted the Labour organizations in this country before making their nomination, and while eulogising the services of Mr. Joshi as a member of the Servants of India Society they protested that the labourers were entitled to select their own representative.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 19th October 1919.
No.--3937 W-1.

A preliminary meeting of the Muslim community of Madras was held on the 9th October to concert measures for convening a public meeting on the 17th October to give expression to Muslim views on the question of the Khalifate and the future of Turkey. Mr. Abdul Majid Sharar, who represented the Muslims of the Madras at the All-India Muslim Conference recently held at Lucknow, informed the audience that the following procedure had been suggested for the 17th:--

(i) Mass meetings should be held not only in large cities and towns but also in villages throughout India, and resolutions passed expressing Muslim views in order that the British Government might know and realise the depth of feelings of Muslims in the matter.

(ii) Special prayers should be offered on that day in all cities, towns and villages in India, for the preservation of the Khalifate and the Turkish ~~xxxxxx~~ Empire;

(iii) All Muhammadan shops should be closed and people in Government service should take leave on that day which should be observed as a day of fasting.

The speaker took care to point out that the movement was purely a religious one; and that it was not intended to offend or embarrass the Government. A committee was formed and it was resolved that special prayers should be offered in all the mosques in the city on the 17th October and that a mass meeting should be held on the Triplicane Beach to pass resolutions. Mr. C. Rajagopala Achari, a Salem Vakil who has for some time been working to promote a Hindu-Muslim entente, volunteered to persuade the Hindus to co-operate with the Muslims on the 17th October; and some persuasion has been used by him and the result on the 17th most of the shops in the bazaar were closed, with some inconvenience to the general public. The mass meeting was held in accordance with the suggestions and the proceedings appear to have been orderly.

Both in Madras and in the mufassal the collection of money in aid of the Punjab Relief Fund is going on steadily. It has been announced that the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee had promised to contribute Rs.2,000. On the 28th of September a bazaar was opened in the Gokhale Hall by Diwan Bahadur L.A. Govindaraghava Ayyar who announced that two lakhs of rupees were required to relieve 500 families who were said to be in distress in the Punjab as a result of the recent troubles. On the first day, 19 articles were sold by auction and fetched Rs. 2,372; and it was announced that the bazaar would be open every evening until the 4th of October. It appears actually to have continued longer and according to newspaper reports the receipts from auctions now amount to Rs.6,100. The Marwari community in Madras has presented a purse containing Rs.4,173 to the fund. The aggregate receipts are understood hitherto to have reached only some Rs.25,000.

Desultory paragraphs continue to appear in the vernacular press on the affairs of the Punjab and the Indemnity Bill. One Tamil paper, the DRAVIDAN, supported the measure however, and observed that if the officials who had to use strong methods as the only means of quelling disturbances were not indemnified, it might not be possible in future to cope with any trouble that should occur.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Depart-
DATED--Fort St. George, the 3rd November 1919.(ment.
NO---4200 W-1.

The celebration of Khilafat day in Madras on the 17th was mentioned in my last report. Posters were displayed in Urdu, Tamil and English inviting Hindus and Muhammadans to participate in the day's celebrations and most of the shops both Hindu and Muhammadan were closed, but the majority of the people appear to have had no real idea as to the cause of the proceedings. Prayers were conducted in all the mosques and special sermons were preached on the past glories of Islam. In the evening,

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processions carrying flags and banners from all parts of the city met at the beach, and the crowd, which included many Hindus, is estimated to have numbered nearly 20,000. In the mufassal, there appears to have been little enthusiasm and in Trichinopoly the proceedings were organised, not by the Muhammadans, but by Hindu extremists.

The vernacular press generally expressed sympathy with the Muhammadans arguing that it is incumbent on the Government to see that the Sultan of Turkey is not deprived of his secular influence as he could have no religious influence without proper status and secular powers.

The first comments of the vernacular press were on the whole in favour of the South African Inquiry Commission and expressed gratification at the appointment of the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, as a member. One paper observed, however, that past experience showed that a Commission appointed by the South African Government would not ~~xxxx~~ help the Indians and that what was wanted was a Royal Commission. Some capital was made out of the statement attributed to General Smuts that the condition of the Indians will improve only when there is a corresponding uplift in the status of India in the Empire.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Sir WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th November 1919.
NO---4410 W-1.

The chief matter of political interest during the past fortnight has been the growing cleavage between Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and the so-called Nationalist party on the one hand and the new Centre or Moderate party which Mr. C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar and others are endeavouring to create. The formation of the Nationalist party was heralded by a conference held on the 8th November at Madras. Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar presided and in his presidential address outlined the reasons which led him and his party to break away from the ~~the~~ National Congress Moderates. He pointed in the first place

last

National Congress at the session which was held in Delhi, a session of exceptional importance. He attacked them for having refused to co-operate with the Congress party both in India and in England; commented adversely on the attitude which the Moderate party had adopted with regard to the application of the Press Act in India and alleged that the resolution which they had passed was so mild in its terms that they might almost be said to show callous indifference to the action which had been taken by the Government with regard to newspapers, including the HINDU, his own paper which has had to deposit security.

The chief resolution passed at the meeting of the conference was that the members should form themselves into a permanent organisation for the achievement of the Nationalist aims in consonance with the ideals of the National Congress. It may be mentioned, however, that the part of the resolution expressing adherence to the ideals of the Congress was only carried after some altercation. The organisation of the conference is to be a Central Council Consisting of five members for each district in the Presidency and ten for Madras city, who will hold office for one year. The conference will meet yearly. There is also to be a Standing Committee responsible for carrying on the work of the party subject to the control and direction of the Central Council. The Chairman of the new conference is Mr. C.Vijayaraghava Achari of Salem, the Vice-Chairmen are V.O.Chidambaram Pillai, George Joseph, Konda Venkatapayya and Salla Guruswami Chetti, the last of whom, as Chairman of the Reception Committee on the occasion of this Conference, indulged in a good deal of wild talk. Among the Secretaries are Messrs. Harisarvottama Rao and C.Rajagopala Achari. The policy of the conference may be estimated from the following resolutions which are said to have been passed:--

(1) That this meeting urges to attain SWARAJ by all constitutional means and the rights of free citizenship irrespective of the machinery of law;

(2) that this meeting urges the Nationalists to help the Labour Party in the speedy achievement of their objects and to

help them when in trouble;

(3) That a panchayat system should be established to settle disputes without going to Government or to Law Courts;

4/4 (4) That the Nationalist should help the depressed class to elevate their status, sanitation and free education;

(5) That the Nationalists should press for women franchise;

(6) That this Conference authorises the standing committee to work from time to time on such methods as they think proper;

(7) That political sufferers should be helped with men and money;

(8) That the officials responsible for the shooting tragedy in the Punjab should be impeached; and

(9) That the Nationalists should see to, and work for, the majority of the non-Brahman elected members in the various Councils and Boards.

It will be observed that strenuous efforts are to be made to secure the support of non-Brahmans and the labouring classes in competition with other organizations.

It is said that the new Nationalists' Conference was arranged by Mr. S. Kasturiranga Ayyangar at the request of Messrs. Tilak and Satyamurti who wished a vigorous agitation to be started to counteract the active propaganda work of the Moderate leaders in England.

Under the auspices of the National Home Rule League, Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar delivered an address on the 6th November deprecating the holding of conferences and the formation of groups such as the new Nationalists' Conference. Prominent amongst those present were Messrs. G.S. Arundale, D.K. Telang and G.A. Natesan.

There have been no events of interest in the mufassal except an attempted strike in the Railway Workshop at Negapatam in the Tanjore district. After an inquiry last month into the causes of a fire and an assault by some workshop coolies on a European foreman, the Agent dismissed six men and suspended two others on the 8th instant. The Labour League took up the matter and sent an ultimatum to the Agent to the effect that there would

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be a general strike unless the men were reinstated.

The condition of Indians in the Colonies still attracts a good deal of attention and much disappointment has been expressed at Mr. Montagu's statement that the representatives of the Government of India were not to sit on the Commission of Inquiry in South Africa, but were only to be allowed to present the case of the Indians to the Commission. The report that the Indian labourers in the Fiji Islands are to be freed from their indentures on the 1st January next has been received with much satisfaction and some papers have expressed the hope that Government will refuse all compensation to the planters on the ground that the planters have all along been oppressing the Indian coolies and deserve no consideration.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 3rd December 1919.
No.--4580 W-1.

There were no events of political importance in the fortnight, but both in the press and elsewhere attempts continue to induce Muhammadans to stand aloof from the peace celebrations. The editor of the HINDU took the opportunity of His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to make a personal attack upon him and his administration in a leading article. The evidence of General Dyer before the Disorders Commission has provoked much bitterness in the press. In NEW INDIA Mr. Arundale made a particularly violent attack on the administration of Martial Law in a leading article headed "Britain's Honour", although it is now becoming the role of Mrs. Besant and her partisans to espouse the cause of the Government against the 'Extremists'.

P.T.O.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.

TO--the Hon'ble SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department

DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th December 1919.

No.--4964 W-1.

In this Government fortnightly report of the 21st April
it was reported that the Madras Tramway strike which had continued
for over three weeks had been concluded, some of the points in
issue being referred to a Board of Arbitrators. There are now
signs that the settlement was not a permanent one and that there
is still a good deal of dissatisfaction among the men.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE
STATE OF THE COUNTRY (1920).

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. McPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 6th January 1920.
No.--21 W-1.

There is nothing of importance from a political point of view to mention. The district reports show that, while in a few places the Muhammadans kept away from the peace celebrations, and in many there was no great enthusiasm, the celebrations on the whole went off well; and there is further evidence to show that the abstention of Muhammadans was less a spontaneous demonstration than the result of exhortation by Hindus. Great preparations were made for the reception of Tilak in Madras and he and other members of the extremist deputation made speeches of the usual kind. In the latter part of the month most of the prominent men in local politics have been away at the Congress or at the Conference at Calcutta, where they have aired their views. The non-Brahmans held a conference at Madras at which the general tendency of the speeches was to welcome the new Government of India Act.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.McPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 19th January 1920.
No.--168 W-1.

Politically the past fortnight has been almost without event. In pursuance of the recommendations of the Joint Committee on the Government of India Bill recently passed into law, informal meetings have been held of a few representative Brahmans and non-Brahmans in Madras, in an endeavour to arrive at an agreement as to the number of seats to be reserved for non-Brahmans in the new Council. So far no result has been attained but the discussion has been started on the right lines and the prospect of a decision by agreement more hopeful than appeared likely at first.

One of the first to be released was Darisi C.

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was arrested in Siam in 1915 for complicity in a conspiracy, the first object of which was to seduce the Indian troops and the military police in Burma. Labour is restless in several places.

The HINDU and the other papers which follow the same line of thought support the resolutions of the Congress, express dissatisfaction with the new Government of India Act and are inclined to pick holes in His Majesty's Proclamation; and some of the vernacular papers assert that the amnesty will be incomplete unless Savarkar and other prisoners undergoing sentences in the Andamans for offences similar to his are released. Other papers, headed by NEW INDIA, welcome both the Act and the Proclamation unreservedly and Mrs. Besant has contributed a series of signed articles to NEW INDIA explaining how the new Act opens the way to full self-government. Dissatisfaction is expressed generally at the trend of affairs in South Africa and there is some indignation with regard to the allegations of depravity against Indians in East Africa.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 4th February 1920. No.426 W-1.

In Madras there has been another tramway strike which began suddenly on the 26th and continued till the end of the month.

There was a rumour that there would be a sympathetic strike at the Electric Power House, but this does not now seem probable. There have also been hints of the possibility of a strike in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills, which Mr. Arundale, as president of the union, professes to be doing his utmost to prevent. The Government have appointed a Labour Commissioner, a part of whose duty will be to inquire into industrial conditions and to keep the Government in touch with the developments of labour unrest. They have, at the same time, let it be known that there will be no interference in a labour dispute unless the parties have first made serious attempts to arrive at a settlement.

Further meetings between representative Brahmans and non-

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have ~~it~~ failed to bring about any agreement as to the number of seats in the new council to be reserved for the latter. The matter will now have to go to arbitration.

The reply of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Khilafate deputation is considered disappointing by the Muhammadans in the city. The fact that he exhorted Indian Moslems to remain staunch in their allegiance and loyalty whatever may be the fate of Turkey has made them apprehend an unfavourable settlement of the Turkish question. The editor of the QAUMI REPORT has been writing a series of articles inciting Muhammadans to continue to agitate for the preservation of the Turkish Empire and the Khalifate.

(Mrs. Besant has left Madras for a tour in the north of India to confer with other political leaders. In Madras she is still being attacked bitterly by the leaders of the Nationalist party, who wish to destroy her influence. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai and S. Sathnamurti are the protagonists of this party, and it is said that they are endeavouring to enlist Varadarajulu Nayudu in the same cause.) Meanwhile it is said that Mrs. Besant is trying to win over T.V. Kalyanasundara Mudali and G. Harisarvottama Rao to her side, and that she had set up Dandapani Pillai, one of the Secretaries of the Nationalist Association, to make a split between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans in the Nationalist camp. Each of these parties is trying to obtain the adherence of the labour unions.

The papers criticised adversely the reply of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Khalifate deputation maintaining that he exaggerated the helplessness of the delegates of the British Empire at the Peace Conference. They hold that if the delegates had made clear demands of the conference and had refused to moderate them, the other countries, in view of India's help in the war, were bound to accede to them. On the Reforms, one paper, criticising Lord Sinha's praise of the Reforms and his advice to stop agitating and co-operate with the Government, remarks that co-operation to be useful must be mutual and the real problem is how to make the authorities co-operate with the people and their Ministers. The passing of the Reforms Act had made the press in Travancore and Cochin redouble its demands for popular control in the affairs of the States.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble MR. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 19th February 1920. NO.--669 W-1.

There has also been labour unrest elsewhere and there is a noticeable tendency for the men employed in the mills to strike spontaneously - that is to say, without immediate instigation from the agitators who pose as leaders of the so-called unions - whenever any action is taken by their employers against an employee. Thus at the Madura Mills, a lazy overseer was given the choice of reduction or dismissal and, when he chose the latter and was dismissed, a number of men immediately stopped work on the 28th February. January.

Similarly on the 9th February the weavers and spinners of the Carnatic Mills at Madras stopped work without warning; because two firemen were dismissed for disobedience of orders.

There has been some friction in the labour world owing to the attempts of the extremist politicians to capture the unions or to start others in opposition to those which have hitherto been controlled by the NEW INDIA party. V.O. Chidambaram Pillai claims to have a mandate from the Congress to organise labour and to affiliate unions to the Provincial Congress Committee. He has so far been unsuccessful with the employees of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, but there is no reason to suppose that he has discontinued his efforts. NEW INDIA has published articles insisting on the necessity of keeping labour questions apart from politics, and it is fairly certain that such unrest as exists at present is due to mainly to economic causes, though the readiness to strike must be attributed to the past activities of politicians and not least to direct incitements of those in the NEW INDIA camp. The formation of associations of Government servants in various parts of the Presidency, including village officers, indicates general dissatisfaction with present conditions.

There have been no public meetings of political importance either in Madras or in the mufassal ~~meetingxxxxxbeingxxxx~~ during the past fortnight. A circular is being issued to all District

Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police explaining and warning them against the danger of Bolshevik propaganda.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Govern-
ment of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secre-
tary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 5th March 1920, No.--330 W-1.

The only strike during the fortnight was one of one day's duration on the part of the Corporation scavengers who obtained an immediate rise of pay. The position, however, in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills remains very uncertain.

The question of one union or two at the Perambur Workshops of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway is still unsettled, but V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, who is attempting to start a union in rivalry of that led by Mr. Arundale, does not seem to be making much progress.

There appeared to be no prospect of agreement between the Brahmans and non-Brahmans on the subject of the reservation of seats in the new Legislative Council and the question has been referred to the arbitration of Lord Meston.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 18th March 1920, No.--991 W-1.

Within the last few days, however, the Police in the city have shown signs of restiveness and it appears that the nationalist politicians having failed so far to capture the other unions are now trying to make trouble among the police. The earlier attempts to attract constables to meetings met with little success, but there was a considerable attendance at one on the 12th presided over by Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Editor of the HINDU, where the men were advised to form a union in order that they might be the better able to voice their demands for improved conditions of service. The police, like other Government servants, are hard hit by the rise in prices and will share in the increase of pay which is certain to

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be recommended by the Salaries Committee. The Committee is being asked to expedite the submission of its report, but in view of the urgency of the case the Inspector-General has been allowed to make his recommendations in advance of the decisions to be arrived at on the report. It is understood that there is no immediate danger of a strike, though a section of the force seems inclined to listen to outside agitators.)"

This public meeting considers its duty to warn the British Government against any settlement of the question of the Khalifate and the Turkish Empire in deliberate disregard of the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim world, the consequences of which are bound to be disastrous to the peace of the world and the Empire.

This public meeting hopes that all Muhammadan Indian States and their subjects will continue to give emphatic and effective expression to their religious feelings in the matter of Khalifate and Holy Places which still appear to be in danger of being wrested away from the hands of the Khalifa.

On the 16th a deputation of Muhammadans headed by the Prince of Arcot and Mr. Yakub Hasan waited on His Excellency the Governor and assured him that though the Muhammadans intended to close their shops on the 19th March, they will not follow the lead of the Muhammadans at Calcutta in passing resolutions of a disloyal nature.

It is proposed to hold a Khalifate Conference in Madras in April and to invite Shaukat Ali and other Muhammadan leaders from the north of India. It remains to be seen, however, whether these leaders will be willing to spend time in such a backwater of the agitation as Madras.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Dept.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 3rd April 1920, No.-1209 W-1.

The 19th of March, Khalifate day, passed off uneventfully in this Presidency. There were no disturbances anywhere and though meetings were held in all large towns, no objectionable resolutions

were passed, so far as has been reported. An attempt was made by Mr. A. Majid Sharar to import disloyalty into the resolution put before the meeting held on the Madras beach but this was resisted, and the resolution as passed was studiously moderate in tone. Muhammadan shops were closed for the day and in Madras and a few of the larger towns many Hindu shops were also closed. But it is not possible to say how far the closure of the latter shops can be attributed to sympathy for the Muhammadan cause, or to an uneasiness that there might be looting. In some places there was no concealment of the fact that the real promoters of the hartal were not Muhammadans at all but were Hindu politicians, and it may be that some of these looked upon the occasion as an opportunity of exhibiting their influence with the people, using the hartal as a form of political drill, to accustom the people to obey the orders of the politician, and to undermine the prestige of the Government by demonstrating its helplessness to counteract the general uneasiness caused by the suspension of normal activities.

There has been another strike at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills and though the men have gone back to work the air is still rather thundery.

The members of the Union of the Perambur workers on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway appear to be working quietly to strengthen their organization before putting their demands to the management. Complaints are however being received that men who work quietly and do not wish to take part in the meetings are threatened with violence. Similarly in the case of the strike of the mills mentioned above, there was a good deal of picketing and the private servants of the officials of the mills were interfered with and had to have police protection.

The xi "First Labour Conference" was held in Madras on the 21st March and about 3,000 labourers attended. All the different Labour Unions in Madras and the Negapatam Union were represented, and there were also representatives from some of the larger firms in Madras. Nine resolutions were put to the meeting urging on employers and the Government a minimum wage, the nomination of Labour representatives to the New Council, pay for all workmen on Sundays

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and holidays, better accommodation for meals in factories and other reforms. A central Labour Board was established, to which all Labour Unions in the Presidency are to be attached. The first rule of the Board is that neither the Board nor its Unions shall proclaim or admit political propaganda of any sort. The Board will have an executive committee, each member taking a portfolio such as grievances, education, finance or co-operation. It is interesting to note that the two sponsors of this Board are Messrs. Harisarvottama Rao and Adinarayana Chetti and that the meeting was held in the premises of Lodd Govindoss, a local Marwari who has recently delivered himself of many utterances expressing a sympathy with the down-trodden and oppressed which does not accord very well with his general reputation.

The vernacular press attacked the Government for the issue of the order warning the Government servants under the Government servants' Conduct Rules against absenting themselves from their duties on the Khaliphate day and a few papers went so far as to assert that by forbidding their servants from attending meetings (which they had not done) Government had interfered with the religious liberties of those servants.

The HINDU joined with JUSTICE in expressing disappointment with Lord Meston's award as to the number of seats in the new Council to be reserved for non-Brahmans, but since the award it has been noticed that a coolness had developed between the Brahman extremists and the non-Brahmans who seemed likely before that to combine against the moderates; and endeavours are now being made to bring about a rapprochement between the two non-Brahman parties with the expressed object of working the elections as to keep out Brahmins altogether. It does not appear however that any serious electioneering work has yet been undertaken except by the extremist party, on whose behalf Satyamurti and a few others have continued their lecturing tours. The publication of the Congress Committee's reports on the last years' events in the Punjab has been made the occasion of a series of leaders in the HINDU, headed "The Agony of the Punjab" and the lead of the HINDU is being followed by several of the vernacular papers.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the 20th April 1920, No. 1675-2.

Excitement seems to have died down since the hartal of the 19th March and though some attempts were made to celebrate the 'National Week' from the 6th to the 13th April, little enthusiasm was exhibited in Madras and practically none elsewhere in the Presidency.

On the 13th a meeting seems to have been rather larger and the chief event was a speech by Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar (till recently Advocate-General and now a prospective candidate for the new council on the 'Nationalist' ticket) on last year's events in the Punjab and the report of the Congress sub-committee. While urging that there was no reason why judgment should be suspended till the publication of the Hunter Committee's report and condemning the action of the authorities he used no language to which exception could profitably be taken, and it is possible that his lead moderated the tone of the other speakers.

There are very few Indian troops in the Presidency and nothing has been heard of attempts on the part of agitators to disseminate seditious literature among them; while, though agitators have continued their attempts to undermine the loyalty of the police, the arguments used have been economic rather than political.

Economic unrest has also been evidenced by several small strikes, the most important of which was that at the Government press. The strike was due mainly to the machinations of a few mischief makers, but discontent is being fomented by outside agitators and especially by the ex-convict G. Harisarvottama Rao.

The HINDU continues a series of violent articles on the Congress Sub-Committee's report under the heading of 'The Agency of the Punjab' of which the seventh article headed 'Intensive Kultur' is in the sheet which accompanies this letter. The Vernacular press for the most part follows the lead of the HINDU. Many papers reproduce the popular view of the Khalifate question, but without much knowledge or conviction and even the

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comments of the AUMI REPORT are comparatively moderate.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the 4th May 1920, No.-1928-1.

~~There is evidence that the~~

Shaukat Ali has left but has announced his intention of coming back in May to take up active work and it is understood that a visit to Malabar is included in his programme. On this subject the Government of Madras are addressing the Government of India separately. They cannot emphasise too strongly the danger of allowing an orator like Shaukat Ali to open a campaign of misrepresentation among the ignorant Mappillas of the West Coast and are unwilling to allow him to return to the Presidency at all. As it is, people cannot understand why he is allowed with impunity to make speeches which virtually incite troops to mutiny.

(There is evidence that the attitude developed at the conference did not meet with universal approval even among the Muhammadans of Madras. The extremists, however, took a prominent part on both days and Mr. Kasturiranga Ayyangar and one or two others made speeches little less objectionable than those of the Muhammadan leaders. It is said that the collections amounted to about Rs.85,000.

There were no strikes of importance in the Presidency town during the fortnight, but there has been another strike - this time of the women reelers numbering about 700 - in the Madura Cotton Spinning Mills, which still continues.)

Both the DESABAKTAN and the SWADESHAMITRAN have accepted Shaukat Ali's speech as a true presentation of the case against the Government and warn the Government of the illimitable results of the consummation of the policy of non-~~XXXXXX~~ co-operation or Satyagraha, the two words being accepted as synonymous.

P.T.O.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
MADRAS, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the 17th May, 1920, No.--2036-1.

With the departure of Shaukat Ali and his co-adjutors from the north the Khalifate agitation in the Presidency has decreased rapidly. The line taken by NEW INDIA and the statements in the press by moderate leaders such as Sir Sivaswami Ayyar and Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar have without doubt had a moderating influence; the movement has had little support from the non-Brahmans; and the opinion seems to have been generally gaining ground that non-co-operation is unworkable. Up to the present there has been no instance in this Presidency of the formal resignation of a title or of honorary office by any one. Though anti-Government propaganda has not ceased there is no probability of disturbance so long as the Presidency is left to itself. In deference to the wishes of the Government of India, however, no steps are being taken to keep out Shaukat Ali or any one else. The proceedings of the local Khalifate Committee have been characterised by dissensions between the two principal men, the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan and Mr. Abdul Sharar, the editor of the QAUMI REPORT. The dispute between them is rather personal than on matters of principle; the latter wished to be the president of the Executive Committee and will not work under the former, and he has now resigned from the Committee while undertaking to do his best for the cause of Muslims through the advocacy of his paper. Though he is the only member of the Committee who has openly dissociated himself from the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan, the latter is not generally trusted and is only accepted as a leader because he is backed by one or two of the richest and most influential Muhammadans in the city. A meeting of the Committee was held on the 1st at which, besides the ordinary members, one Hindu extremist, C. Rajagopalachari, was present. A proposal to include Pan-Islamism in their propaganda work was dropped owing to his opposition, but resolutions were passed---

(1) Protesting against 'the forcing of the Treaty on Turkey' against the will of the majority of the people of Turkey and threatening that no treaty would be acceptable to the Muslim world to which

the delegates appointed by a duly elected Turkish Parliament were not a party. 239.

(2) Holding that the expedition against the Nationalist Government in Asia Minor was an act of war on the part of the Allies and reserving the Muslims the right to adopt towards this any attitude that they thought fit.

(3) Thanking the Amir for his message in support of the Khalifate.

~~xxxxxx~~ At a conference of the ryots of one of the taluks of the Anantapur district a resolution was passed agreeing to help the Muslims and co-operate with them in a constitutional way but deprecating a policy of non-co-operation. This is the general feeling in the Presidency.

The various railway unions express dissatisfaction with the concessions lately granted. Some of these unions appear to be coming under the influence of the ex-convict Chidambaram Pillai and his associates.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the 1st June 1920. No. 2171-1.

In Madras the Muhammadans were a little more outspoken, and immediately after the peace terms were published, Mr. Yakub Hasan sent to His Excellency the Governor a long letter denouncing them and resigning his seat in the Legislative Council and his membership of the Prince of Wales Reception Committee. From an intercepted letter addressed by Mr. Yakub Hasan to Shaukat Ali, it appears that his views on non-co-operation will not prevent him from standing for election to the new Council; but a suggestion is made that, if the peace terms with Turkey have not been modified by the time the Council first meets, Muhammadan members should publicly refuse to take the oath of allegiance.

The petrol and oil trade is again dislocated by the strike of the men at the various Madras oil installations. No very clear reasons have been assigned except dissatisfaction with the way that the increased pay rates worked out.

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(A strike broke out at the Madras Electric Supply Works on the 26th although the matters in dispute between the employers and employed had been referred with the consent of both to a court of inquiry which had given an award purporting to place the men on the same footing as the tramway employees.) //

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of Madras, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the 17th June 1920. No.2361-1.

In the absence at Allahabad of the three local Khalifate extremists - Yakub Hasan, Abdul Majid Sharar and C. Rajagopala Achariyar - the past fortnight has been a quiet one. In the districts it is reported that the Muhammadans are not in the least interested in the political situation. In Madras all attempts to get others to follow Mr. Yakub Hasan's lead have failed, mainly owing to the influence of Muhammad Bazl-ul-lah Sahib, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, who by his quiet and sober advice to the Muhammadans of the city has been doing great service to the Government. It is reported that many who in the enthusiasm generated by the eloquence of Shaukat Ali promised donations to the Central Khalifate Committee have now declined to pay up, and dissensions are reported in the Committee itself. The Prince of Arcot, who is the leading Muhammadan in Madras, has kept himself out of the movement. The action of His Exalted Highness the Nizam in expelling from Hyderabad some of the Khalifate extremists has however excited a good deal of strong feeling against him.

(Labour unrest continues and there are several small strikes in progress. The strike in the Madura Mills has collapsed completely and the mills cannot provide work for all the people asking for employment. One effect of this has been to discount the efforts of the extremist agitators to work up trouble among the labourers at Tuticorin.

On the 4th a large number of men at the South Indian Rail Workshop at Negapatam went on strike, the professed reason the suspension of four men for bad work.) //

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There has also been a ferment in the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Workshops at Perambur where a strike was threatened on the 14th, which the Agent feared might spread to some of the running staff in the neighbourhood of Madras.

The vernacular newspapers, with one or two exceptions, join with the HINDU and NEW INDIA in condemning the report of the majority of the Hunter Committee and the conclusions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and in demanding the punishment of the Punjab officials. (The JARIADAH-I-BROZGAR does its best to reconcile Muhammadans to settled facts, but the editor has cause to complain that the moderation of his sentiments affects the circulation of his paper.) The comments on the peace terms xxxx show no originality, but there is little support for the policy of non-co-operation except in a few extreme papers. The QAUMI REPORT, [redacted] absence of Abdul Majid Sharar has been comparatively mild.

The so-called nationalists are still the only party actively engaged in canvassing for the elections, and Satyamurti and other paid orators have been touring the country and delivering speeches of the usual type.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the Nilgiris, the 1st July 1920.
NO.--2508-1.

The chief political event of the fortnight has been the holding of a Provincial Conference at Tinnevely; under the presidency of Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, C.I.E., ex-Advocate-General; and the main topics of discussion were, as usual, the Reforms, Punjab affairs and the Khalifat and the non-co-operation question. Nothing new was brought forward and the language used was not of exceptional violence. The moderates, represented by Mrs. Besant, Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar and a few others were very much in the minority but appear to have been given a patient hearing, though no attention was paid to their arguments. The president refused to commit himself to non-co-operation and most of the Hindu leaders are understood to be against it, for fear of the

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results with regard to themselves; and though a resolution in favour of the policy of Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali, proposed by Mr. Yakub Hasan, was carried this result is regarded as due to the exertions of C. Rajagopala Achariyar in bringing in a lot of Muhammadans to vote. The attitude of the Hindu leaders has been brought out more clearly at a subsequent meeting at Kallidikurichi, in the Tinnevely district, attended by Messrs. Srinivasa Ayyangar, Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Satyamurti and other extremists, at which non-co-operation received very little support and stress was chiefly laid on the necessity for ensuring that all candidates returned to the new council shall be congressmen in the sense accepted by the speakers. A 'Khalifat Publicity Board' has been started by a Muhammadan society at Vaniyambadi, in the North Arcot district.

The employees of the Madras Electric Supply Corporation, the Madras Engineering Works, and two printing presses are still on strike and during the first night the gangmen on two sections of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway downed tools and there were threatnings of the same in the Arkonam workshops. It remains to be seen whether the workshop generally will go on strike. If it does, there appears to be a possibility that the Perambur workshop will follow suit.

The HINDU continues to write violently on the subject of the Hunter Committee's Report and the action taken on it in India and in England; and NEW INDIA, though more moderate in its language is almost equally condemnatory. Most of the vernacular papers follow suit, taking as their text generally the support given by English-owned papers to the actions of the officials in the Punjab. The DESABARTAN, the only paper remaining under security in the Presidency, has published a leader in which it talks of the hellish miseries endured by Indians under the bureaucrats for the last 150 years and calls upon its readers to redress their grievances by making sacrifices.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Madras, the 19th July 1920. No.2740.-1.

The fortnight has been a very quiet one and there is little of interest to report. In the districts it would appear that the Khalifat agitation is moribund.xxxd

Mr. Yakub Hasan is said to have been dismissed by his former employer Abdul ~~Majid~~ Hakim and has now left Madras for Bombay and it is rumoured that he is going to join a deputation that is to visit Syria, Arabia and Palestine on behalf of the All-India Khalifat Committee. There was only one candidate for his vacancy on the Legislative Council, who has now announced in the newspapers that, having been declared elected, he proposes to follow out Mr. Yakub Hasan's idea and refuse to take his seat.

There have been many labour meetings in Madras at which there was a good deal of talk about a general strike of all services, including Government servants, which was to bring the Government to their knees.

The strike in the Madras Electric Supply Corporation finally collapsed on the 13th and about the same time the men of the Madras Engineering Company also returned to work. The compo-
sitors in the Government Press/^{have} however gone on strike again, the reason alleged being that they were required to do some work for the University whose ordinary contractors, the S.P.C.K. Press, are unable to carry it out owing to a strike among their employees.

There is still unrest among the employees of the Oil Companies, who since their return to work on the 8th June have been indulging largely in 'ca'canny' methods. The points in dispute between them and their employers are the subject of investigation by a court of inquiry, whose award is awaited and it seems quite probable that, if the decision is against them, the men will strike again.

At a general meeting of the Postmen's Union on the 7th July an ultimatum to Government was passed threatening a strike

on the 5th August if the men's demands were not satisfied ²⁴⁹
in full before that date.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, ~~xx~~ I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MOPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of ~~Madxxxxxx~~ India, Home Dept.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, The Nilgiris, the 2nd August 1920.
NO.---2897-1.

Meetings held in Madras in the earlier part of the fortnight to assist the Khalifate agitation were not a success and prominent citizens were notable for their absence. At one meeting on the 25th some 2,000 persons attended but of these it was stated that half were Hindus and the only persons of note were Yakub Hasan and Kasturiranga Ayyangar. There have also been dissensions in the Khalifate Committee, caused by the approach of the 1st August and the difficulty of coming to a decision about non-co-operation by that date. Apart from Yakub Hasan the most energetic public advocates of non-co-operation, are Hindus, conspicuous among them being C. Rajagopala Achariyar. The majority of the local committee, including Khan Bahadur Kuddhus Badsha, the president, and Abdul Majid Sharar of the QAUMI REPORT think that Madras is not yet ready for a movement on a large scale and that they should wait for the decision of the Special Congress. This party wrote to Shaukat Ali explaining the division in the committee and the unpreparedness of Madras and it appears that, at the last moment, on the advice of the Central Khalifate Committee it has been decided that the 1st August should be observed as the third Khalifate day and that there should be a meeting on the Beach with general hartal and offering of prayers, but that the resignation of titles and honorary offices should be postponed. There is a distinct disinclination among title-holders to give up their titles, and the president of the committee himself is in no hurry to renounce his; and another member of the Khalifate Committee gave an entertainment on the 19th in honour of those gentlemen who were recently the recipients of titles at which they were garlanded and wished success in life. Another Muhammadan has written a pamphlet, which has not yet appeared, exposing the doings of the committee and contending that the agitation has not

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the sanction of the learned Ulemas in Madras and that the members of the committee have other motives than the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty. It is alleged that the money that has been collected is being improperly spent.

Nothing more has been heard lately of the threat to organize a general strike of all services; this is no doubt due to the fact that the vagueness in the objects to be attained by the strike did not appeal to those who had jobs to lose.

The HINDU continues its virulent anti-British campaign, the text being still last year's disturbances in the Punjab and the alleged excesses of the officials who suppressed them.

All attack the Dyer fund but the vernacular press is divided in opinion on the question of non-co-operation.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MOPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, The Nilgiris, Camp, Madras,
the 19th August 1920.

No---3108-1.

A brief summary of the observance of the hartal was sent on the 3rd August and later reports show that there is not much of interest to report. It cannot be denied that there was a very general closing of the shops in Madras and in many towns in the mufassal. Both in Madras and the mufassal the organization of the hartal was largely dependent on the efforts of Hindu pleaders and politicians and speeches made at the public meetings were markedly 'Nationalist'.

In the earlier days of the month there were a few resignations of honorary office, but not by persons of any importance. Since the arrival of Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali in the Presidency, there have been a few more, brought about largely by bullying tactics. At Ambur, where the party went on the 14th, four resignations were induced by Mr. Gandhi refusing to eat or to take any part in the proceedings arranged before the resignations were in his hand; and in Madras considerable pressure has, with encouragement from Shaukat Ali, been put on title-holders by the younger enthusiasts in the

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leading Muhamadan was publicly insulted in the mosque and another has been threatened that, if he does not resign his title, he will be publicly humiliated by having filth thrown at him. There are indications of a revolt against this tyranny. After a good deal of friction in the Khalifat Committee at the beginning of the fortnight, terminated by a professed truce on the announcement that Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali were coming, it is reported that there has now been a definite split, involving the resignation of the more respected and responsible members of the committee including Khuddus Badsha Sahib, the President. The fact has not been made public yet and it will probably be some days before the situation becomes quite clear.

The invitation to Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali seems to have been sent by Yaqub Hasan without the knowledge of other members of the committee and the Government announcement that these people were coming to Madras took the public as well as the Government by surprise. They actually arrived at Madras on the 12th and were given a big welcome at the station. On the 13th there was a meeting of the Khalifat Committee, at which various politicians of different shades were present, to discuss the question of non-co-operation. The politicians generally argued against it, but a resolution, on which only the members of the committee voted, was carried in favour of Mr. Gandhi's programme. On the evening of that day the party went to Ambur in the North Arcot district, where preparations had been made on a big scale for the meeting to be held.

Messrs. Gandhi and Shaukat Ali have since been to Kumbakonam and Trichinopoly and are proposing to go on to Calicut, Mangalore and Salem and thence to Bangalore. In accordance with the wish of the Government of India nothing is being done to interfere with their tour. The District Magistrate, Malabar, was at first anxious that they should be kept out of his district, but subsequently withdrew the request. Reports show that Shaukat Ali makes little concealment of his advocacy of stronger measures if Gandhi's programme of avoidance of violence fails to produce the desired results.

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An enthusiastic reception was given to Mr. B.P. Wadia on his return to Madras from the Washington Labour Conference.

The HINDU has continued to stir up agitation on the subject of the Punjab troubles, but is now beginning to divert its attention to the wrongs of the Indians in East Africa. The Editor, Kasturiranga Ayyangar, has, however, at last openly dissociated himself with non-co-operation. Both the above subjects occupy a considerable space in the Vernacular Press which has been exercised during the fortnight over the Dyer debate in the House of Lords and Mr. Montagu's references to Gandhi's recent activities. The DESHABARTAN has finally lost the services of Kalyanasundara Mudali who is now said to be about to start a labour paper with Rs.5,000 provided by the Central Labour Union; but his place as editor is to be taken by V.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar (the suspect in the Jackson murder case) and there seems therefore no probability of an improvement in the tone of the paper.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, The Nilgiris, the 2nd September 1930
No.--3341-1.

Gandhi and Shaukat Ali have finished their tour in the Madras Presidency and it is now possible to gauge with some exactness the results of their visit. On the previous visit Shaukat Ali's efforts were chiefly directed to encouraging the people to adopt non-co-operation at some future time. On this occasion the leaders required tangible proofs of the willingness of both Muham-madans and Hindus to non-co-operate and it is clear that their efforts have been a total failure. It is true that at various places sums of money ranging up to Rs.2,000 and Rs.3,000 were contributed, but there is no doubt that Gandhi was disappointed that the sums were not larger. At Bangalore he is said to have stated publicly to several people that he was disappointed with Madras and that the Madrasis did not give him the support which he expected. The tour was an extremely hurried one. Shaukat Ali was unwell and could not accompany Gandhi to Ambur, and though

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he joined in the rest of the tour he did very little speaking. On the evening of the 15th they ~~xxxx~~ left Madras for Kumbakonam; on the 16th they ~~sta~~ addressed meetings at Kumbakonam and Nagore and left for Trichinopoly. There they stayed on the 17th leaving on the evening of the 17th for Calicut. On the 18th they were at Calicut, on the 19th at Mangalore and on the 20th at Salem, whence they motored to Bangalore, returning to Madras on the morning of the 22nd and leaving the same evening for Bezwada, whence they went on via Hyderabad to Bombay. On the journey, as far as Mangalore, they were met by large crowds, sometimes to their great personal inconvenience at intermediate stations; and their meetings were largely attended. On the way back little attention was paid to them, and when they returned to Madras only the members of the local Khalifat Committee met them. They addressed a meeting of the students of the Law College but otherwise had a quiet day and departed without pomp.

That little harm has been done by the visit is indicated by the following extract from the report of the District Magistrate, Malabar:--

"Numerous volunteers clad in green caps and waist belts were with the cars on which the two rode but as crowd regulators they were useless and the police as usual had to regulate the procession and crowd. I had arranged for them to do so but was amused to learn later that a representative of the Reception Committee had written to solicit their co-operation. I hear that Gandhi was displeased about this and well he might be The net result is that non-co-operation will not go in Calicut and the Mappilla remains indifferent to the wrongs of Turkey and the Punjab. He does not understand a religious question being ventilated by a Gujarati Brahman; as for Shaukat Ali, though he was the more violent in speech, his religious exhortation lost force because though alleged to be a Moulana and a holy man he never went near a mosque nor discoursed with Moulvis and paid no respect to the recognized hours of prayer. I believe the local Moulvis and learned men would like to examine his credentials as a Moulana. There were very few to see them off and Mappillas

of position were conspicuous by their absence. During their arrival journey the stations were crowded EN ROUTE and small sums presented here and there; but on the return journey they passed practically unnoticed except at Shoranur where a small purse was brought from Native Cochin".

Other District Magistrates report in a similar strain. There is little doubt that Gandhi's insistence on the boycotting of the councils and the abandonment of practice by pleaders has cooled the ardour of many of his former supporters. The people who arranged for his reception at various places found it very difficult to satisfy him with regard to his personal comforts and it is said that several were alienated by his outbursts of bad temper.

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The question of resignation of titles caused a good deal of dissension, as mentioned in my last report. Khuddus Badsha Sahib's renunciation of his position on the Khalifat Committee has not been announced but appears to be a fact. The bullying of title-holders continued however and towards the end of the month four resignations were received - one Khan Bahadur, two Khan Sahibs and One Shams-ul-ulama. The last-named case - that of Moulvi Zahid Hussain Sahib - is typical of the tactics employed. He resisted for a long time, but eventually, on a promise of Rs.10 per mensem for life and threats that he would be refused Muhammadan burial, among other penalties, he handed over his sanad and badge to Gandhi and Shaukat Ali before they left. His letter resigning his title was not received till the 31st, and meanwhile, on the 27th he wrote and handed over to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Bazl-ul-lah, a letter addressed to the Chief Secretary stating that his resignation had been forced and asking the Government not to accept it. The agitators were particularly anxious to get his resignation because he is regarded as the Moulvi of the masses and it was thought that his example would have a great effect. His position is still however a little dubious, since it appears that he took the chair at a Khalifat meeting on the 28th, though he left it before the proceedings had got very far. Several resignations by honorary magistrates have been announced and some of them have reached the Government.

A meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee was held on the 15th at Madras. Although Messrs. Gandhi and Shaikat Ali were present in the city and the object was to consider again the question of non-co-operation they did not attend. Mr. Kasturanga Ayyangar presided and both Nationalists and Moderates were present. The latter maintained that non-co-operation, being an unconstitutional movement designed to paralyse the Government, was opposed to the tenets of the Congress, whose object was to gain self-government by constitutional means. The lawyers of the Nationalist party recommended that non-co-operation, barring the boycott of councils, might be accepted. After a long and heated discussion it was resolved that the principle of non-co-operation might be accepted but the programme to be followed should be drawn up later on. There are indications here and elsewhere that non-co-operation as a cry may be dropped in favour of Swadeshi and the boycott of foreign goods.

There has been a strike among the tailors in the Army Clothing Factory, which was settled by some concessions on the part of the superintendent.

B.P. Wadia has been addressing a good many meetings of different kinds of labourers, generally exhorting them not to strike till they are in a position to do so effectively.

V.O. Chidambaram Pillai addressed a so-called labour meeting at Negapatam last week, but it appears that the sentiments he expressed did not meet with approval. He was hooted down and afterwards had to apply to the police for protection on his way to the railway station.

The vernacular papers appear to prefer to discuss the question of non-co-operation from the theoretical standpoint of whether or not it is constitutional. They are generally against its more pronounced forms such as the boycott of the councils.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the Nilgiris, the 17th Septem.
No.--3538-1.

Politically the fortnight has been a quiet one in this Presidency owing to the absence of so many at the Special Congress at Calcutta. It is unlikely that the resolution of the Major Congress to support non-co-operation will find a very wide acceptance in this Presidency; Messrs. Kasturiranga Ayyangar, Rangaswami Ayyangar and S. Satyamurti have resigned office in the Madras Congress Committee as they are unable to agree to the programme adopted, but a few individuals, including C. Vijayaraghava Achariyar of Salem, have withdrawn from candidature for the new councils.

No more resignations of titles have been received, but considerable pressure is still being brought to bear on Muhammadan title-holders in Madras and a few other places.

Mr. Wadia is busy addressing labour meetings all over Madras and is taking special care to point out to them that without enormous funds no progress can be made by the Labour Unions. He exhorts the men (1) to collect funds, (2) to rise above party differences and petty quarrels, (3) not to give their employers an opportunity to break up their unions. He also assures them that their ultimate aim should not be merely the increase of their wages but the owning of the business, be it railway or oil company.

The non-co-operation movement and the Special Congress have been the main topics of discussion in the vernacular press during the last fortnight, opinions being more or less evenly divided.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the Nilgiris, the 17th Septem.
No.3698.

There has been a quietness in the Presidency during the fortnight. On the 17th, Mr. Venkatappayya has resigned office in the Madras Congress Committee in connection with the resolution on non-co-operation; Mr. S. Satyamurti has also resigned office and one Mr. Achariyar of Salem has returned his candidature.

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him on the occasion of the Darbar. Several persons who had announced their candidature for the new Council have withdrawn, but the majority of these had little chance of success and some undoubtedly were glad of an opportunity of avoiding the trouble and expense of canvassing an electorate so much larger than any of which they have hitherto had experience.

The Khalifat agitators are however still active in Madras. They have not succeeded in securing any more resignations of titles, but by a process of boycott they have made Sadulla Badsha the piece-goods merchant mentioned in my last report, close his shop and are trying to apply the same process to some of the more prominent title-holders. Individually the more respectable and moderate Muhammadans are intimidated, fearing physical violence, but there are quiet enough of them to hold their own if they could organize some sort of combination. The suggestion that foreign goods should be boycotted is not popular among the Muhammadans, many of whom are engaged in trade. It is reported that Yaqub Hasan's Turkish wife and another lady are starting a Ladies Khalifat Society with the object of persuading mothers to take their children away from the Government schools.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 16th October 1920. No.3934-1,
Public.

So far as can be seen, the policy of open non-co-operation is not making much headway. No further resignations of titles have been received; meetings held in Madras in furtherance of Gandhi's programme do not attract large audiences and an intercepted letter from Muhammad Valiulla Badsha to Shaukat Ali, in which he appeals to the latter to send Muhammad Ali to Madras to help the cause, indicates despondency. The committee has however by no means ceased its activities. Muhammadans who do not support the committee are threatened with social ostracism and have so far not effected any combination to protect themselves; and many of them would probably have yielded to intimidation if

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they had not had the support of Mr. Bazlullah, the Chief Presidency Magistrate. Several of the usual agitators - mostly Hindus - have been addressing meetings in the southern districts of the Presidency, and there is a comparatively active local movement in favour of non-co-operation in Kistna; while from more than one part of the Presidency reports have been received that the campaign of vilification of the Government, which has been going on for the past year or so, has ~~existed~~ had the effect of stimulating the growth of a pronounced anti-British feeling.

At the time of writing there are no strikes of importance proceeding in this Presidency, though there are again symptoms of approaching trouble in the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills.

A serious railway accident occurred near Arkonam on the night of the 7th instant on the main Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway line. There can be no doubt that this was the deliberate work of some of the gangmen who were dismissed at the time of the gangmen's strike in June and July. As therein mentioned the men at first attempted minor acts of sabotage only. This culminating outrage was the second attempt at derailment in three days. On the 5th a rail was removed between Arkonam and Madras with the clear intention of wrecking the Bombay mail. Fortunately a light engine passed along the line first and was derailed, so that the mail was held up in time. The inquiry has elicited no evidence as to who were the actual culprits, and though substantial rewards have been offered for information, none has been forthcoming. A force of police has been drafted to the section to assist in guarding the line and in view of the warnings which had been given to the villagers and the certainty that the perpetrators of the outrage must be well known to many of them, the question whether the cost of extra police should be levied from the villages adjacent to the line is under consideration.

The HINDU is still undecided on the question of non-co-operation and discussions on the subject fill a good part of the vernacular press. The report of the Esher Committee, as might be expected, has not been received favourably. The distinction which is proposed in the treatment of European and Indian soldiers is adversely commented on.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd November 1920. No.4118-1,
Public.

There have been several public meetings in Madras - mostly poorly attended - in favour of the cause of non-co-operation. At one Yakub Hasan is reported to have indulged in violent language. Attempts have been made to induce the students of the Muhammadan College at Madras to follow the lead of Aligarh and a similar movement is on foot at Vaniyambadi - a Muhammadan stronghold in the North Arcot district. So far, however, no desertions have been reported and some effect has been produced in Madras by a speech made by Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim before the Muhammadan Educational Association, condemning the methods of Gandhi and the Ali brothers. There are some signs of combination among the more respectable Muhammadans.

In the Kistna district, some of the village officers are said to be inclined towards non-co-operation. Elsewhere in the Presidency the preachers, though they sometimes attract large audiences have little to show in the way of results.

The press is still concerned chiefly with the question of non-co-operation. The HINDU maintains its attitude of caution, but many of the vernacular papers support Gandhi.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A.GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 16th November 1920.
No.---4439-1, Public.

The regular preachers of non-co-operation are still active both in Madras and in the districts, but there is little that is new in any of the speeches reported, except that some of them show rather more leaning than before towards Bolshevik ideas. There is little sign at present of any real efforts at counter propaganda on the part of any section of the community, though it has been promised by NEW INDIA. No more resignations have been reported in spite of continual pressure on Muhammadan title-holders; and

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the energies of the non-co-operators are now mainly devoted to persuading voters not to exercise their privileges.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 3rd December 1920.
No.---4620-1, Public.

During the past fortnight interest has centred chiefly on the elections which came off on the 30th. The preachers of non-co-operation have made great efforts both in Madras and in the districts; on the other hand in many places candidates have canvassed actively. No doubt the non-co-operators will take credit to themselves wherever the polling is right. They appear to have scored a success in respect of the Muhammadan seat in the Legislative Council allotted to South Kanara, where a man described as an illiterate coolie, well known to the police, but not disqualified under the election rules, has been returned unopposed. In Madras there was some stone-throwing by professed followers of Mr. Gandhi, but no serious trouble and no reports of disturbances have been received from the districts.

There have been a few cases where schoolboys have absented themselves from school in some numbers temporarily.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. R.A. GRAHAM, I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th December 1920.
NO.---4860-1, Public.

The elections produced no surprises in this Presidency. The effects of non-co-operation were seen chiefly in the districts of Guntur, Kistna and Godavari. In Madras it had little effect. In Kumbakonam in the Tanjore district there was some rowdiness on the polling day, and elsewhere also there were a few reports that voters were afraid to vote, but it was the rain that kept the polling figures low in the South. Where the candidates were active, the polling was comparatively heavy.

Now that the elections are over, the non-co-operators are

turning their attention to the boycott of educational institutions, and there have been several meetings of students in Madras where inflammatory speeches have been made. At one of these Yakub Hasan declared war on the British Government and said that agitation had now got to continue till SWARAJ was obtained, whatever happened with regard to the Punjab disturbances and the Khilafat question. There is also an increasing tendency for students to attend meetings and howl down such speakers as they do not approve of.

The Government of India has already received a detailed report of the circumstances under which the Police opened fire on the mobs of unemployed workmen in the neighbourhood of the Buckingham Mills on the 9th instant. The HINDU was not slow in denouncing the incident as a new Jallianwalla Bagh and is loudly demanding an inquiry. However there seems to be no doubt of the facts and it is unlikely that an inquiry would elicit anything new, while it is improbable that witnesses would admit that they were members of the riotous crowd.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1921).

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPPA I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public
Department.

TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Fort St. George, the 6th January 1921. No.61-1,Public

There has been a lull in political agitation since the results of the elections were announced. A good many of the more active politicians left Madras on the 21st December to attend the National Congress at Nagpur and this has ensured a period of quiet. Some further attempts have been made to organise the Madras students into boycotting the colleges.

In the district of G. the non-co-operators had some success with two newly-constituted municipalities. The constitution of these municipalities was not popular locally since it involved an increase in rates; the councillors have now resigned and the municipal administration is at a standstill.

The deadlock at the Buckingham Mills continues and from the various letters which have been exchanged between the management and the men's union and which have been published in the daily press there is not much prospect of a change for the better in the near future.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPP, I.C.S., Chief
Secretary to the Govt. of Madras, Public Department.

TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H.MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Fort St. George, the 24th January 1921. No.--181-1,
Public.

As soon as the Congress delegates returned from Nagpur, they set to work on the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. Posters urging a boycott appeared in many parts of the city. A meeting was held on the 9th, the evening before His Royal Highness' arrival, and a large procession went through the streets carrying banners inciting the people to boycott the visit. The language used by the speakers was at times extreme and the behaviour of the crowd was occasionally somewhat truculent, but there was no serious breach of the peace. A similar meeting was arranged for the next day in the hope that it would draw the

the people away from the line of His Royal Highness' route. From the point of view of its organisers this meeting was a complete failure.

The HINDU claims that 60,000 persons were present; the reports of eye witnesses show that perhaps about 8,000 to 10,000 people in all may have visited the scene of the meeting on the beach during the afternoon, but that these were not all there at the same time. They were to a large extent merely casual spectators who, having come out to witness the royal procession, completed their day's amusement by a visit to the rival entertainment. As a serious demonstration the meeting was wholly ineffective.

Another method of creating a sensation on the occasion of the Royal visit, which was tried by the non-co-operation leaders but also failed, was the organisation of a general strike of the public utility services in the city. Attempts were unsuccessfully to persuade the postmen, the scavengers and the workers at the water and electric light works to strike. A rumour was also put about all the police would strike but this was apparently the work of the Khalifat organisation. Actually the only strike which occurred was that of the tramway men. ~~They struck without warning.~~

Other suggestions made by the non-co-operation leaders for the boycott of the visit were that as a sign of mourning men should appear without upper cloths and women without jewels; that labourers should prostrate themselves in front of the Duke's carriage (in ignorance no doubt of the fact that it would be preceded by cavalry and artillery), and that all shops should be closed as a sign of hartal. The latter suggestion was assisted by the assiduous rumours that the police were going to strike on the same day and that there was to be looting by the mill coolies.

The mass of the people in Madras paid no attention whatever to these suggestions, but gave His Royal Highness a hearty welcome whenever he appeared in public. Wherever he went, the route was thronged by spectators except when weather conditions made sight-seeing impossible; and it is noticeable that after their failure

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on the 10th, the non-co-operation adherents made no further efforts.

The situation at the Buckingham Milla is not free from anxiety. The strike continues and the men will not abate their demands. The week before His Royal Highness' arrival was marked by a good deal of activity on the part of Colonel Wedgwood who came here from the Congress at Nagpur. He interested himself in the labour disputes, interviewed labourers and took a leading part in a labour meeting on the beach under the chairmanship of Kasturiranga Ayyangar, who was at the time the leading advocate of the boycott of His Royal Highness' visit. In so far as Colonel Wedgwood may have intended to bring about a better understanding between labourers and employers, his visit was altogether infructuous: on the contrary it is probable that his speeches and advice tended to increase rather than diminish the difficulties of settlement.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPP, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. H. MCPHERSON, C.S.I., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 2nd February 1921. No.-482-1, Public.

There is little of interest to record in regard to the non-co-operation movement. In Madras, there has been a marked decrease in the activities of the leaders - which is the measure of the reaction following their earnest and almost infructuous efforts during the Duke's visit. The attempts made in Madras to persuade students to follow the lead of Calcutta, and abandon their schools and colleges, have hitherto met with no success but there are evidences that the campaign is about to be intensified. A 'Students' Non-co-operation Association' has been formed and premises secured for a 'National College' and some spread of the Calcutta contagion is not unlikely; but at present there is no reason to apprehend that it will be serious. In the districts the non-co-operation movement has hitherto made little progress amongst the students, though from Godavari it is reported that some students have left their work and Trichinopoly now shows signs of following their example.

From Malabar considerable activity on the part of the returned Congress delegates is reported, but the political movement has made no appreciable advance. The leaders of the movement recognising this fact, no doubt, are attempting to enlist adventitious support for their political propaganda by combining with it a campaign for tenancy reform - a subject which affects the more impressionable portion of the population very deeply. The movement is fraught with considerable potentialities and gives room for some anxiety though up to the present it has made practically no progress.

In Malabar and Nellore there have occurred sporadic instances of non-co-operation in the matter of the census, but prompt measures have been taken by the district authorities to scotch the movement.

In various places in Guntur and Kistna districts the Tilak Nataka Samajam of Guntur has been performing a seditious drama called "Swarajya Soupanam". As the drama was likely to create disaffection and unrest, its performance was prohibited throughout the Presidency under section 3 (b) of the Dramatic Performances Act, 1876.

Both the Khilafat and Nationalist Committees at Madras have resolved that the elections for municipalities and local boards should be exempt from the ban governing participation in the Legislative Council elections.

There is thus some indication that saner counsels are now prevailing even in the field of non-co-operation.

As was foreshadowed in my last report the hands of the Carnatic Mills came out on strike on the 24th morning in sympathy with their brethren in the Buckingham Mills.

The Corporation employees' strike was settled on the 28th and now only the Tramway men remain out. The labour situation is thus much easier and it is hoped that any discontent which may still remain smouldering in the ranks of the City Police and the postmen will soon die down.

In parts of Chittoor district a temperance movement has been started.

Read after " appears to be taking firmer hold" under report dated the 17th February 1921, on page 5 of the extracts.

The attempts made to secure the support of the Mappillas whose ignorance and tendency to fanaticism render them susceptible to agitation, have caused some concern. The local leaders called in Yakub Hasan and other Madras agitators, but the District Magistrate has countered their move by prohibiting these persons from speaking at the meetings arranged for them. News just received shows that Yakub Hasan and three local Congress leaders disregarded the prohibition. They were arrested and called upon to give bonds for their good behaviour but declined to do so and have been committed to prison.

On the same page please read after " was alluded to in paragraph 3 of my last report" under report dated the 1st March 1921 on page 5, of the extracts.

Yakub Hasan and three others were arrested on February 16th and called upon to give security for keeping the peace, and on their refusal to do so were sent to jail. | There was, of course, considerable local excitement, but thanks to the firm and judicious handling of the situation by the local authorities everything passed off smoothly, and the District Magistrate was able to report on February 19th that matters had resumed their normal aspect.

The events in Malabar have naturally formed the subject of a good many protest meetings all over the Presidency. There are, however, indications that the District Magistrate's action has been welcomed in many quarters where the continued inaction of the Government towards this movement was beginning to produce a regrettable impression that the Government afraid to interfere.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPP, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.P. O'DONNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th February 1921.
No.--971-1, Public.

During the fortnight under report the leaders of the Non-co-operation movement have redoubled their efforts to win recruits to their cause. In Madras, under the auspices of the local Khilafat Committee, an organisation known as the SWARAJ Volunteer Corps has been started for propaganda work,,but only about 25 persons have joined this body up to the present. The campaign amongst the students has been vigorously pressed, but the results are quite incommensurate with the activities displayed.

In the mufassal, also, the efforts of the leaders have met with little apparent success, except in Malabar where the movement appears to be taking firmer hold. /

Reports have been received from more than one district of the possible resort to non-payment of taxes and assessment, but so far no case of the kind has occurred.

The weapon of non-co-operation has been borrowed by certain bodies of the public to secure the removal of grievances of a non-political nature, e.g., as a protest against enhanced taxation in a few municipalities; but the movement is not serious and is only of parochial interest.

The labour situation in Madras is easier, only the Tramway men being out on strike though threats of renewed trouble among the Corporation staff, and of a strike of the City Police, are reported.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPP, I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.P. O'DONNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st March 1921. No.880-1, Public.

The chief political events of the fortnight has been the arrest of Yakub Hasan and three local Congress leaders in Madras which was alluded to in paragraph 3 of my last report.

In Madras city the activities of non-co-operation confined chiefly to public meetings. Hartal was

February 27th - a Sunday as usual - as a day of mourning for Yakub
arrested
Hasan and the three others/with him. It was fairly generally
observed but nothing untoward occurred. (See 6/2)

* The boycott of schools has made no headway. In several districts students have been induced to leave their schools after attending meetings held for the purpose and addressed by the leaders of the movement generally called in from outside. But in the majority of cases they have returned a few days later, and it does not seem probable that the "National" schools started in several places will be able to carry on for any length of time.

In a few districts it is reported that there has been some difficulty in including the village officers to collect the land revenue, but no case of actual refusal to do so has yet been reported. In Trichinopoly, one Doctor Rajan is said to be endeavouring to start a movement for the non-payment of kist.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPP, I.C.S., Chief
Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.P. O'DONNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 17th March 1921. No.-1428-1,
Public.

There was a fairly serious disturbance at the beginning of the month at Trichur in the Native State of Cochin, where the Christians supported by the low caste Hindus (Thiyyas) came into collision with the Muhammadans and higher caste Hindus (Nairs). Feelings between the lower and the higher castes in Cochin have for some time past been strained, but the immediate cause of the present trouble was a series of loyal, but somewhat provocative, demonstrations held by the Christians and Thiyyas to resist the entry of non-co-operators in the State. A large body of Mappillas from the neighbouring district of Malabar were called in by the latter party to support them. There was a certain amount of looting and incendiarism and one Christian was killed.

The incident proves - if proof were needed - how easily the population of the Malabar Coast can be roused into violence and how readily the well-known fanaticism of the Mappillas can be played upon by the political agitator. There are indications of incitement to a fanatical outbreak, such as has occurred in former years,

- 6 (a) -

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Please read after " but nothing untoward occurred", on page 5 of the extracts under report dated the 1st March 1921.

The temperance movement has now appeared in most of the districts of the Presidency, except in the extreme south. The recent sales of arrack shops have been boycotted in many places, and the consequent decrease in abkari revenue is likely to be considerable. (2)

the incitement coming from the local Khilafat Committee. For the present the District Officers have the situation in hand but firm action will be needed if, as is rumoured, Gandhi and the Ali Brothers attempt to intervene in the near future.

As regards the rest of the Presidency there is very little to report beyond the usual meetings and violent speeches. Vigorous attempts are being made from Madras to organise the non-co-operation movement throughout the Presidency, but there are welcome indications that the non-co-operators are not to have matters all their own way. The MADRAS MAIL is endeavouring to start a counter-propaganda movement.

Except in the East Coast districts the movement can so far claim no substantial success. The expected visit of Gandhi and the Congress leaders to Bezwada can hardly fail to give an impetus to the movement in that part of the Presidency.

There has been no further developments of the movement to refuse to pay taxes though in more than one district attempts have been made to corrupt village officers. In several recent municipal elections a few non-co-operators have secured seats, but not nearly so many as they hoped for.

The boycott of schools has made little progress. National schools have been started at Udipi in South Kanara with an attendance of 150 boys, and also at two places in Vizagapatam where however one of the schools only lasted 24 hours. It is rumoured that one of the objects of the Gandhi's visit to Bezwada is to establish a National College there.

Labour troubles have for the present subsided, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the leaders who are all non-co-operators to use the unions for political purposes.

The tone of the Vernacular press generally is no more moderate than it has been in the past. Steps are being taken to prosecute the editor of a comparatively new Telugu newspaper known as the RYOT PATRIKA for a particularly objectionable article.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble Mr. A.R.KNAPP, I.C.S.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.P. O'DONNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department
DATED--Fort St. George, the 4th April 1921.
No--1799-1, Public.

Politically the fortnight has been uneventful. There have been the usual meetings to advocate non-co-operation, but little sign of any definite advance in the popularity of the movement; indeed one of the local Muhammadan leaders in a recent speech at Madras has openly referred to the failure of the movement.

Affairs in Malabar itself are quiet at present. The apprehensions expressed in the last fortnightly report as regards incitement to fanatical outbreak have proved on investigation to be less serious than was then thought. It is however suggested in the newspapers that Gandhi intends to tour in Malabar about the 15th of May. His appearance there just before the Ramzan, when Mappilla feelings are in their most inflammable condition, would give ground for real apprehension and his movements will be watched with some anxiety. In a speech which he is reported to have made at Berhampur, Gandhi declared that he would prefer anarchy, civil war, internal dissensions and foreign invasion to British domination, and added that there is no room in India for a single Englishman who feels that he is a superior to the meanest of Indians. Whatever might be its effect elsewhere, there can be no doubt that language of this kind addressed to the Mappillas in Malabar would operate as a direct incitement to violence of a dangerous kind.

The boycott of schools does not appear to make any appreciable progress and the national schools which have been established are nowhere flourishing. News has been received from Ganjam of three cases of incendiarism in which thatched school buildings have been burnt at night. There is little doubt that these acts were connected with the non-co-operation movement.

P.T.O.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from ~~xxx~~ R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the Hon'ble Mr. S.P. O'DONNELL, C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Ootacamund, the 18th April 1921. No. 2090-1.

POLITICAL.-- The chief subject of interest is naturally the visit of Gandhi, the Ali brothers and other prominent congress and Khalifat leaders to the Presidency, the earlier news of which was alluded to in the last fortnightly report.

From the reports received there seems to have been a remarkable difference between the tone of Gandhi's speeches and those of the other 'leaders'. Gandhi confined himself chiefly to the social side of his work, the spinning wheel, the need for men and money, and the non-violent aspect of the non-co-operation movement. Muhammad Ali at Madras dealt especially with the failure of the local students to take their proper share in 'the great Indian Revolution' and among other flowers of speech said that he and his brother would welcome death if the loss of their lives sounded the death knell of the British Raj. He seems to have indulged in similar flights of fancy at Erode, where his accounts of the sufferings of the Turks are said to have reduced his audience to tears. The reports received indicate that some of his speeches were violent and seditious.

There can however be no doubt that both Gandhi and the Ali brothers create tremendous temporary enthusiasm and attract enormous crowds wherever they go. A majority of these are often attracted by mere curiosity but a large number, and especially women, seem to be inspired with feelings of real adoration for the Mahatma and many thousand rupees worth of jewels were collected at his meetings.

Gandhi's visit to Berhampur in Ganjam on his way to Bezwaia coincided with a big local festival. A general holiday spirit prevailed. There was no enthusiasm for the non-co-operation movement before his arrival and after he came he seems to have been regarded chiefly as a popular side-show. Several of the municipalities visited by Gandhi presented him with addresses of welcome. The voting on the subject in the various

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councils is a fresh illustration of the timidity or half-heartedness of the professed opponents of non-co-operation, who either acquiesced in the resolutions or kept away from the meetings. The addresses were generally couched in non-political language.

Non-co-operation as a definite policy is probably not making much headway but there is no doubt that anti-British and anti-Government sentiments are being preached extensively up and down the country, and that the preaching is having some effect. Much is still being made in some parts as an instance of bad faith on the part of the Government of the fact that people made haste last year to pay in sovereigns at the treasuries at the rate of Rs.15, expecting to get them back for Rs.10 each, whereas a sovereign now fetches Rs.19 or Rs.20 and is not obtainable at the treasuries; and every imaginable pretext is being used for attacks on the Government and their offices and on the reformed constitution. The Publicity office has been doing useful counter propaganda work and its activities will be increased as far as possible, and advantage will be taken of the recent relaxation of the rule which hitherto prevented Government servants from taking part openly in checking disloyal movements. Still better results are hoped for from an organization of the party which supports the Ministers in the Legislative Council.

In Malabar the district authorities have been making energetic searches in all the Khilafat offices in the district for an Arabic-Malayalam pamphlet which has recently been proscribed by Government. In some cases they met with resistance and several arrests were made. In the course of the search the accounts of the chief Khilafat centres were examined and showed that the agitation has very little money behind it.

Some attempts were made to boycott His Excellency the Governor's recent tour in Salem. The municipality resolved not to present him with an address of welcome on the pretext that Local Self-Government being now in the charge of a Minister municipal affairs were no longer the concern of the Governor, and the local non-co-operators made some attempts at active demonstrations. A somewhat exaggerated account appeared in a few papers of the black flags which heralded his arrival. As a matter of fact the flags

were few and far

towards the end of the

co-operation meeting and the audience in a body promptly forsook the orators and cheered His Excellency.

In Vaniyambadi strenuous efforts are still being made to boycott the Islamiah college and the Muhammadan Girls' school and intimidation and ostracism have been resorted to in the attempt to enforce the resignation of titles and the refusal of educational grants from Government.

LABOUR.--Strikes have occurred during the fortnight in the clerical staff of two cotton mills at Coimbatore as a result of the punishment or dismissal of certain clerks.

In Madras there are again signs of trouble at the Buckingham Mills, though this time the dissension is rather between two sections of the workers than between the workers and the management.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--~~the~~ S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Camp Ootacamund, the 3rd May 1921. No. 36/0-1.

POLITICAL.--The excitement of the first half of April occasioned by the visit of Gandhi and the Ali brothers has worn off, but has left behind it an aftermath of intensified activity on the part of the non-co-operators. The money collected during the visit is being spent in paying agitators to tour the country and emphasise Gandhi's demand for men, money and 'munitions'. From Guntur district it is reported that school boys are being offered Rs.30 a month to go out to the villages during the vacation and preach non-co-operation. the national schools being used to 'coach' them in the necessary speeches.

The movement for the non-payment of municipal taxes is growing. In Bezvada the delay in the election of the new Council has been taken advantage of and strenuous efforts are being made to discredit and obstruct the existing administration.

On the other hand the movement to oppose non-co-operation has made some progress. The Local Government have issued an order in connexion with the recent revision of the Government Servants' con-

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duct Rules pointing out that it is the duty of all Government officials to oppose non-co-operation and to co-operate with non-officials in combating the movement.

The 'Reforms' conference at Calicut which was held at the same time as the 'Congress' conference at Ottapalam was presided over by Mrs. Besant and seems to have been well attended and quite a success. One of the Ministers has held anti-non-co-operation meetings in the North Arcot and Coimbatore districts and though he met with a certain amount of opposition in the former district from the Brahman party to which he is opposed, he seems to have been well received in the latter. The Collector of Coimbatore spoke at one of his meetings and was heartily cheered.

The hartals on 13th April in commemoration of 'Jallianwalla Bagh' though pretty universally observed were nowhere a great success. Their resort to violence in this case has discredited the non-co-operation movement in the locality.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from M.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Camp Ootacamund, the 20th May 1921. No. 173/0-1.

POLITICAL---The fortnight has been uneventful though reports from most districts show that non-co-operation propaganda continues. The movement has made least progress in the southern (Tamil) districts and it is reported that local non-co-operators are endeavouring to induce Mr. Gandhi to visit that area.

In Malabar it is reported that the Khilafat movement has taken on a definitely religious aspect somewhat to the detriment of the Gandhi propaganda. Ramzan is pursuing a normal course and the District Magistrate faces with equanimity a visit from Gandhi.

In Nellore and several of the Circular districts the anti-drink campaign has assumed a decidedly violent aspect. Alleged drunkards have been taken in procession on donkeys or decorated with shoes. There is no doubt that the movement which in many places is supported by genuine anti-drink enthusiasts is being taken advantage of by the non-co-operators for their own ends. The district authorities are taking action where possible to

prosecute cases of intimidation.

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The movement for the non-payment of taxes has so far not made much progress though in Godavari it is being openly advocated and the District Magistrate has had to take action under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, against five of the ring-leaders among its supporters. The scheme to boycott the municipality of Chirala in Guntur by abandoning the town altogether has not yet been abandoned. About one-third of the inhabitants have left but there is now a demand for money from the non-co-operation funds which is not forthcoming and local enthusiasm seems to be cooling down.

In Madura there has been a dispute about the management of an important temple which has resolved itself into a Brahman versus non-Brahman controversy. The non-Brahmans headed by a violent anti-Brahman by name Ramanathan endeavoured to obstruct the receiver appointed by the local Sub-Judge from entering the temple by passive resistance and some violence was shown towards the Brahmins. No breach of the peace however occurred. Ramanathan was discontented with the pay he received for his services and excitement has now died down.

LABOUR.--There are new developments in Madras. B.P.Wadia has written a letter to the Labour Union advising them to keep clear of politicians and the Gandhi propaganda and this has created some resentment among the labour leaders who have been endeavouring to reconstitute the Central Labour Board under the control of non-co-operators.

PRESS.--The Telugu press continues as a whole to advocate non-co-operation. The Government order recently issued by the Madras Government on the subject of the revision of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules in relation to non-co-operation has called forth the usual remarks about repression and provocation.

P.T.O.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Camp Ootacamund, the 2nd June 1921. No. 273/O.-1.

POLITICAL---The fortnight has been uneventful. Non-co-operation activity continues and especially in the Northern Circars there is undoubtedly a general atmosphere of opposition to constituted authority. Gandhi's visit to the Presidency has been postponed till about the middle of June. In Guntur district it is reported that Government servants have been boycotted in some places. (The accused have decided) In Godavari the security case referred to in the last report is proceeding.

The escape of convicts from the Trichinopoly jail has already been reported by telegram to the Government of India. Nearly half of those who escaped have been recaptured and inquiries so far made as to the cause of the outbreak show that there are some grounds for believing it to be political and based upon the belief that the British rule was on the point of yielding to Gandhi's SWARAJ.

LABOUR---Several minor strikes have occurred during the fortnight in Madras.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--the H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Camp Ootacamund, the 18th June 1921. No. 400/O.-1.

The political lull mentioned in the last fortnightly report continues.

In Guntur district, the situation in the municipalities of Chirala and Repalle in the Guntur district is still unsatisfactory and in the upland taluk of Palnad in that district there has been a strong agitation against the forest regulations. This last matter is under inquiry.

In Trichinopoly district a movement for the uplift of the depressed classes has resulted in the boycott of the Paraiyas by the caste people.

The strike at the Carnatic Mills continues and the strikers

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have shown an ugly temper on more than one occasion, but the police have kept the situation in hand, and in spite of every effort and provocative speeches to induce the Buckingham Mills' workers to join the strike they have not yet done so.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Camp Ootacamund, the 2nd July 1921. No.845/O-1.

A report from Chingleput shows that attempts are being made in public speeches to stir up the subordinate police against their superior officers, but hitherto with no tangible result.

The movement in Trichinopoly district for the uplift of the Paraiyas, which was alluded to in last fortnight's report, seems to be assuming a more serious aspect. The movement is spreading and the boycott of the Paraiyas by the caste people continues. The possibility of disturbances is not unlikely and indeed a telegraphic report was received three days ago that 'serious rioting' had taken place in the district, but as nothing further has been reported it is probable that the message is an exaggeration.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--the H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Stonehouse Hill, the 19th July 1921. No.953/O-1,
Public.

The chief topic of interest is of course the disturbances in Madras connected with the strikes at the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. The political leaders of the movement were summoned before the full Cabinet on July 5th and warned that they would be held responsible if there was any recrudescence of the disorder and a notification was issued by the Commissioner of Police under the authority of Government to the effect that severe measures would be taken against any persons guilty of fomenting disturbances or of other illegal and provocative acts and holding out the threat of the quartering of additional police in the disturbed area to be paid for by the inhabitants.

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Please read after " they have not yet
done so", under report dated the 18th June 1921,
on page 15 of the extracts.

There are signs that the vernacular Press are beginning to realize the failure of the non-co-operation movement as at present constituted. The apology of the Ali brothers and the Government of India communique thereon have not created so much comment as might have been expected.

The Government propose to appoint a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir William Ayling to enquire into the causes of the disturbances.

There can be little doubt that the disturbances were the result of political agitation. Efforts to bring about a general strike in Madras were made at the most critical period during the disturbances, and an attempt at incendiarism in the premises of the Burma Oil Company was detected just in time on the night of July 2nd.

It now appears that the Paraiyas of a village called Vadakkalur had taken up a defiant attitude towards the caste people as the result of the advice given to them as regards social uplift. On the night of 25th June 1921 one of their cattle sheds was set fire to and the Paraiyas decided that this was the work of the caste people and entering the village set fire to house after house and also indulged in looting. No lives were lost and no serious injuries were caused; but 24 thatched huts - two tiled houses, 40 hayricks and two temple processional cars were burnt in the village and nearly all the Paraiyas' huts (about 130) were also burnt. Elsewhere in the districts political activity has been confined to the collection of money for the SWARAJ funds. But in many districts the results have been poor and the only district in which the non-co-operators appear to have been at all successful, is Guntur - where the total collected is reported to have been Rs.90,000.

In Madras there was a collision between a non-co-operation and an anti-non-co-operation meeting - the latter organised by the local non-Brahmans fire brand J.N. Ramanathan - but no breach of the peace occurred. In several districts there are increasing signs of opposition to the non-co-operation movement and with the reopening of the schools there appears to be in certain cases a desire to return to the Government institutions which were previously boycotted. On the other hand, a national school has, with some difficulty been started at the important Brahmins' centre of Kallidaikurichi in the Tinnevely district in the premises hitherto occupied by a successful secondary school. The leader of the movement is reported to be sending his own son to the Government

Please read before "The Committee of Enquiry . . .
under report dated the 4th August, 1921, on page 17.

A good many sporadic cases of hooliganism have been and are still being reported from the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. These are chiefly assaults upon Adi-Dravidas, but the castemen have not been having it all their own way and there is no doubt that there have been cases of assault by Adi-Dravidas, though these have not been reported to the Police.

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in a neighbouring village, but this report has not yet been verified.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
Public Department.
TO--H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 4th August 1921.
No.3313-1, Public.

The Committee of Enquiry alluded to in my last report has been constituted and will commence work as soon as the present sitting of the Legislative Council is over.

There appears to be a split of some kind among the Madras Congress leaders, but the difference is chiefly of a personal nature due to jealousy on the part of the more senior members of the party of the favour shown by Gandhi to some of the more junior men, particularly C. Rajagopala Achariyar, the local Secretary; and no far-reaching effects are expected at present.

In the mufassal the fortnight has not been particularly eventful, but the situation in Guntur is threatening and strong measures will be required to counteract the present prevalent contempt for authority and open defiance of Government. The local authorities have already taken action under the security sections against two men who styled themselves Collector and Tahsildar and they have been committed to jail as they refused to furnish security.

On July 16th it was reported that a few cases of cholera had occurred in the warden lines in the Coimbatore Jail and that in consequence Yakub Hasan, who had been removed there from Cannanore for reasons of health in May last, had written to the Superintendent saying that if he was released he would undertake not to return to Malabar before August 15th, the date on which the security order against him would cease to have effects. Orders were immediately issued releasing him from jail and though he endeavoured subsequently to explain away his undertaking, there can be no doubt that his fear of cholera led him into a bad error of tactics from his own point of view and his reputation as a 'martyr-patriot' has suffered considerably.

With the sale of toddy shops which are now taking place, there has been a natural recrudescence of the temperance movement. The prices realised at the sales in several districts have fallen considerably, but still most of the shops have been sold.

In Malabar an important meeting was organised by loyal Mappillas at Pennani to discuss the religious side of the Khilafat movement. It was attended by many Moulvies and every opportunity was given to the opposite party to produce their arguments. Great enthusiasm was displayed and the meeting was apparently a big success for its organisers. In Godavari too a 'co-operators' association' has been formed ~~xxxxxxx~~ and has held several *successful* meetings which were attended by the Collector.

The action of the Government in the matter of the Madras disturbances has come in for a good deal of criticism in the vernacular press as a whole.

Gandhi's crore of rupees has also created considerable enthusiasm and a section of the Malayalam press approves the objects to which it will be applied and even suggests that the Government would do well to supplement the efforts made in these directions.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
Public Department.

TO--the H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Fort St. George, the 20th August 1921. No.3730-1,Public

There has been a comparative failure in the sales of toddy shops throughout the Presidency. In a good many districts, it is true, the shops have been sold though at the cost of a very considerable decrease in revenue; but in other districts there have been practically no bids for the shops and sales have been impossible. The non-co-operators of course claim this as a success for their movement, and there can be no doubt that the preaching of non-co-operation and in some cases the picketing of liquor shops have contributed largely to the result. At the same time there are other factors at work, partly a genuine temperance movement and partly economic uncertainty as to the future, and it is extremely difficult to estimate the precise value of each of these factors.

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Please read after "In Godavari the District Conference passed a resolution in favour of civil disobedience" under report of the 3rd September 1921, c

a similar resolution was moved in Guntur and it was vetoed it is to be reconsidered. In Kistna, reported from Pentapad in which the police were obliged to open fire killing one man and wounding two others;

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Compared with the liquor boycott of foreign cloth is at present of very small importance. Spasmodic efforts were made in a good many places on Tilak day to burn foreign cloth, but nowhere has the movement excited any great popular enthusiasm.

In Guntur the arrest of the two men referred to in my last report produced a menacing situation for several days. Hartals were proclaimed, school boys were forcibly prevented from attending school and threatening crowds paraded the streets. Extra police were brought in and four of the most important leaders were arrested under the security sections. This action had an immediately steadying effect. The spirit of lawlessness is however undoubtedly growing in this and other East Coast districts and this Government are extremely anxious that a suggestion made some time ago to move British troops through the districts as a military display should be carried out if possible. It is a question of money and the Government of India are being separately addressed in the matter.

In Madras the strike at the mills is still being kept alive and a considerable number of cases of assault have been reported both on Adi-Dravidas, Hindus and Muhammadans.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.
TP--H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 3rd September 1921.
No.--4057-1, Public.

Occurrences in other parts of the Presidency show that such a warning is needed. The political situation in Godavari, Kistna and Guntur is disquieting and respect for constituted authority has undoubtedly been impaired. Now that the Government of India have sanctioned funds for the purpose, it is hoped that arrangements will be made as soon as possible to take moveable columns through these districts. In Godavari the District Conference passed a resolution in favour of civil disobedience; one constable was seriously injured. The cause of this riot was that owing to floods in the Kistna district the Public Works Department authorities cut the bund of a tank flooding certain fields in one village in order to save another village from total destruction. The inhabitants of the first vil-

lage attacked the police in a body shouting 'non-co-operation ki jai'

From Karur in the Trichinopoly district another riot is reported in which the police were compelled to fire and here again they killed one man and wounded two others. In this case the refusal of a travelling theatre party to give a benefit performance for Khali-fat funds was the signal for a mob attack which resulted in the theatre party and a number of police being confined in the theatre hall for the whole night. A small detachment of the 86th Carnatic Infantry arrived from Trichinopoly the next day and order was restored, without further resort to force.

Finally in Madras itself the labour disputes which have been dragging on for the last few months have led to a definite outbreak of caste warfare between the Hindus and Muslims on the one side and the Adi Dravidas on the other. Ever since the serious disturbances in Madras at the beginning of July there have been isolated cases of attacks by members of one party on those of another and during the last week these have assumed such serious dimensions as to necessitate active intervention by armed forces of police and the presence of troops. On August 29th these disturbances culminated in a riot in which the police were compelled to open fire and five men and one woman were killed. Their bodies were taken in procession through the city the next day with the obvious intentions of exciting popular feeling and the situation has become so serious that it has been found necessary to divert to Madras two companies of the Suffolks who were on their way to relieve the Leinsters at Wellington.

In view of this serious aspect of affairs in the Presidency this Government are of opinion that a very material increase in the number of troops allotted to the Madras district is immediately necessary and will probably be required for some time to come.

From other districts come reports of the molestation of persons frequenting liquor shops, boycotts of the sales of toddy shops and of distrained property and, both in Salem, and Guntur, of organised resistance to the Forest grazing regulations. In fact the only item in the Congress programme which has not so far met with any success is the boycott of the sale of foreign ~~clothes~~. Cloth.

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If the situation is not to deteriorate rapidly, strong measures will be required and the Government are issuing instructions to all district officers to make as much use as possible of the more speedy procedure provided by section 103, Criminal Procedure Code, to check the makers of seditious or semi-seditious speeches.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.
TO--~~xxx~~ H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 20th September 1921.
NO.--4525-1, Public.

Liquor shops have been conducted in many districts ~~xxix~~ most with a fair measure of success though the average of the rentals is much below that of other years. There has however been less picketing of liquor shops and prosecutions of offenders in most of the districts where picketing has occurred, have had a good effect. But in Chittoor some cases of assault by picketers have occurred and two toddy shops have been burnt. The boycott of foreign cloth continues to be a complete failure and it is interesting to note that amongst the large crowds who attended the meetings addressed by Mr. Gandhi in Madras only very few people were 'Khaddi'.

In Madras itself the situation continues much the same. It is also believed that at his meeting with the cloth merchants of Madras, Mr. Gandhi was even more severely heckled than appeared from the papers. Assaults and incendiarism have continued in spite of many non-official attempts at mediation and matters culminated on the 17th in the wounding of a Police sergeant by a bomb.

Although Mr. Gandhi in his speeches usually lays stress on the need for non-violence, once he has left the Presidency, the letter of his advice will probably be forgotten, while his presence in the Presidency will undoubtedly stimulate the non-co-operation movement in places where it has shown signs of dying out.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.
TO--the Hon. H.D. CRAIK, Esq., I.C.S., Officiating Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 6th October 1921.
No---4915-1, Public.

Gandhi has spent the last fortnight in this Presidency. Arriving in Madras on September 15th - the day after the arrest of Muhammad Ali at Waltair - he spent two days in the city and then proceeded on a tour in the southern districts, visiting Cuddalore, Kumbakonam, Trichinopoly, Dindigul, Madura, the Chettinad and finally leaving the Presidency on September 30th. He did not attempt to visit Malabar. He made speeches at most of the places he visited and he generally attracted large crowds. But the crowds were sight-seers rather than sympathisers or adherents of his cause, and taking it as a whole his visit was a political failure.

At Madura which is the second largest town in the Presidency, he was presented with a purse of Rs.200 which was so disgusted him that he refused to make a speech. In Tinnevely, the huge bonfire of foreign cloth described in the papers consisted of a heap of old and discarded rags and his exhortation to Hindus to the effect that Pariahs should be freely received in the best society did not enhance his popularity. Throughout his tour KHADDAR was conspicuous by its absence and those who did wear it had for the most part obviously donned it for the occasion. ~~xxxxxx~~ In Madras the strikers were very much disappointed with his advice to take to the charka and avoid violence against the Adi-Dravidas. They had been led to believe that he would espouse their cause against the Mill authorities and the day after his speech, they resorted to violence and threw bombs.

The arrests of the Ali Brothers have produced practically no excitement. There have been the usual meetings to express sympathy and congratulations, but even in the ~~Muh~~Muhammadian centres of the North Arcot district, where some trouble was anticipated, matters did not go beyond this.

Elsewhere in the Presidency a more vigorous campaign under the security sections and section 144, Criminal Procedure Code,

valley and then returning via Coimbatore, Salem,
Chennai and Arantapur and

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against the leaders and touring agitators has produced good results. Prosecutions for intimidation in connection with the movement for picketing liquor shops and boycotting the sale of drink have also had the desired effect. Re-sales of toddy shops have in many districts proved successful and where necessary the shops are being disposed of by tender. / In Godavari a Muhammadan Inspector of Police most effectively countered the efforts of the temperance speakers by ascertaining that some of them had bills for English liquor with Messrs. Spencer & Co. who run the Railway refreshment rooms, and heckling them vigorously on the subject at their meetings.

On the whole the 'Temperance' movement is apparently on the decline, though it remains to be seen whether Mr. 'Pussifoot' Johnston's visit to the Presidency will revive interest in the matter.

✓ On the other hand the movement to disobey the forest regulations is spreading and has made its appearance in several new districts, e.g., Trichinopoly, Nellore and Cuddapah. /

During the fortnight the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Muhammad Habib-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur, the Revenue Member of the Executive Council, and also the three Ministers toured in the East Coast districts. There were some feeble attempts to boycott the Honourable Member, but on the whole their tours were successful and have done good. Well attended anti-non-co-operation meetings were held in Cacanada, where all the three Ministers were present and also in the Guntur district. A salutary effect has also been caused by the visit of a company of British troops to Bezwada. They reached Bezwada on the 14th - the day on which Muhammad Ali was arrested - and stayed there till the 20th. Before returning to Secunderabad they visited the Guntur district and Ellere in the Kistna district. They attracted large crowds, and the non-co-operators took the opportunity to impute to Government a desire to incite the people to violence and followed this up with advice to the people not to go near the troops lest they be beaten.

✓ It is noticeable that even the HINDU had a long article disapproving of Gandhi's policy of boycotting foreign cloth.

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from the Hon'ble N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq.,
C.I.E., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the
Government of Madras, Public Department.
TO--S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., I.C.S., C.I.E., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
DATED--Fort St. George, the 19th October 1921.
No.--5305-1, Public.

There has been a decided lull in political activity since Gandhi left the Presidency at the beginning of the month and there is a general consensus of opinion, in the reports received from the districts, that the effects of the arrests of the Ali Brothers and of Gandhi's visit are almost negligible. The number of meetings and seditious speeches has fallen considerably.

Anti-non-co-operation societies have been started in Kistna and the Co-operation Board in Godavari have met with a considerable success and have appointed a paid lecturer to combat the non-co-operation movement.

(The temperance movement has not gained ground. Criminal cases have been launched in several districts against picketers guilty of intimidation and have generally produced a good effect.)

Disobedience to Forest Regulations continues in several districts and in Guntur a party of Police came into conflict with a crowd who endeavoured to rescue a number of cattle which had been seized for illegal grazing. The Police had to open fire but no damage was done and the crowd dispersed.

In Salem, Congress membership tickets at 4 annas each have been sold to villagers who were told that the ticket entitled them to free-grazing for their cattle in reserved forests. This they seem to have genuinely believed and were considerably chagrined when they discovered their error.

Affairs in Madras do not show any great signs of improvement. A motion for the adjournment of the house to discuss the disturbed state of the city was admitted on the opening day of the last sessions of the Legislative Council (October 12th) and was eventually talked out. The day was remarkable for the almost entire absence of any real concrete suggestion for improving matters.

Assaults, looting and arson continue in the disturbed area of the city. Bombs have also been thrown. There was a serious clash between Hindus and Adi-Dravidas on the 5th,

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which necessitated the opening of fire by the Police. The Adidrazvidas were responsible for gratuitously insulting a Muhammadan funeral procession on October 1st and attacking a Hindu procession on October 3rd, and the feelings of the different communities have been further embittered as a consequence.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government
of Madras, Public Department.

TO--S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.

DATED--Fort St. George, the 1st November 1921.
No.--5781-1, Public.

The arrest of Yakub Hasan in Tanjore seems to have caused little excitement and aroused little comment in the Vernacular Press. In Trichinopoly, some thousands of leaflets have been printed urging the boycott of His Excellency the Governor on his visit there.

Considerable use is being made of sections 103 and 144, Criminal Procedure Code, to control the more dangerous agitators and meetings and these steps appear to meet the situation adequately.

The Khilafat movement continues to be the chief force behind the temperance agitation.

Attempts to boycott 'foreign' cloth are being made in Kistna, apparently with some success, and in Madras without result.

In Anantapur the conviction of the chief advocates of disobedience to forest rules has ended their activities for the present. Illegal rescue of cattle on a large scale is reported from Guntur. Agitation against the payment of tolls and municipal taxes is being carried on in Anantapur and Kistna.

Anti-drink activities continue, but are not of a serious nature. The measures employed by the temperance non-co-operators are refusing to let trees for tapping or damaging the trees, breaking pots and picketing shops. Picketing, however, has almost ceased except in Kurnool and Salem. The reports show that all these methods can be successfully dealt with by prompt measures on the part of the local authorities.

Following on the resignation of 8 Government clerks in Bezvada,

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5 acting clerks have left their posts; their places were filled without difficulty. Four clerks resigned at Sivaganga. At Kistna a large meeting of the village officers expressed their sympathy with non-co-operation. A few village magistrates are reported to have resigned.

The Salem District Board passed a resolution that all the municipal students and servants should wear khadder. The District Magistrate has rescinded the resolution as ULTRA VIRES. The District Board, Waltair, has resolved not to lease out trees for tapping.

There has been considerable military activity in various parts of the Martial Law area in Malabar.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras
TO--the S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department.
DATED-- No.--6185-1, dated 19th November 1921.

GENERAL---Except a few definite areas the situation remains quiet. The main theatres of political activity are now Ganjam, Anantapur, North Arcot, Madura (Dindigul) and Vizagapatam, while Guntur appears to be a centre of propaganda for the neighbouring districts. In Cuddapah, though open activity has ceased for the moment, public feeling remains in a state of tension.

The temperance question is receding into the background and interest is becoming focussed on the trials of the various local agitators under the Criminal Codes; and strong efforts are being made to represent those arrested as popular heroes. At Cuddapah, the trial of two Aligarh students caused so much excitement among the Muhammadans that even the Muhammadan constables were affected; but this had the result of alarming the Hindus who refused altogether to share in the demonstrations; and as soon as the students had been sent away to jail, the town became quiet again. There was also some excitement over the trial of Yaqub Hasan in Tanjore; but it quickly subsided. Another feature of the situation is the spread of non-co-operation among members of the local boards.

Agitation for civil disobedience is now rising into prominence and is being advocated apparently in hope and expectation that the

authorities will use 'repressive measures' and thus provoke. On the other hand signs are not wanting that there is a considerable body of opposition to these methods that only requires organization and leadership. In Bellary, for example, the tour of the Hon'ble Mr. A.P. Patro is reported to have had excellent effects, resulting in the formation of a Reform League, which has now a hundred members and in a split in the local Khilafat Committee, the secretary of which resigned.

(Nearly all the toddy-shops are ~~xxxx~~ now sold and ordinary business is being resumed. Disturbances at some shops are reported from Anantapur; and ten shops were burnt in South Kanara, but this is attributed to the jealousy of last year's renters. Temperance agitation has subsided; and except in two districts picketing has almost ceased; even the difficulty of obtaining trees for tapping is confined to a few areas. The situation may therefore be expected to improve until agitation revives with the discussion of the local option Bill proposed to be introduced in the local Legislative Council.)

The steps taken to deal with forest offences have been so far successful and the situation calls for no special comment.

Action under the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code is now being freely taken wherever the situation requires it and in spite of temporary outbreaks of excitement and the use of hartal, the prosecutions have on the whole had most satisfactory results.

In Kistna some village officers who criticised Government have been placed under suspension. There are signs of unrest among the village officers in a few districts, and at Vizagapatam a strike among the Government clerks is rumoured; but nothing definite has yet occurred.

Madura

The situation in the Mill area is now satisfactory. Relations between the Caste Hindus and Adi-Dravidas are reported to be much improved.

The extremist press is devoting its attention mainly to the proceedings taken against agitators under the security sections and to the situation in Malabar. Some Telugu papers suggest that the

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Government is deliberately being dilatory in Malabar in order to impress Hindu opinion with the dangers of Muhammadan fanaticism; while some extremist papers published in Cochin State continue to dwell on alleged Police atrocities in dealing with the rebels.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
No.--6605-1, dated the 6th December 1921.

The districts in which agitation has been most noticeable are Kistna, Anantapur, Godavari, Kurnool, Nellore and Tinnevely, while Guntur continues to be a centre of propaganda. Tinnevely has hitherto been comparatively free from trouble.

A novel development is reported from Nellore, where women are taking an active and public part in political agitation.)

The landing of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was the signal for an almost universal attempt to observe 'hartal' which met with varying success. Observance was widespread; but there is no doubt that this was as much due to threats of social ostracism and violence as to actual sympathy with its purpose. It was noticed in Anantapur that bands of street Arabs paraded the bazaars 'persuading' shop-keepers and customers to observe the hartal.

Considerable efforts are being made, especially in the delta districts, to prepare the way for civil disobedience by lectures, discussions and tours among the villages. It would appear that hitherto the response has not been encouraging though non-payment of taxes is always a popular cry. It is not yet known what effect Gandhi's recantation will have upon the movement.

Temperance agitation has broken out again more violently in two or three places and picketing has revived. In Coimbatore it is reported that only half the shops are working.

Abdul Majid Sharar, Editor of the QAU MI REPORT, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment under section 124-A by the District Magistrate, Tanjore, and a large number of proceedings

under the security sections have been instituted with satisfactory results.

The measures taken to deal with forest offences appear to have effectively checked this movement, although attempts to dissuade the villagers from paying forest dues continue.

There is further evidence that local boards/^{are}being widely affected by the non-co-operation spirit. The Municipal Council at Rajahmundry went so far as to pass a resolution extolling the Ali Brothers, and ordering its schools to be closed on 17th November when the Prince of Wales landed.

There is a good deal of unrest and ~~and~~ discontent among village officers; but in many cases the reasons alleged are dissatisfaction with their pay and general conditions. These persons are, however, undoubtedly being influenced by political agitators and are probably ready to throw in their lot with them if they have any success.

The visit of the Prince of Wales is exciting a good deal of comment in the press and extremist papers advocate boycott and a hartal when he visits Madras. The Tamil nationalist papers profess to see in the acquittal of Sri Sankaracharya at Karachi an attempt to cause a breach between the Hindus and Muhammadans. Some Kanarese papers are strongly advocating civil disobedience, and urge that it should be arranged to start everywhere at the same moment, so that it may not be suppressed piece-meal. The Malayalam press calls attention to the time taken to suppress the Mappilla rebellion and draws the moral that if a united effort were to be made to enforce non-co-operation, the Government would be powerless to meet it.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
NO.--7222-1, dated the 10th December 1921.

There has been no special development in the internal situation. The Government have issued a notification applying Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act XIV of 1908 to the

Presidency, rather as a precautionary measure and in view of the results of allowing the Khilafat volunteers too much licence in Malabar, than for the purpose of dealing with any specific volunteer organization immediately. This and the reports of arrests and prosecutions in other parts of India have caused some excitement both in non-co-operation circles and among many of the politicians who call themselves moderate. The Legislative Council, however, supports the action of the Government and refused to follow the lead of a member who asked for permission to move the adjournment of the Council to discuss the matter. As a protest against the actions of the local Governments elsewhere and the attitude of the Legislative Council in Madras, Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, C.I.E., M.L.C., who was formerly Advocate-General, but has latterly identified himself with the more extreme wing of the moderates, has, according to newspaper reports, resigned both his decoration and his seat on the Council; and there have been some public meetings.

The hands of the Government having been strengthened by the notification applying the Act, it is hoped that there will be no occasion to use it for the present. There have been various calls on young men to enrol as volunteers but no recent instance of attempts to use them as organized bodies and no evidence that there has been drilling. Individuals calling themselves volunteers are among those who have got into trouble for picketing and making violent speeches but it has been found sufficient so far to deal with them as individuals.

Agitation is most noticeable now in the Anantapur, North Arcot, Guntur, Kistna and Nellore districts and parts of Cuddapah. In all these districts except Guntur there have been proceedings against agitators either under the sedition sections of the Penal Code or under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and free use has been made of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, to prohibit speeches likely to be objectionable. Guntur remains a ^{from} centre/which emissaries are sent out to rouse up trouble elsewhere. In the Rayachoti taluk of Cuddapah a serious assault was committed on a Forest Range officer

who had attempted to detain some cart loads of produce which had been illicitly removed from a forest. In this and other troubles in the same area several village heads were implicated and the disturbances were due almost as much to the natural turbulence of these people and their opposition to the forest laws as to political causes. Six village heads have recently been convicted and several persons have now been arrested in connexion with the assault mentioned above. The column of troops from Secunderabad which is marching through parts of the Godavari, Kistna and Guntur districts, was well received at Cocanada. Reports have not been received of the further progress of the troops.

At Vellore it was publicly announced that C. Rajagopala Achari, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and a few others intended to make a beginning of civil disobedience by disobeying an order of this kind. The order prohibiting them from speaking was passed on the 4th when they were intending to address a meeting, and was obeyed in the first instance; but after some postponement the disobedience took place on the 14th. Proceedings under section 188 of the Indian Penal Code were instituted immediately, but the case was adjourned and the accused released on bail till the 19th.

Resolutions in favour of non-payment of taxes have been passed by meetings of non-co-operators at Guntur and elsewhere-- one of them being that at which C. Rajagopala Achari performed his act of civil disobedience. The general opinion expressed is that the country is not ready for it and there is for the present no reason to suppose that there will be any widespread movement of this kind. The discontented village officers in the Kistna district are being firmly dealt with by the Collector.

In Madras it is reported that two Khilafat workers from Bombay - Nasiruddin and Fazli Muhammad - have come to take the places of Yakub Hasan and Abdul Majid Sharar and secret meetings of the Khilafat Committee are said to be taking place.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1922.).

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DEMI-OFFICIAL--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
No.--24-1, dated the 6th January 1922.

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A series of acts of disobedience was organised at Erode in
(short terms of imprisonment under section 103,) the Coimbatore
district and over 100 persons were there sentenced to short terms
of imprisonment under section 133, Indian Penal Code. Elsewhere
about a dozen persons have been sentenced under this section.
Generally speaking the small measures of repression exercised has
had good effects for the time being, though there have been spo-
radic outbursts of violent talk in Kurnool and in all out-of-
the-way part of the Madura district - in each case the result
of oratory imported from elsewhere. In Tinnevely the political
agitators seem less likely to cause trouble than the Madura Nadar
(and is conducting a violent campaign) Sangam which professes to
be a society for the social reform of the Nadars and is conducting
a violent campaign against liquor shops. In this district a
Dr. Sankarayya is said to have offered a reward of Rs.1,000 to
first
the/person sent to prison for disobedience to an order, but the
offer has not yet been taken up. In different districts about
a dozen persons have been sent to prison on refusal to furnish
security; but it is noteworthy that V.O. Chidambaram Pillai the
ex-convict furnished security rather than go to jail.

There has been much talk of the enrolment of volunteers and
apparently a good deal of canvassing. It is claimed that some
hundreds have signed the pledge in Madras, Guntur, Kistna, Coim-
batore, Ranapad, Trichinopoly and Nellore and some demonstrations
have been reported; but the pledge binds them to the avoidance of
violence for the present and none of these organisations have
given ground for action. Although in Madras the promotion of
a hartal on the 13th January is one of the professed objects of
the volunteers it has been deemed desirable to leave the frustra-
tion of their efforts to an opposition body organised by a mem-

ber of the Legislative Council under the name of the Prince of Wales' volunteers for the purpose of ensuring a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness. In a few districts, including Salem and Trichinopoly, Tanjore attempts to raise volunteers were practically a failure.

Reports of further resignations among village officers continue to be received but not in large numbers. In Anantapur a branch postmaster delivered a lecture advocating boycott of Government servants and civil disobedience; in the same district 2 clerks and a village munsif resigned and another munsif was suspended for picketing. Altogether 22 resignations of village officers are reported, chiefly from Kistna and there are rumours of a threatened strike in Godavari. On the other hand 8 village officers in the Kistna district who resigned earlier are now asking to be taken back. The methods of procuring these resignations throw some light on the situation; meetings are held, and after the feelings of the audience have been worked upon, a list is passed round for the village officers to sign, which is subsequently sent to the newspaper KISTNAPATRIKA for publication. Renewed attempts are being made to persuade vakils to suspend practice, so far without result.

There was a slight revival of temperance agitation in one or two areas. Fifty-eight toddy shops have been closed in Coimbatore; and picketing is starting again in Guntur, Salem and Anantapur, while 4 more shops were burnt in Tanjore. Disobedience to forest regulations has been effectively checked for the moment.

(In Madras, as stated above, attempts are being made to work up public feeling for a boycott of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and hold counter demonstrations on the occasion of his visit. The most serious feature of the situation is the very determined effort being made to undermine the discipline of the City Police. The men's union has ostensibly no members who do not belong to the force, ~~xxxxxxx~~ but from its recent actions there is every reason for suspicion that outside influences are at work.)

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department.
NO.--385-1, dated 20th January 1922.

At the end of the fortnight His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was in Madras and his reception by the populace generally gave a clear indication that the preaching of non-co-operation has not affected the masses to any extent. Unfortunately there was an outbreak of hooliganism on the day of his arrival.

Tram cars and private vehicles were stoned and their occupants abused and in some cases ~~ill-treated~~ ^{ill-treated}; loyalist volunteers and others were attacked; the house of the President of the Corporation was surrounded by a violent mob and some damage was done; and a determined onslaught was made on two cinema theatres in the Mount Road. Owing to the extensive area of the city the length of route to be lined and the widely scattered places at which trouble broke out, the protection afforded by the police and military pickets was for a time inadequate, but quiet was restored by 3 p.m., after two of the rioters had been killed and two wounded by gunfire.

As a result of this rowdyism a complete HARTAL was obtained. In the earlier hours of the morning it was only partial, though the non-co-operators had made every effort by persuasion, and in many places according to common report by threats to ensure that all shops and bazaars should be shut. Normal business was restored on the 14th, and there were no further disturbances worth mentioning.

Outside Madras the most noticeable developments have been in the Guntur district. There has been no open violence, but village officers in considerable numbers have tendered their resignations and persons willing to take their places have been intimidated; and there is evidence of a concerted movement in parts of the district to withhold payment of the land revenue, the first instalment of which fell due on the 10th. The Second Member of the Board of Revenue was sent to report on the situation and since his return it has been decided to impose punitive police on one group of 18 villages in which the movement is most advanced.

to strengthen the district staff; and it is hoped that prompt action will prevent the contagion from spreading to the rest of the district and to the neighbouring Kistna and Godavari districts, where also there have been resignations of village officers and some talk of civil disobedience. Legislation is being undertaken to quicken up the processes of collection of revenue and to deprive disloyal village officers of their hereditary rights. Meanwhile four armoured cars and a small body of Indian infantry have been sent to Guntur as a demonstration of force.

In Salem town a situation arose on the 7th and 8th. On the pretext of enforcing temperance large crowds gathered and destroyed three toddy shops and it was not till the District Magistrate had received reinforcements that he was able to deal with them. No personal injuries have been reported; some of the leaders have been arrested and the excitement has died down.

The HINDU and other extremist papers were active in urging the people to boycott the Prince and exultant over the success of the hartal on the 13th, while professing the deepest respect for the Prince himself. They of course deplored the rowdiness of the mob and denied any connexion between this and the HARTAL. There is little doubt, however, that the events of that day have done a good deal to discredit non-co-operation in Madras.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., I.C.S., Acting
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
No.--862-1, dated the 1st February 1922.

Reports have come in from the districts with regard to happenings during His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to Madras. There were HARTALS in a few places on the 13th, in a few others attempts to secure hartals were frustrated by orders under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code; but over the country generally the visit was welcomed and celebrated with feeding of the poor and processions.

In the Guntur district the refusal to pay taxes continues and the latest reports show that less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ lskhs out of a demand of $14\frac{1}{2}$ has been collected. The wholesale defection of the village officers in the tract specially affected renders the work of collection difficult and the special staff sent to carry out the processes for recovery meets with passive obstruction everywhere, bands of volunteers being at hand in every village to see that they are given no help or information,-- though there is no active resistance to the service of demands or the distraint or attachment of property. It is expected that, as the staff gains familiarity with the amounts of each village and the position of the houses and lands of individual ryots its progress will be more rapid and that the sight of their property actually being sold will break down the resistance of the ryots, while the legislation, which it is proposed to bring before the Council at the next session in February will enable sale to follow attachment with a much shorter interval than now has to elapse. About 100 extra police have been drafted into the area and orders have been given to recruit 200 more.

(In the middle of the month, however, there were disturbances in two taluks of the Tanjore district accompanied by the burning of five toddy shops and one arrack shop and some minor looting and at the end of the month the picketing of some toddy shops in Madura led to some rioting of which details have not yet been received.

Meanwhile a meeting of the police union on the 27th decided that if they were not given an increase the rank and file should refuse to accept their pay at the end of the month (they have so far refused their pay for December) and there were threats of a strike on the 4th February.

The presence of some discontent among them is undeniable, and there is some reason to believe that it is spreading to the district police.)

The ANDHRAPATRIKA and some other Telugu newspapers declare the readiness of the ANDHRA country for civil disobedience and

the TAMIL NADU bewails the backwardness of the south in this respect.

Developments in future will depend largely on the successes or failure of the Guntur non-co-operators, whose conflict with the Government is being watched eagerly on all sides. Still more will they depend however on events outside the Presidency.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--from R.A.GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras.
TO--SOP.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department.
NO.--1670-1, dated the 16th February 1922.

(FORTNIGHTLY REPORT)

Political interest still centres in Guntur and the neighbouring districts, where the movement for the non-payment of taxes is engaging the attention of the rest of the Presidency.

Out of a total demand of 58½ lakhs about 10½ had been collected up to the 13th. The decision of the District Committee was that payment should begin but that the district should be prepared for civil disobedience by a strengthening of the volunteer organization. It is quite certain that parts of the district will not willingly accept this decision and that there is no ground for relaxation of any of the special measures taken to reinforce the police and to facilitate the collection of revenue, and particular efforts will be needed to discourage the volunteers. Recruitment of the special police is proceeding, but it would not be safe yet to remove the company of Indian infantry whose presence has been of great service to the district officers and has probably done much to obviate disturbances. At the request of the District Magistrate for a mounted force, a detachment of His Excellency the Governor's Bodyguard has been placed at his disposal.

In Godavari and Kistna the revenue for January has been collected in full, but the volunteer movement in the former district has progressed considerably and the non-co-operators have attempted to extend the ~~xixixix~~ movement for the non-payment of taxes to one taluk. A certain number of the village

officers resigned and the Government have quartered a small force of punitive police in the affected area; the leaders of the campaign have been arrested and the situation is well in hand. Accounts which appeared in the MADRAS MAIL of the situation in Godavari were much exaggerated, and the strong action taken in Guntur will, it is hoped, prevent the further spread of 'civil disobedience' to this district. The arrest of the Chairman of the Municipal Council of Rajahmundry and his followers for disobedience to an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and their subsequent conviction under section 188, Indian Penal Code, led to demonstrations at Rajahmundry and Socanada, but no breach of the peace occurred.

In Kistna 16 village officers resigned during the fortnight, but, on the other hand, the same number have withdrawn resignations previously put in. No great trouble is anticipated in collecting the revenue for February; a movement to withhold the payment of taxes in Bezvada Municipality soon subsided when three of the leaders laid themselves open to proceedings under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code, and were committed to prison for one year in default of finding security; on the whole there appears to be a temporary slump in the non-co-operation movement and the leaders find it difficult to keep up enthusiasm over a movement, which professes to depend for success on the abolition of untouchability. (~~Elsewhere there has been~~)

News just received from Ganjam, however, indicates a growing contempt for authority and hostility towards Government; and it may become necessary to make a display of force in that district, and possibly to impose punitive police there also.

In Cuddapah a similar state of affairs during the concluding months of 1921 led the Government to sanction the imposition of such a force, and the effect has been good, although a local Member of Legislative Council has taken up a definitely hostile attitude and is doing his best to create an atmosphere of antagonism to the 'repressive and uncalled for policy of the Government'. This is unfortunately a common attitude of the so-called 'Moderate politician'.

Efforts to popularise the movement by means of lecturers have

since proved a distinct failure; but the general situation is still far from being normal.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the fortnight has been the comparative success which has attended the arrack sales throughout the Presidency. In almost every district the sales have pursued a normal course, nearly all the shops have been sold and in many cases at a higher rent than in 1919-20. In some places it was necessary to prohibit agitators from attempting to interfere with the sales and those who disobeyed the order were arrested and prosecuted. Attempts to introduce picketing in some places in the south of the Presidency have also been met with strong action. In Trichinopoly it became necessary to arrest a number of the leaders including Doctor Rajan and Swaminatha Sastri, the Secretaries respectively of the Provincial and District Congress Committees. In Madura similar action and the imposition of sentences of one year's rigorous imprisonment under sections 143 and 145 of the Indian Penal Code on the leaders of an unruly mob which was engaged in so-called peaceful picketing of a toddy shop on the 26th January caused considerable excitement for a few days. Large crowds paraded the streets and the European Executive Engineer and his wife who were motoring into the town were held up and had a very uncomfortable experience for a short time until the police saw them safely through the crowd. The excitement gradually subsided and the deterrent sentences seem to have had a good effect.

In Chingleput the Collector held a Darbar for the presentation of honours at the centre of Non-co-operation activity in the district. The Darbar was preceded by a procession, and the ex-Advocate-General S. Srinivasa Ayyangar came down from Madras on the previous day with a number of volunteers and exhorted his followers to obstruct it, by lying down in the road. The ceremony however passed off successfully, perhaps partly because the procession was headed by one of the temple elephants, and the incident has had a good effect in the district as a whole.

Doctor Manilal, an agitator who has been deported from Fiji and Ceylon, has made his appearance in Madras and has paid a visit to several of the districts. His speeches are very anti-European, but he has so far confined himself to his experiences outside India, and he may be difficult to deal with on that account.

In Malabar preparations are being made to withdraw Martial Law as soon as possible. The usual weekly situation reports are enclosed. The problems of re-construction are becoming increasingly difficult, and it is evident that it will be a long time before confidence can be completely restored. The main difficulty is how to deal with the very large number of rebels against whom there is evidence of participation in the rebellion and who can be permitted to return to their homes without providing adequate safeguards for the Hindu population.

The papers generally, including the vernacular press are preserving a very cautious attitude towards Civil disobedience, and it remains to be seen how the latest decision of the Congress working committee to suspend the movement in Bardoli will be received. Other subjects which have aroused interest are Mr. Winston Churchill's speech on the African problem, which has met with universal criticism, and Lord Northcliffe's statement about the position in India.

The local situation has improved slightly in the last fortnight, except in Ganjam, but until the no-tax-movement in Guntur has been definitely broken, it is difficult to feel any assurance for the future and much depends on the action taken against non-co-operators ~~wxxx~~ elsewhere, and especially against Gandhi himself.

DEMI-OFFICIAL--From R.A. GRAMAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 2143-1, dated the 1st March 1922. 189

(FORTNIGHTLY REPORT)

There has been a distinct lull in political activity during the past fortnight. This may to some extent be out of deference to the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress to suspend

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mass civil disobedience, but there can be no doubt that the action of Government especially in the Guntur district, has made people anxious to make a virtue out of necessity and they have accepted the decision with relief and a feeling that after all discretion is the better part of valour. At any rate even an extremist paper like the HINDU went so far as to welcome the decision, and it seems now to be within the bounds of possibility that there will be something like a debacle if measures can be taken to break up the organization of the movement. It remains, however, to be seen how the latest resolution of the All India Congress Committee, will affect the situation, and what action the Government of India will decide to take with regard to the leaders of the movement.

In Guntur the situation has improved considerably.

The District Magistrate with a small force of armed police and a detachment of His Excellency the Governor's Bodyguard has been dealing in person with isolated villages which had organized resistance to the subordinate revenue and forest officials and has had a considerable measure of success.

Three particularly smart pieces of work are reported, the villages being surrounded in the early morning and all the principal offenders who were concerned in cases of unlawful assembly, releasing a prisoner from custody and forcible rescue of impounded cattle, being arrested. This has stimulated the recovery of revenue in the neighbourhood, which is at some distance from the Paddanandipad firkas and was affected rather with a general spirit of lawlessness than with the particular doctrines of the non-co-operators, though preachers of non-co-operation had been active and had no doubt contributed to bring about a state ~~(in charge of the operations in the)~~ of affairs bordering on anarchy.

In Kistna and Godavari the movement for the non-payment of taxes has collapsed and revenue is coming in normally. In one place in the latter district it is reported that the depressed classes combined to make an attack on the caste ryots and some looting of crops took place. This was a natural result of the campaign for

the non-payment of taxes and has probably opened the eyes of the more sober ryots. In no other district has there been any further difficulty about collecting the revenue, the arrack sales have been generally normal and there have been very few further instances of resignations on the part of Village officers.

/ There is still however a good deal of "Volunteer activity" in several quarters including the District of Godavari, the Muhammadan centre of Vaniyambadi in the North Arcot district, the Ganjam district and the city of Madras, where the movement has been re-organised and it has been decided to start a school and a daily paper for volunteers who are to be recruited from the educated classes only. In Ganjam anti-European feeling has at times been very much in evidence and the situation is not free from anxiety. On the whole however the activities of the volunteers have been less offensive and aggressive than was the case a fortnight ago.

Vigorous action is still being taken where necessary against mischievous agitators either under the security sections or by prohibition orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. In Trichinopoly a few youths have continued to disobey these orders at the instigation of an influential Muhammadan of the place and about fifty of them have been arrested accordingly. A search of the Congress Office there revealed that a good deal of the party funds was being spent on "repression allowances" for the families of volunteers or picketers who had gone to Jail.

During the fortnight the Surgeon-General paid a visit to the Camp jail for Mappilla prisoners at Bellary and reported unfavourably on the health of the prisoners and negotiations are now being carried on to transfer them to the barracks which are no longer required by the military.

In Madras the police have at last resolved to draw their pay. The Finance Committee of the Legislative Council have made certain recommendations for quickening promotion and these are now being examined.

A short-lived strike took place in one of the secondary schools in Madras as a protest against the dismissal of one of the boys. There was a display of rowdiness on the part of the boys which made it necessary for the police to interfere; and the strike ended in the dismissed boy being taken back.

A riot occurred near Madura during the fortnight which led to firing by the police. An apparently inadequate force of police attempted to raid a gambling den and met with resistance. The Deputy Superintendent was assaulted and some of the police arms were taken from them, and re-inforcements had to be summoned. A full report of the facts has not yet been received.

Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords, has caused considerable resentment in the extremist press, and Mr. Montagu's speech at the 1920 club has also come in for a good deal of criticism. The tone of the leading Urdu paper in Madras, the QAUMI REPORT, has been very objectionable of late and its prosecution is contemplated.

The District Magistrate, Ramnad, has demanded security before allowing the publication of a new Congress newspaper.

So far as the Madras presidency is concerned there is comparatively little internal cause for anxiety for the moment. Events in other parts of India may however revive excitement.

DEMI-OFFICIAL from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India Home Department,
No. 2361-1, dated the 16th March 1922.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH.

The lull mentioned in my last report still continues, and in fact many of the districts report a complete cessation of non-co-operation activity. The arrest of Gandhi has so far been received with remarkable indifference, and apart from a small meeting and a few small bonfires of foreign cloth in Madras, no demonstrations have been reported.

In Guntur satisfactory progress has been made with the collection of revenue, and as a result of a display of determination by the District Magistrate and the strengthening of the police force a more healthy respect for authority seems to be growing up even in the villages that were hitherto most truculent. Both in this district and in Cuddapah - and probably elsewhere - there is reason to believe that demoralisation of the Government services has been caused by the licence allowed to non-co-operators in the past/and has in turn ~~bxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~ex~~ fostered the spread of the movement.

In North Arcot ~~xxxxx~~ and especially in the Muhammadan centre of Vaniyambadi and also in Trichinopoly there is still a certain amount of volunteer activity, and trials of agitators in these districts still create popular excitement; elsewhere the volunteers have not been much in evidence; and the few arrests that have been necessary have been carried out without difficulty. In Madras the volunteers have been attempting to enlist the sympathies of the Adi-Dravidas who remained loyal during the recent labour disturbances, but so far they do not appear to have met with any great success.

~~(In Malabar the Konnara Tangle is still at large and the situation remains much the same. In the)~~ PLEASE OMIT.

Demi-Official from R.A.GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 3248-1, dated the 1st April 1922.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR SECOND HALF OF MARCH.

There has been no political activity to speak of during the fortnight. In Kistna which has always been regarded as a stronghold of the non-co-operation movement, the District Magistrate is of opinion that Gandhi is generally discredited; and that his failure to make good any of his many promises has produced a correspondingly complete disillusionment. Village officers who resigned their posts are now saying that Gandhi betrayed them, and the general opinion is that he was in too great a

hurry to bring about SWARAJ. This view is shared by the District Magistrate of the neighbouring district, and there certainly seem to be good grounds for accepting it so far as can be seen at present. There are indications that the non-co-operators in several districts are altering their tactics and are trying to capture seats in local bodies beginning with the unions, on an anti-taxation platform.

In Guntur most satisfactory progress has been made with the collection of revenue and less than a lakh and a half remains to be collected out of a total of about 60 lakhs. In fact the movement for the withholding of taxes may be said to be dead and the situation is rapidly becoming normal. The troops are leaving the district and the general attitude is one of repentance.

In Madura there has been some trouble in the District Jail, where six political prisoners endeavoured with some success to foment discontent among the other prisoners and induce them to go on hunger strike. A noisy demonstration inside the jail attracted a large and sympathetic crowd outside, and the Reserve Police had to be used to disperse them. The political prisoners have now been transferred to other jails and the ringleader has been tried and convicted for an offence under the Prisons Act. In the same district a hostile crowd assembled after the close of an abkari auction with the object of molesting the renters on their return from the sale and the intervention of the Reserve Police again became necessary, but the prompt arrest and trial of some of the leading spirits soon restored order.

A strike has been reported in the mills at Coimbatore, but it does not seem likely to attain very formidable proportions.

The chief topics are of course the resignation of Mr. Montagu, the arrest and conviction of Mr. Gandhi and the Local and Imperial budgets. The first two events have inevitably been coupled together, and the general opinion is that Mr.

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Montagu has been made a scapegoat to popular opinion at Home, which considered him responsible for the success of the non-co-operation movement and the lowering of British prestige in India. The press, as a whole, sympathises with him, though some of the extremist organs profess complete indifference. The majority of the press think that Gandhi's arrest was a mistake and even JUSTICE, the organ of the non-Brahman party, describes it as 'a hasty step of dubious utility'. The extremist papers have not been slow to hail the financial difficulties of the country as revealed in the budget debates, as an indication of the failure of the reforms; on the other hand it is probable that a certain section of the community have had their eyes opened by the cost of maintaining order, and the comparative success of the popular representatives in cutting down the budget has, in other quarters, been welcomed as an indication that constitutional means are, after all, the best and surest way of attaining SWARAJ.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 18th April 1922, No. 3804-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF APRIL.

POLITICAL. (It appears at present that Congress activities are to be mainly confined to the popularisation of Khaddar and the boycott of drink and foreign cloth. The volunteers have been busy in Madras advertising the National week and hawking Khaddar for sale - the latter without much success.) Desultory activity on the same lines continues in North Arcot, Kistna and a few other districts; in Godavari volunteers continue to make themselves conspicuous at temple festivals and some sensation has been caused by the committal to rigorous imprisonment of a Brahman widow who had for some time been making objectionable speeches and refused to give security for good behaviour; and the anti-drink campaign is still being persisted in in some of the southern districts like Madure, Ramnad, Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Nellore

reports a crop of seditious speeches, and action is being taken where necessary under the security sections. There is little to report from Guntur where the District Magistrate is busy with the assessment of the punitive police tax.

A fresh attempt is being made in Madras to revive the moribund or defunct labour unions, and to affiliate them with Congress organizations. Attempts are also being made to stir up discontent among the workers in these mills and at the same time to enlist the sympathy of the Adi Dravidas in the non-cooperation movement. The mill strike at Coimbatore collapsed before the end of March and has resulted mainly in discrediting Chidambaram Pillai.

CRIME.--It was discovered some time ago that bombs were being made in the Cuddapah district; the police have made careful inquiries and have come to the conclusion that there is no political significance in their manufacture. The bombs are of a very crude type and are probably intended for use in local faction fights. Every effort is being made to put a stop to this form of crime.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., xxxix
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department,
dated Camp Ootacamund, the 2nd May 1922. No.0/11-1

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF APRIL 1922.

Reports from the districts show that the National week passed off without disturbance of a serious nature anywhere, Nor was the hartal with which it concluded by any means universal. In most of the bigger towns, as the result of special efforts it was more or less complete, but in many places there was no attempt at a hartal and in many more the hartal was only partial and the shops opened in the evening. In certain districts the authorities took action under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to prevent any demonstrations during the week and by doing so achieved the object in view; their action however has been the subject of a good deal of criticism.

In view apparently of local want of energy a certain number of agitators from outside the Presidency have been sent here lately. Fasi-uz-zaman and Abdul Wahid Khan have come from Bombay to carry on Khilafat propaganda in the South; Abdus Samad of Lucknow has been making objectionable speeches in the Muhammadan centres of the North Arcot district; and Azad Sobhani has been in Madras on his way to Malabar to inquire into the conditions there on behalf of the Jamaat-ul-ulema. The latest news is that the District Magistrate, Malabar, has issued an order under the Restoration of Order Ordinance prohibiting him from entering the four affected taluks.

CRIME.--The man who was charged with manufacturing bombs in the Cuddapah district has been sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by the Sessions Judge, and another man who was suspected to be a hired assassin, defied the Police and threatened them with a bomb when they tried to arrest him and was shot dead. Two riots have been reported lately from the Salem district. A full account of one of them, which arose from an 'uplift' movement among the tenants of a landholder and a dispute about fishing rights, has already been sent to the Government of India. The other which occurred in much the same locality has only just been reported and details are not yet to hand, but it appears that incidentally the Police were attacked and deprived of their arms.

From several districts it is reported that non-co-operators are standing for election to local bodies and in some they have succeeded in capturing a good many seats. This change of policy is not generally accepted yet, but whether there will be an extensive revival of objectionable activities seems to depend largely on whether there is effective instigation from outside.

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FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MAY 1922.

Demi-Official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 17th May 1922, No.48-1/O.

There is again little of interest to report. Proceedings have been instituted under the security sections against two agitators in Kistna and one in North Arcot and are contemplated in connexion with the picketing of liquor shops in Madura, but generally speaking the lull continues.

Opinions are divided as to the desirability of revising the Congress programme. From two districts at opposite ends of the Presidency come further indications of a campaign on the part of the non-co-operators to capture local bodies; on the other hand the extremist paper SWARAJYA recently issued a warning against attempts to take part in the reformed councils and urged the superior advantages of obstruction by propaganda in the districts.

PRESS.--The agitation against the repressive policy of the Government has continued and has been combined with a campaign against the alleged ill-treatment of 'political prisoners' in the jails. Most of the 'cases' reported are either deliberately false or grossly exaggerated, and there is no reason to believe that these persons are being unfairly treated. The editor of the important Muhammadan paper the QAUMI REPORT has just been convicted for sedition and has submitted an abject apology. The Government propose to remit his sentence on conditions.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 3rd June 1922, No.134-1/O.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MAY 1922.

There has been no marked increase in political activity during the fortnight. A fairly vigorous propaganda is being carried on in various parts of the Presidency, and particularly

A vigorous propaganda is being carried on various parts of the Presidency, and particularly among the Muhammadan community, in support of the use of Khaddar; but the results have not been encouraging from the extremists' point of view. Efforts were made in a few places to celebrate 'Gandhi day' on the 18th, but were generally a failure.

Abdus Samad has been arrested and is under trial for sedition in the North Arcot district. Azad Subhani was touring the southern districts during the fortnight and had an interview with Arabindo Ghose at Pondicherry. The latter is not apparently prepared at present to reenter the political arena.

The Telugu press during the fortnight has been engaged in a controversy as to whether non-co-operators should endeavour to capture the Legislative Councils, and, though it is admitted that the discussion is premature, the general opinion is opposed to the idea, and it has been pointed out that imprisonment, being a disqualification for membership, will, in anycase, debar the majority of the true patriots from a seat in the Councils.

PRESS. - The extremist press led by the SWARAJYA and the Muhammadan paper AZAD-I-HIND continue a vigorous campaign of misrepresentation regarding the treatment of political prisoners in jails.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 16th June 1922, No.193-1/O.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JUNE 1922.

The political situation remains quiet. In three districts action has been taken under the security sections against non-co-operators; ~~xxxxxx~~ but on the other hand there are distinct signs that the Congress creed is losing ground. Abdus Samad, who is under trial for sedition in North Arcot, is defending himself vigorously, and from several of the Telugu districts come reports of accused persons apologizing and persons bound over finding security.

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A few well-known extremists, including Subrahmanya Siva and Singaravelu Chetti, have published a scheme of what they call the Hindustan Panchayat which involves the organization of a system of parallel Government in selected villages. It purports to include a village executive in charge of separate departments, village courts and schools, a monthly budget and taxation, a gazette, a yearly meeting of all the inhabitants on Gandhi day and even an attempt at a Post Office system; and the authors talk of trying it at once in a small portion of Madras town. It is unlikely that the inhabitants will allow themselves to be tyrannized over, or that the scheme needs serious notice, but developments are being watched.

Possibly connected with this organization is a pamphlet entitled 'A Challenge' issued under the authority of the Communist Federal League of India, which has been circulated anonymously to most of the papers and some Government officers in Madras. The pamphlet has been proscribed and efforts are being made to trace its authors.

In Guntur there is still some difficulty in enforcing the Forest regulations. A case of obstruction of the Forest subordinates was reported from a certain village and the same night a force of police surrounded the village and the next morning the villagers were paraded and 51 were arrested. It is hoped that this prompt action will have a good effect.

PRESS.--There is nothing of interest to report. C. Raja-gopala Achariyar, the well-known Congress politician of Salem, released who was/ from jail in March, has accepted the Editorship of YOUNG INDIA and has left for Ahmedabad to take up the post.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, dated Ootacamund, the 3rd July, 1922, No. 316-1/O.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JUNE 1922.

There is again little of interest to report. The political situation remains quiet, though some recrudescence of non-

co-operation, activities has been reported from the Godavari district, where attempts have been made to advocate refusal to pay the punitive police tax. Five men had to be arrested, and the district will require watching.

Abdul Samad has been convicted in the North Arcot district, and sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs.100 under section 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code. In Madras proceedings were taken under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code, against one M.S. Subrahmanya Ayyar who has been making a number of objectionable speeches lately.

There are indications that a few of the local leaders of the Rx extremist party are anxious to give up the Congress creed in favour of the Hinsustan Panchayat movement mentioned in my last report. Newspaper reports show that there is considerable dissatisfaction with the state of the Congress accounts, and there is also a serious split among the Khilafat volunteers.

Men like Subrahmanya^{Siva} and Singaravelu Chetti (see my last report) are taking advantage of this state of affairs to push the new movement, and are appealing for funds to enable them to carry it on. Efforts will possibly be made at the same time to re-vive labour agitation on Communist lines, but here again there seems at present to be no great prospects of success. The author of the Communist pamphlet that has been proscribed by the Government has not yet been discovered, but there are grounds for thinking that it may be one Nilakanta Ayyar, a dangerous man, who was connected with the Ashe murder. He is at present out of view, and efforts are being made to trace him.

His Excellency the Governor has left on a fortnight's tour in some of the Deccan districts ending up in Guntur. The municipal council there, the chairman of which was till lately an avowed non-co-operator, has decided to present an address of welcome, but some of the more extrememembers have resigned their seats, which is probably the politest thing they could have done.

A big Nadar conference is being held in the Ramnad district under the chairmanship of the Raja of Ramnad, who is himself a

Marvar by caste - the hereditary enemies of the Nadars. The Nadars have long been agitating for an improvement in their social position, and amongst other things claim to enter Hindu temples. It was feared that an attempt might be made to enforce this claim at the conference, but its proceedings have passed off quietly.

PRESS---A particularly objectionable Muhammadan paper in Madras, the AZAD HIND, is being prosecuted under section 124-A Indian Penal Code.

The main topics of interest are the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's speeches which are considered to advocate a 'White Australia' ~~Policy~~ and the communication of the correspondent of the MORNING POST about Bolshevik gold in India. Both of these have raised a torrent of indignant protest from the extremist press.

Demi-official--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, dated Ootacamund, the 18th July 1922, No.442-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JULY 1922.

His Excellency the Governor's tour mentioned in my last report proved a great success. His Excellency was received with enthusiasm everywhere, and in Guntur particularly the people were even surprisingly friendly. Among the educated classes this attitude may have been prompted partly by the hope that the punitive police might be removed, but among the masses it was genuine ~~xxxx~~ enough and the District Magistrate reports that in his opinion there has been a real revulsion of feeling in favour of peace and quiet. As a consequence the Government have decided to withdraw the punitive police after six months, i.e., on September 7th, instead of keeping them there for a year as was originally notified.

The Andhra Provincial Congress committee held a meeting at Bezwada during the fortnight and seem to have decided that

disobedience was not a practical proposition at present.

The Khilafat movement in Madras is in now water pecuniarily. Efforts are being made to whip up enthusiasm and it is apparently in the hope of stimulating activity and subscriptions that the mother of the Ali brothers has been induced to promise a visit to the Presidency.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Ootacamund, the 2nd August 1922, No. 542-A-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT For SECOND HALF OF JULY.

The Civil Disobedience Committee and the Khilafat Enquiry Committee arrived in Madras on July 25th and thanks to the strenuous effort made beforehand by the extremist leaders, they seem to have attracted large crowds both on arrival and at an open air meeting on the beach the same evening. Many of the speeches were made in languages that few understood and this was made a ground of reproach by V.J. Patel who was one of the speakers. A small proportion of the crowd was dressed in Khaddar.

It is noteworthy in view of the addresses presented to His Excellency the Governor by the Guntur Municipality in which sentiments of unwavering loyalty were expressed, that the same body has decided to present an address of welcome to the Civil Disobedience Committee.

The general opinion even among the extremists seems to be that the time is not ripe for Mass Civil Disobedience and the most that is recommended is individual disobedience to orders under section 144, etc.) It is possible that attempts may be made to revive the objectionable features of the movement in districts like Guntur and Godavari when the additional police have been withdrawn, and the approaching toddy shops sales will afford an indication as to whether there is to be any general resumption of picketing. Rumours that this is likely have been heard from several districts.

PRESS.---NEW INDIA describes the tour of the

Committee as 'astounding' - 'an open attempt to cause a revolution' and 'the most impudent of the many floutings of Government yet attempted'. At the same time it begged the Government to take no notice of the move and to let it die a natural death. The vernacular Press generally is much exercised over the 'White policy' in South Africa. The extremist organs and notably SWARAJYA have been mainly concerned in advertizing the Civil Disobedience Committee.

Demi-Official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P. O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of Madras, Home Department, dated the 16th August 1922, No. 5870-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR FIRST HALF OF AUGUST.

A mild revival of non-co-operation propaganda is reported from three or four districts as a result of the visit of the Civil Disobedience Committee, but the general impression is that it has produced only a passing effect. In Guntur there was a good deal of demonstration, with no disorder however, which the police were not able to deal with. The Subdivisional Magistrate issued an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, prohibiting 'Volunteers' from taking part in public meetings or professions and some 200 persons, who disobeyed the order, were arrested on the morning of the committee's arrival; several of these, who were mere boys, were immediately released and 136 were put up before the District Magistrate for summary trial. The cases against 23 of these also were withdrawn on account of their youth and the remaining 133 were punished with small fines and nominal terms of imprisonment, which kept them out of the way until the Committee had left. There was a large meeting in the evening, at which one of the non-co-operating councillors of the municipality read, as coming from the people of Guntur, the address voted by the council but vetoed by the Collector, and much talk was indulged in about the high-handed action of the authorities.

On the other hand, there is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ reason to believe

that the action had taken had the support of a large section of the population of the Guntur district, and the fact that the authorities were prepared to enforce obedience to their orders, combined with the comparatively lenient treatment accorded to those who disobeyed them, has produced a good effect.

A strike took place early in the month at the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway workshops at Arkenam.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 1st September 1922, No. 7593-1, Public.

 FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR SECOND HALF OF AUGUST.

The notorious Varadarajulu Nayudu has been released after his term of imprisonment and has been making a number of speeches at the public receptions given him in the Coimbatore and Salem districts. His tone has not altered. In Salem a loyal Muhamedan Honorary Magistrate has been subjected to social boycott because he flew the Union Jack over his shop; and a renewal of the same sort of tactics is reported from the North Arcot district.

The visit of the Civil Disobedience committee to the Telugu districts does not seem to have produced a lasting effect,

In Madras a meeting supposed to represent all classes of political thought was held to protest against the Premier's speech about the services. The resolution was however lost as a result of the votes of the non-co-operation party, who packed the meeting and who profess to welcome the pronouncement as an indication of the failure of the Reforms. There is no doubt that the non-co-operation party have succeeded in making considerable capital out of the situation.

As anticipated in my report for the second half of June the author of the COMMUNIST pamphlet mentioned in that and my preceding report has turned out to be the dangerous anarchist

Nilakanta Ayyar, who was released from jail in 1919 after serving a sentence of seven years under section 121-A, Indian Penal Code. The police have been endeavouring to trace him for some time and a few days ago they succeeded in arresting him in Madras. After his arrest he made an attempt to shoot the police constable who was taking him to the station with an old revolver that he possessed. The cartridge luckily failed to explode and he is now being put upon a charge of attempted murder as well as under sections 124-A and 153-A in connection with the pamphlet. It is understood that he freely admits authorship of the pamphlet and has also given certain information against important members of the extremist party in Madras who he says supplied him with funds. The case may well prove to be sensational.

LABOUR---The strike at Arkonam on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway which I mentioned in my last report has ended in the complete surrender of the men; and the majority of them have been taken back by the company.

CRIME---In my telegrams Nos. 7363-1 and 2 of August 24th and 25th I have already reported the occurrence of an outbreak or, as it is locally called, a fituri in the Gudum hills of the Agency division.

Demi-official--from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th September 1922, No. 8104-1, Public.

----- FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

The spread of Congress propaganda by door to door visits is reported from a part of the Guntur district where also it is said that non-co-operation candidates are making a bid for the control of the local bodies.

The Turkish successes in Asia Minor have been hailed with delight in Muhammadan circles and special prayers were offered in many of the more important mosques.

In Godavari six members of a panchayat, which had been try-

ing civil and criminal cases, have been prosecuted and convicted under sections 176 and 202, I.P.C. This is the first case of the kind in this Presidency. In Madras the first civil suit that has come before the court of the Hindustan Panchayat ended in a fiasco - neither of the parties apparently being satisfied with the decision.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O. DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd October 1922, No. 8818-1, Public.

The FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER. 1922 | 10

The maintopic of interest during the last fortnight has been the situation in the Near East, Special services have been held in the mosques in all places where the Muhammadan element in the population is considerable and there have been public meetings in a good many districts to congratulate the Turks on their successes. The ordinary Hindu has taken little or no interest in these proceedings, but the extremist has not been slow to take advantage of the opportunity to display his antipathy towards the British Government, and to make the most extravagant claims for the value of 'Hindu-Muslim Unity'. Where such extremists are in evidence, and particularly in the City of Madras, there has been a good deal of wild talk and attempts have been made to play upon the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadan and to make political capital out of the situation.

The non-co-operation movement, as distinct from the KHILAFAT movement, remains more or less stationary. Attempts have been made to revive meetings in the Guntur district, and both there and in the Coimbatore district a good deal of interest has been taken in the local board elections and the non-co-operations have achieved some measure of success. A new organisation is reported to have been started in Madras under the name of 'The Young Citizens' Union' with the object of training young and energetic workers to canvass in municipal elections. Celebrations of Gandhi day on the 18th September

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seem to have been of a most perfunctory nature.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th October 1922, No.9017-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER.

At the Andhra Provincial Congress held during the fortnight in the Chittoor district a resolution was passed promising every possible support to the Turks in the event of war with England.

Several important agitators have been released from jail lately, including the well-known Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya of Guntur, who was prominent there in the civil disobedience for-the campaign at the beginning of the year. Attempts have been made to lionize him, but he has disappointed his admirers by deprecating strongly all ideas of civil disobedience for the present and urging a concentration on the improvement of the condition of the depressed classes. On the other hand, some of the other released prisoners have made objectionable speeches and will no doubt try to revive a movement that at any rate gave them the notoriety that they desired. In Tinnevely there has been an attempt at picketing, cloth shops on the old lines. The District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police received complaints that people were being obstructed. They paid a surprise visit to the bazaar and found a few volunteers lying on the ground to prevent purchasers from approaching the shops. They ordered them to disperse and were eventually compelled to use a certain amount of force to dislodge them. Their action however met with strong approval from the shop owners and the District Congress Committee actually issued an apology for the inconvenience caused to the public by his lapse on the part of the volunteers from the strict rules of non-violent persuasion.

Nilakanta Brahmachari, the author of the COMMUNIST pamphlet mentioned in my report for the first half of August, has been convicted under sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and section 18 (e) and (f) of the Arms Act and has been sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment in all. He is now awaiting trial in the High Court for the attempted murder of the constable who arrested him.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th November 1922, No.--9985-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF NOVEMBER. 1922 / 10

The Kemalist policy towards the Sultan has, perhaps naturally perplexed the average Muhammadan who is awaiting guidance from the religious leaders in India. The extremists have been forced to fall back upon the infallibility of Kemal and have been doing their best to make out that the present policy is not inconsistent with the aims of the KHILAFAT agitation for the past few years.

Extremist Hindu opinion is disappointed with the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee and the general state of feeling in Madras is reflected in local dissensions of a petty kind. A meeting was held on November 1st in commemoration of the 'Ali Brothers' day'. The Hon'ble Mr. K.V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, Member of the Council of State, presided and a resolution was passed appreciating the services rendered by the Ali brothers in the cause of Islam and India.

Outside Madras, political activity has chiefly been confined to the Coimbatore district where a Tamil Nadu conference has been held. The conference generally supported the policy of peaceful non-co-operation, but it is interesting to notice that a conference of sadhus formed part of the programme. This conference passed a series of studiously unpolitical resolutions dealing with the reform of religious mendicants in Southern India.

But the mere fact that it was combined with the political conference is significant and the movement will require watching. (S)

PRESS.--The extremist papers like the HINDU and SWARAJYA are dissatisfied with the findings of the Civil Disobedience Committee and are particularly opposed to what is now apparently known as 'council entry'. Most other papers characterize the report as fatuous and ridicule its recommendations.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd December 1922, No.10746 A-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER.

Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya has been touring the Telugu districts and making a number of speeches, some of which border on violence; and there were rumours of an attempt at a hartal at Berhampur on the occasion of His Excellency's visit to the Ganjam district at the end of the month. It did not even-
X tuate however, perhaps partly because a general order under section 144 was passed forbidding interference with the public; and His Excellency's visit appears to have been a great success.

(The visit of the Congress Committee of Enquiry to)

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., C.S.I., I.C.S., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to S.P.O'DONNELL, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 4th January 1923, No.11510 A-1, Public.

4th January

FORTNIGHTLYREPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF DECEMBER 1922.

The attitude generally has been one of expectancy and it is possible that the Congress may lead to a recrudescence of political activity in some parts of the Presidency. Opinion remained divided on the crucial question of 'Council entry'; but it appears from the papers that the more important of the Madras delegates at the meeting itself supported the 'complete boycott' party.

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EXTRACTS FROM
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Demi-official from R.A.G.
Secretary to the Government
Mr. J. CRERAR, C.S.I. C.I.
Government of India,
16th January 1923, No.34

Fortnightly Report for the First Half

POLITICAL. Opinion at present seems to be unsettled on account of the split in the Congress. It is hard to say in what form it will eventually crystallize. The districts have practically no developments to report and it is obvious that people are awaiting a lead from Madras. The local KHILAFAT leader, Abdul Majid Sharar the Editor of the QAUMI REPORT has joined the Das party together with one or two important non-co-operators, but it remains to be seen whether this party will be able to secure a large following. On the other side Mr. C.Rajagopalachari held a public meeting in Madras on the 9th to expound the majority view; but the meeting did not arouse any great enthusiasm.

2. The AGENCY.--There is little of interest to report. After waiting in vain for information about the rebels it was concluded that they must be hiding in the hills and plans were concerted for conducting a thorough search of the locality in which it was thought that they must be. Information was then received that one of the Razu's chief lieutenants, Gam Mallayya, and one or two followers had been seen in a village bordering on the plains of the Godavari district and later on news was received of his brother, Gam Ganthan Dora, with another following in a different direction towards the Badrachalam taluk. The operations are therefore being delayed till more accurate information can be obtained.

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Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., CSI. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 1st February, 1923, No. 1189/A-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY.

POLITICAL.--There are still no outward signs of any development in the non-co-operation movement. There have however been a number of meetings in the northern districts especially Godavari and Kistna and the well-known agitator Varadarajulu Nayudu is reported to have made an objectionable speech in Salem in the course of which he declared that he did not agree with Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation and that violence was the only thing to bring the Government to their senses. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met at Ellore during the fortnight and recommended that the next session of the Congress should be held at Cocanada. A similar meeting of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee was held at Madura but seems to have degenerated into a series of quarrels between the speakers. Rival meetings of the old Congress party and the new Congress-KHILAFAT-SWARAJ party were held in Madras on the 18th and 19th January but without much result except a good deal of talk. T. Prakasam speaking for the old party appealed for money and volunteers in order to prepare the ground for civil disobedience. But it seems to be difficult to raise any popular enthusiasm. In Guntur, where this time last year the payment of taxes was being refused, the land revenue collections are reported to be more than usually forward.

3. PRESS.-- * * * * * the attitude of the Whites towards the Indians in Kenya is again coming into prominence.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., CSI. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, C.S.I. C.I.E. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th February 1923, No.1729-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY.

POLITICAL.--There have been meetings in a good many districts during the last fortnight at which the number of volunteers to be enrolled and the amount of money to be collected under the new programme have been discussed and settled.

But there still appears to be no signs of a revival of popular enthusiasm in the non-co-operation movement. The sales of arrack shops are taking place and there has been no attempt at interference.

Muhammadan feeling has been agitated over the news from Lausanne, and there has been a tendency to blame the British (and particularly, Lord Curzon) for the alleged breakdown of the negotiations rather than to praise the Turks for refusing to accept the terms. Azad Subhani has written to some of the Muhammadan leaders in Madras asking them to join his new 'Independent Party'. The programme is likely to be discussed at the forthcoming conference of the KHILAFAT workers.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., CSI. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. C.I.E. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 1st March, 1923, No. 2181-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF FEBRUARY 1923.

POLITICAL.--There has been no change in the political situation and no signs of a revival of popular enthusiasm for the Congress programme and from Kistna^{it} is reported that there was some difficulty in finding any one to take on the post of Secretary to the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. The Commissioner of Police, Madras, however, reports that the Muhammadan extremists in the city have been persuaded that England is endeavouring to provoke Turkey to war and are there-

fore feeling bitter; and the lack of news from the North East has given rise to a certain amount of wild conjecture. The leaders of the local KHILAFAT party have arranged to devote ten days from February 23rd to March 4th to the collection of men and money for the Angora Legion. Meetings were announced for every night during this period for the purpose of educating the masses on their moral and religious obligations towards the Turks, but no reports have been received of any enlistments in the Legion.

3. PRESS.--Mrs. Besant's conference at Delhi is generally derided and condemned as useless and her authority is questioned in the local press. Extremist papers like the Andhra Patrika profess dissatisfaction with the report of the Racial Distinctions Committee and the general cry is that invidious distinctions will not wholly disappear until India enjoys SWARAJ. The articles of the special correspondent of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN have been reproduced in several Madras papers and have attracted considerable attention.

Demi-Official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., CSI. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th March, 1923, No. 2816-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1923.

POLITICAL.--The special efforts of the KHILAFAT Party in Madras mentioned in my last report to secure men and money for the Angora Legion met with little success. Saiyid Hasan Arzoo who belongs to Bihar and was sent by the Central KHILAFAT Committee to help the work made one or two violent speeches, but the general response to the appeal was poor and several meetings had to be cancelled. Arzoo has now left Madras. The Congress party have been making similar efforts to stimulate public interest in Gandhi Week culminating in a HARTAL on March the 18th which conveniently happens to be a Sunday. Singaravelu Chetti has been in charge of this work in Madras, but

though a few volunteers have been ~~in charge of this work in~~ Madras, ~~b~~ enrolled, there seems to be little or no real interest in the movement. A number of important agitators have recently been released from jail including Konda Venkatappayya of Guntur. The latter was released by the District Magistrate before the expiry of his term and before the party in Guntur was ready to receive them. He has therefore been filling in the time by a tour in the south of the presidency. He has in some places attracted large audiences, but his speeches have not so far been objectionable. Early preliminaries for the meeting of the Congress in Cocanada next December have been made the occasion of some demonstrations and the District Magistrate, Godavari, has found it necessary to institute proceedings against three agitators under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code.

3. PRESS.--- There has been an almost universal ~~topic of discussion during the~~ outcry against the enhancement of the salt tax and the report of the Inchcape Committee, though generally welcomed, has been criticized by the more extremist papers on the grounds that the recommendations do not go far enough and do not touch the salaries of the higher officers. Disappointment is affected at the announcement that the promised Indianization of eight units of the Indian Army is not likely to be complete in less than 22 years.

Demi-official from the R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., CSI. ICS.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to
the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department,
dated the 31st March 1923, No.3172-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MARCH 1923.

POLITICAL.--- A week of fairly strenuous preaching and preparation led up to a fairly general HARTAL on the 18th in Madras and several of the more important towns. * * * * there was far less evidence of intimidation than there has been on any other previous occasion, and in some places - notably Trichinopoly and Madura - the practical unanimity with

which the HARTAL was observed seems to indicate a hitherto unsuspected amount of organization. In Madras the greater part of the credit for the demonstration must be ascribed to Singaravelu Chetti, who has been indefatigable for some time past. Some 15,000 people attended a meeting on the beach in the evening, which was addressed from three platforms.

2: Less interest than might have been expected was taken in the occasion in the Northern Circars; and in Godavari, Gun-
tur and Kistna, though there were meetings in some larger towns, they were sparsely attended.

4. PRESS.--The political agitation against the salt tax has continued unabated, but no popular protest against the increased price has been received.

Demi-official from R.A. GRAHAM, Esq., CSI. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to J. CRERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 17th April, 1923, No.3769+1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF APRIL 1923.

POLITICAL.--Attempts to celebrate the period from the 6th to the 13th April as a national week have been by no means universal and do not appear to have been very successful anywhere. Progress in collecting funds and enrolling volunteers in accordance with the Gaya programme has so far been small.

2. In the mufassal there have been a good many political meetings, chiefly organized by ~~xxx~~ on or behalf of agitators who have been released from jail, and some objectionable speeches.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to J. CRERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, , the 1st May 1923, No.78/0-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF APRIL 1923.

POLITICAL.--The number of meetings reported reflects the anxiety of the Congress Party to complete their programme for the collection of funds and enrolling volunteers before the

1st of May. * * * * * Final figures of the amount collected and the number of volunteers enrolled are not available, but it is almost certain that in no district have the allotted quota been reached. * * * * * from Guntur it is reported that a number of the most important Andhra 'Leaders' were compelled to abandon a much advertised tour in the district from lack of popular support.

4. Ramzan has started, but there are no signs of any unwholesome feelings among the Mappillas. Mr. Manjeri Rama Ayyar continues his campaign against the Police Raj in Malabar and is committed to contributing a series of articles on that subject to the press. On the other hand the Khilafat conference which it has been for some time proposed to hold in Malabar has been repeatedly postponed and, it is now reported, will not take place until the end of Ramzan.

AGENCY.--The reduction of the strength in the police forces which was recently carried out seems to have encouraged Srirama Razu and his men to greater activity than they have ~~fm~~ displayed since last December. On the 17th of April he and a few followers visited Annavaram in the Godavari district and searched the police station unsuccessfully for arms and ammunition.

2. Summary. Signs of Hindu-Muslim discord in Coimbatore and Trichinopoly. Muhammadan attacks on the Congress programme. Attempts to form the Labour and Kisan party of Hindustan by Singaravelu Chetti. Manifesto on communist lines.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to J. CRERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 16th May, 1923, No.162/O-1.

Fortnightly Report for the First Half of May 1923.

POLITICAL.--The Presidency has had a number of visitors during the last fortnight. Devadas Gandhi accompanied by

C. Rajagopalachari arrived in Madras on 30th April and there was a meeting on the beach in the evening. On 4th May Dr. Saiyid Mahmud and the mother of the Ali brothers paid a flying visit to the city on their way to Tellicherry to hold the long advertised 'Kerala Khilafat Conference'; while Devadas Gandhi and his party proceeded on a tour of some of the southern districts including Chingleput, South Arcot, Madura and Tanjore. Neither party seem to have aroused much popular excitement, their speeches were on the whole mild and they devoted much of their time to deploring the public apathy.

2. About the same time as the Khilafat Conference at Tellicherry, a District Conference took place at Palghat in the Malabar district at which Mrs. Sarojini Nayudu was one of the principal speakers.

5. The manifesto of the Labour and Kisan party of Hindustan referred to in my last report was handed to the Associated Press of India for transmission up-country at the beginning of the month, but they refused to take it on the ground that the matter was objectionable. Singaravelu and his henchman, M.P.S. Velayudhan Pillai, held a communist meeting on May Day, but attracted very few labourers. The movement is viewed with disfavour by both the Congress and Swaraj parties and on the whole it seems that it will find very little support.

9. PRESS.--The failure of the Congress parties to effect a reconciliation and the future policy towards the reforms and the elections have been the subject of much discussion. The Swaraj party seems to have more life in it than the old Congress party and Mr. Das is expected to visit the Presidency at the end of this month. The Hindu-Moslem dissensions in the Punjab and the resignation of Ministers in the United Provinces have also come in for comment.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department to J. CRERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 2nd June 1923, No.238/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MAY 1923.

2. AGENCY.---There is no fresh news to report. The Government have decided again to re-inforce the fighting forces of the police by a detachment from the Malabar Special Police and are also taking steps to improve the intelligence organization.

* * * * , but there is a complete absence of information as to the whereabouts of the Razu and his gang.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department to J. CRERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp Ootacamund, the 16th June 1923, No.308/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JUNE 1923.

2. POLITICAL.---The political situation has^{developed}/considerably during the last fortnight and contains features of more than usual interest. The main facts are, on the one side, the 'compromise' of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay followed by the visit of Mr. C.R.Das to Madras and the southern districts of the Presidency; and on the other a so-called 'split' in the constitutional non-Brahman party which has been given a great deal of publicity in the papers. The connecting link between these apparently diverse phenomena is, of course, the Legislative Council and it is becoming increasingly clear that the pivot of political interest during the next few months will be the coming elections.

2. The first open sign of difficulties in the non-Brahman party occurred at the second sessions of the South Indian non-Brahman Workers' Conference in Madras at the end of May, which was presided over by Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar. A letter from Mr. Ramalinga Chettiyar, M.L.C., was read at the conference in which he criticised the policy of the leaders of the party and charged them with selfishness and disregard of the true

interests of the party. This was followed by an address from the chairman of the reception committee, Mr. T.N. Ramanathan of Madura, who has always been rather the 'enfant terrible' of the party, in which very similar allegations were made, and the result was that Sir P. Tyagaraya Chettiyar left the hall and the meeting was broken up. Since then various explanations and counter-explanations have appeared on either side in the Press. Whether the secession merely represents the personal views of a few malcontents, prompted by electioneering tactics and backed by the feeling that the southern districts of the Presidency deserve a greater measure of representation in the high places of the ministerial party, or whether the movement will ultimately develop into a regular opposition remains to be seen. The former alternative seems the more probable, but there is no doubt that Mr. Das is doing his best to take advantage of the quarrel to discredit the Ministers and to capture the votes of their critics.

3. The openly avowed policy of the latter is of course to work within the Councils with the express purpose of wrecking them and hastening the attainment of Swaraj. He addressed two public meetings on the beach in Madras on 30th May and 1st June. * * * * *; and on 31st May he unveiled portraits of Gandhi and Tilak in ~~honor of his visit~~ the Mahajana Sabha Hall. * * * * * Since then he has visited many of the southern districts of the Presidency and has delivered further speeches more or less on the same lines. A number of municipalities have voted him addresses of welcome, * * * * *. It is also significant that several Members of the Legislative Council have joined in the celebrations in his honour, and * * * the policy of these gentlemen in view of the impending elections is to be all things to all men.

6. AGENCY.--There is some indication that the rebels are now endeavouring to use the imposition of the punitive tax as a means to induce more of the villagers to join their cause.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to J. CRERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Ootacamund, the 3rd July 1923, No.407/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JUNE 1923.

POLITICAL---Summary. Mr. Das' tour in Tamil districts has been concluded. His visit to Telugu districts/^{was}restricted to two centres. Tour cannot be regarded as a success. Matter of his speeches caused offence in certain quarters. His propaganda in Tamil Nadu fell flat. Unity is at a greater discount than before. To quote from the Hindu dated the 25th June,

"We refer to his attempt to play the god out of the machine in the Brahman-non-Brahman controversy. One who aspires to be a mediator does not generally preface his attempt by ruffling the feelings of one party and Mr. Das did this very effectively in his unfortunate and badly briefed speech in Madras. Apart from that the problem is not one to be decided in the casual manner affected by Mr. Das and the only result of his interference that we can see is a tendency to introduce the communal canker into Congress politics".

4. Summary. Compromise resolution(between Swarajists and no changes) of the All-India Congress Committee - Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee at its meeting at Nellore accepted it. The Tamil Nad Pradesh Congress Committee rejected it.

5. AGENCY---* * * It now appears almost certain that there are two leaders of the name of Razu with the rebels. Sections of the gang have made their appearance at various places from time to time and in one village cruelly ill-treated a village officer who had rendered assistance to the Government. Considerable progress has, however, been made with the collection of the punitive tax.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIB. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th July 1923, No.5781-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JULY 1923.

POLITICAL.---Summary. Mr. Das' visit to this Presidency was curtailed. There has been revival of the old forms of agitation which were associated with the non-co-operation movement in 1921 and 1922. picketing of liquor shops in Madura; and attempts to start Flag Fight in the presidency.

4. Split in the non-Brahmin Party has not developed to any extent, though the discontents are attracting a certain number of all classes including Brahmins.

On the other hand the solidarity of the non-Brahman party has recently been demonstrated at a largely attended meeting in Madras, at which the leader, Sir Tyagaraya Chettiyar, and all the Ministers were present, and at which, in defence ^{re} to the wishes of his supporters, Sir Tyagaraya Chettiyar promised to continue his position in spite of his personal desire to retire from political life. It was decided at this meeting that the time had not yet come when the party could coalesce with any section of the Brahman community; and a resolution was unanimously passed appreciating the work of the Ministers; and a similar resolution announced the party's official programme for the coming elections. This programme includes, among other items, full provincial autonomy, the transference of all subjects to the control of popularly elected ministers, the abolition of provincial contributions, the Indianization of the services, a permanent settlement of land revenue and large measures of reform and expansion in the present transferred subjects.

5. AGENCY.---A party of the police succeeded in effecting contact with a few of the rebels on July 8th. Fortune was against the police on this occasion. They were going down a ghaut up which a party of the rebels had just started. The latter seem to have been a good way behind their 'advance guard'

and dodged the police very smartly by letting them chase these on to the village while they slipped into the jungle. When through rain and mud the police again picked up their tracks the rebels promptly bolted and after a few shots had been fired without result effected their escape into the hills.

The gang appears to be increasing in numbers and to be more inclined than they have been in the past to adopt forcible methods in dealing with the inhabitants from whom they get their supplies, though apparently they are still anxious to avoid conflict with the authorities. It is reported that they have been recently joined ~~by~~ among other recruits by four villagers who some time ago murdered two Forest subordinates. It is a matter of considerable difficulty to keep the striking forces of the police up to full strength owing to sickness and it has been found necessary to arrange for a system of regular reliefs of the contingents of the Malabar Special Police. With regard to the second 'Razu' mentioned in the last report, it should perhaps be explained that Razu is merely a caste name. Little is known, of the history of the individual referred to, but he appears to be something of a firebrand and in fact goes by that nickname.

6. PRESS.--Attention has been focussed on the ~~xxxx~~ recent session of the Legislative Assembly and the position of Indians in the Colonies, on which subject Mr. C.F. Andrews has been making anti-English speeches in Madras.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.C.RERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 1st August 1923, No.6092-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JULY 1923.

SUMMARY.

1. Gandhi day celebrations were nowhere successful.
2. Picketing of the liquor shops at Madura ~~xx~~ assumed considerable dimensions. Methods of volunteers degenerated into actual obstruction. The situation though serious at one time was well handled by the District Magistrate. As a consequence,

- ~~2~~ - ES. L1684
To J. C. C. 15th Aug. 1923
No 6092-1 (C. 1112) ✓ 433 ✓

the Congress party suspended operations.

3. The notorious Agitator Varadarajulu Nayudu disobeyed order under section 144 of at Periyakulam. Arrested on his return to Salem, but was taken back to Madura for trial under section 183 (2), Indian Penal Code.

4. Celebrations in honour of the Turkish Peace terms were held in Madras and at one or two other places on the 25th and 26th July, and strenuous efforts were made by the leaders of the Congress Party, including Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, to emphasize the importance of maintaining "Hindu-Muslim unity". About a thousand people attended a meeting in Madras on the 26th. Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar announced that he had decided not to identify himself with any party so long as the split in the Congress continued. Among the large majority of the Muhammadans, the peace terms have been very favourably received, but the situation will require careful watching as it is not improbable that relations with the Hindus may become strained. Bakrid on the 25th passed off uneventfully. In the meanwhile the Government have taken the opportunity to remit the remainder of the sentence passed nearly two years ago against Yakub Hasan which has only a few more months to run.

8. PRESS.--The attacks on the ministerial party continue. The HINDU has been publishing a series of articles reviewing the progress made under the Reforms and criticising the action or inaction of the ministerial party and their adherents. SWARAJYA has adopted an even more bitter tone in condemning the ministerial record and has compared the party to a "Colossus bestriding the presidency with one foot firmly implanted in the mutts and temples and the other in the local and district boards" and also to "an octopus extending its tentacles over the vital organs of the religious life of and local Government of this Presidency". These attacks have elicited a vigorous and effective defence in the ministerial organ, JUSTICE, and the HINDU has been generous enough to give equal publicity to these articles in its columns.

Demi-official from ES.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th August 1923, No.6851-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF AUGUST 1923.

POLITICAL.--* * * * The only occasion for a display of activity was the Tilak anniversary on August 8th, which was mildly celebrated in a few places. Varadarajulu Nayudu has been sentenced to six months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs.300 or six weeks further imprisonment for disobeying orders under section 144, C.P.C.; * * * *

4. The Khilafat party in Madras have decided that agitation must be continued on the question of the restoration of the 'Holy Places'; and an attempt is being made, which is not without significance, to start a Muslim proselytising society in opposition to the Hindu Suddhi movement.

5. The Kenya decision has been much discussed and at a public meeting in Madras on July 31st resolutions were carried expressing 'strong and deep resentment' at the 'flagrant violation of solemn pledges', and a determination to boycott the British ~~xxx~~ Empire Exhibition, the Imperial conference and everything to do with the British colonies. The 27th of August is proclaimed as an 'All-India HARTAL DAY' to protest against the decision.

9. PRESS.--The Kenya decision has occupied the attention of the press to the exclusion of all other topics and is universally condemned, though with varying degrees of warmth.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. ICS. CIE., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 1st September, 1923, No.7182+1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST 1923.

5. POLITICAL.--The chief event of the fortnight has been the HARTAL on August 27th organized as a protest against the Kenya decisions. Full reports have not yet come in from the districts, but it seems that the Hartal was fairly widely observed

and in most cases was pretty complete, though it is ~~observed~~ doubtful whether many of the shopkeepers know what it was about.

* * * * * The Salem Municipal Council passed a resolution enjoining this hartal in all its institutions and deleting Empire Day from the list of recognized holidays; and the Corporation of Madras have resolved to bar colonials from employment as agents, contractors or servants of the Corporation, to refuse them all licenses and concessions and to boycott all colonial insurance companies so far as Corporation property is concerned.

4. (There was an important conference of the Tamil representatives of the non-Brahman party at Trichinopoly at the beginning of the fortnight. It was attended by all the Ministers. The speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Mr. Pethachi Chettiyar) and of the President (the Raja of Ramnad) took a generally sympathetic line as to the ministerial policy and achievements, though they were critical in parts. Both speeches advocated strongly the inclusion of one or more Tamilians in the next Ministry. Some of the avowed opponents of the Ministers unsuccessfully attempted to pass a sort of vote of censure on the Ministers and there was a deliberate attempt to create a disturbance and a good deal of uproar. A resolution eventually was passed demanding the adequate representation of Tamilians in the Ministry. Sir P. Tyagarayan Chettiyar, the leader of the party, made a statement that he was not against such a resolution and that he had himself been in favour of such a representation.

Demi-official from E.S.LLOYD, Esq.; I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th September 1923, No.7614-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER 1923.

POLITICAL.--There is singularly little of political interest to report this fortnight. Most of the important persons have been engaged in Salem in a series of conferences. Mr.

George Joseph presided at the Tamil Nadu Conference in that district which affirmed its adherence to the orthodox Congress creed and passed the usual resolution with regard to Kenya. At the same time a KHILAFAT Conference passed resolutions congratulating the Turks on their independence and declaring that KHILAFAT agitation should not cease until all the holy places were under Islamic control and that SWARAJ could only be obtained by working in unity with the Hindus. Mr. Gandhi also presided over a KHADDAR Exhibition in the same place.

2. The feeling with regard to Kenya shows no signs of slackening and the decisions undoubtedly has added a number of moderates to the 'extremists' cause and has given the extremists themselves an opportunity for being still more extreme. A public meeting of protest was held in Madras under the presidency of Mrs. Besant. It was attended by the leaders of all the schools of thought and resulted in a strong demand for united action in the shape of boycott and retaliatory measures.

3. There ^{ve} ~~has~~ been some signs of Hindu-Muslim friction at Dindigul in the Madura district where a Hindu society has been formed and has resolved not to associate with Muhammadans in any movement whatever.

Demi-official from E.S. LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd October, 1923, No.3086-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

POLITICAL.--Political interest continues to centre in the coming elections and has naturally been increased by the decision of the Special Congress to raise the ban against "Council entry".

A meeting was recently organized by the Labour and Kishan party in Madras to consider the question of unemployment in the city, but appears to have been a complete failure. On the other hand attempts are being made to revive the defunct 'Madras Labour Union' which, it will be remembered, has defini-

tely repudiated the communistic ideas of Singaravelu Chetti. An attempt was also made during the fortnight by a young man of the name of Gogineni Ranganayakulu, who has recently returned from Oxford, to start a labour movement in Guntur. The proceedings of the first meeting ended in inciting the labourers, who had gathered, to strike for increased wages and attacks were made upon the Government. The District Magistrate has warned the convener of the meeting against attempts to stir up trouble among the ignorant agriculturists.

3. AGENCY.--The most important event since last December occurred on the night of the 17th-18th September when the police succeeded in capturing Mallu Dora, the Razu's chief lieutenant and one of the most desperate and dangerous of the 'fituridars'.

5. PRESS.--The decision of the Special Congress at Delhi was the chief topic of discussion. Papers of all shades of opinion welcome the decision and the reappearance of unity in the Congress party though some are of the opinion that it will delay the attaining of SWARAJ. Only the extremist press however welcome the resolution on civil disobedience, and the more moderate ^{papers} are opposed to the resolution ~~of~~ advocating the wholesale boycott of British Empire goods.

Demi-official from E.S. LLOYD, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th October 1923, No. 8565-1, Public.

OCTOBER
FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF ~~YEAR~~, 1923.

POLITICAL.--Summary. Electioneering is in full progress. There seems to be little prospect of any considerable number of SWARAJYA candidates obtaining seats in the Council. No-changers make no attempt to assist them. Of the five Mappilla candidates three were connected with the Khilafat Movement. They do not seem to have any intention to non-co-operate.

2. No practical steps in this presidency with regard to the resolutions of the Special Congress on civil disobedience and

the organization of the civil guards. A sessions of the Guntur District Congress was actually boycotted by the local dhobis and watermen.

3. Instances of Hindu-Muslim friction have been reported from Trichinopoly and Tinnevely and in the Nellore district there seems to be some difference of opinion with regard to the observance of the Dasara festival.

5. Several labour meetings have been held recently and two of them have been addressed by Mr. G.S. Arundale who has reappeared in Madras after a prolonged absence. He appears to be working in the interests of the "home-rule" candidates in connection with the coming elections.

7. PRESS.---The session of the Special Congress and the coming elections are still the chief topics of interest. The use of Regulation III of 1818 in Bengal has come in for a good deal of criticism; and the Prime Minister's speech at the Imperial Conference in London has been generally commented on adversely.

Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CREERAR, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd November 1923, No. 8999-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF OCTOBER 1923.

Polling for the new Councils took place on the last day of October. * * * * * The number of SWARAJ candidates is small and although the party backers worked hard, especially in Madras, where they attempted to establish committees in each municipal division, their activities do not seem to have aroused any large measure of interest among the people and the prevailing mood of the party is one of pessimism. The non-entry party have made no attempt either by persuasion or by more violent methods to hinder or obstruct electioneering and the prospects of a large attendance at the polls were good.

3. extremist measures command but little public support. At

a meeting of the Godavari District Congress Conference held at Razole a resolution moving that the object of the Congress should be changed from SWARAJ, to complete independence was defeated. Up to the present time too no steps have been taken in this presidency to give effect to the resolutions of the All-India Congress relating to civil disobedience and civic guards.

4. The tension between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Nellore district has not been relieved although the Dasara celebrations passed off without incident. Two non-co-operation leaders - T.Prakasam and Yaqub Hasan - intervened in the quarrel and attempted to effect a compromise. Their efforts, however, were not crowned with success.

Demi-official from ME.COUGHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 19th November 1923, No.9462-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF NOVEMBER.

Polling for the new Councils was marked by no untoward incidents; but owing to heavy rain voting had to be postponed in three districts and in others the transmission of the ballot boxes was considerably delayed. All the results have, however now been announced and confirm the forecasts of the probable constitution of the next Council made in previous reports. All the Ministers, the Raja of Panagal, Sir K.Venkata Reddi Nayudu and Mr. A.P.Patro, have been declared elected. * * * Of the 98 elected candidates, 61 are Non-Brahmans, 13 Brahmans, 13 Muhammadans, 5 Indian Christians, 5 Europeans and 1 Anglo-Indian. So far as can be gathered at present, of the 61 non-Brahmans, 43 are 'Ministerialists', 12 are definitely anti-ministerialists and 6 have not attached themselves to either side. Seven candidates, both Brahmans and non-Brahmans, belong to the Congress or SWARAJYA party and 4 of the Muhammadans are KHILAFATISTS. As a considerable number of the doubtful and no-party candidates will probably vote with the minis-

terialists on important questions it would seem that they have a comfortable majority. The party is, however, by no means so coherent in this Council as in the old and it is possible that the tendency to split into groups which is already apparent may become more pronounced on the appointment of the new ministry.

2. As was anticipated the SWARAJIST party was more successful in contesting seats for the Legislative Assembly than for the local Council.

3. The election naturally ~~xxxx~~ overshadowed all other matters during the fortnight and there was little other political activity.

5. The ex-Advocate-General Mr. S.Srinivasa Ayyangar has been making some attempts to induce people to boycott the Viceroy's visit to Madras, but his appeal has so far produced no enthusiasm and does not seem likely to do so.

8. PRESS.--The SATYAGRAHA movement amongst the Sikhs was widely discussed in the vernacular press during the fortnight. The Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club and the position of Indians in the Colonies were also criticized; and a continued interest was evinced in the doings of the Imperial Conference. Leading articles have appeared in the HINDU and SWARAJYA on the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services, which betray marked hostility to the services and proceed on the assumption that the only object of the Commission is to improve the position of European officials in this country at the expense of their Indian confreres and the Indian tax-payer.

Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 5th December 1922, No. 10029-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER. 1923 (21)

The vote of want of confidence in the new Ministry referred to in my last report was moved by Mr. C.R. Reddi on 27th November and was eventually lost by 43 votes to 65. The minority

consisted entirely of elected members. Of the majority 44 were elected members, 13 were nominated non-official members and 8 were ex-officio and nominated official members. * *

* * * * The discussion occupied two full days and, though, distinguished by some eloquent speeches, was ^{marked} by the fact that those who spoke in support of the motion had little or no constructive criticism of the Minister's policy to offer and no alternative Ministry to suggest.

Moreover the recalcitrant members of the Non-Brahman party who instigated the motion were in the somewhat illogical position of having, in the old Council, supported those very measures which they now made the basis of their charge against the Ministers. This inevitably created in the minds of many people an impression that the reason for the attack was not so much lack of confidence in the Ministry, as the feelings of pique and jealousy which the supporters of the motion entertained, towards it. * * * * The motion had the support of the Muhammadan and SWARAJIST members, and one of the most eloquent speeches was made by a member of the latter party, S. Satyamurthi, in the character of TERTIUS GAUDENS.

3. In Madras, under the leadership of Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar continued efforts have been made to secure the boycott of the Viceroy's visit. It seems unlikely that these efforts will be crowned with [~]any large measure of success, but a HARTAL will almost certainly be organized on the day of the arrival.

4. In the Coimbatore district some attempts have been made to terrorise those who let out palm trees to contractors for toddy drawing. * * * * There are some reasons to believe that a local member of the Legislative Council is responsible for this intimidation.

9. PRESS.--The vernacular press continued to devote much attention to the Imperial Conference and further abuse was heaped on General Smuts. Most papers, though admiring the

attitude taken up by Dr. Sapru, thought that he had failed to achieve his object. The Services Commission was discussed by nearly all newspapers and was adversely criticized by most of them.

Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th December 1923, No.10630-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF DECEMBER.

5. * * * * * Comments on the proceedings of the Public Services Commission continue to betray hostility to the European services and characterize their demands as extravagant.

Demi-official from ME. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 5th January, 1924, no.11056-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF DECEMBER 1923.

POLITICAL.---Interest during the fortnight centred in Cocanada where from 25th December onwards a succession of meetings of the Indian National Congress, the KHILAFAT Conference, Jamiat-ul-Ulama and other bodies took place. * * * * * There appears to have been a good deal of wild speaking, particularly from those who are not natives of this presidency; and the manner in which Bolshevik and Communist points of view were represented and the importance which was obviously attached to the perfecting of the volunteer organization throughout India are not without significance. The proceedings were peaceful throughout and have been marked by no untoward incident.

5. * * * * * The successes of SWARAJIST candidates in the elections was a matter of extreme gratification to non-co-operation writers who adduced it as a proof that the country had lost faith in the working of the Reforms.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE OF
THE COUNTRY (1924).

Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th January 1923, No. 343-1, Public.

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FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JANUARY 1924.

POLITICAL.---* * * * * After the close of the Congress, many of the leaders paid visits to other parts of the presidency. Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and a few other agitators from the North of India stayed a few days in Madras and were responsible for several inflammatory speeches in which references were made to the example of the Akalis and to a "Jehad". * * * * * The anti-drink campaign at Coimbatore has subsided. There is some talk among the mirasidars of Tanjore about resisting the rates fixed at the resettlement of the district, but so far there has been no difficulty in collection.

D.O. No. 374-1, Public, dated 2nd February 1924.

MY DEAR CRERAR,

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY 1924.

POLITICAL.---The number of political meetings and speeches reported during the fortnight continues to be large. Shaukat Ali and his party returned from Ceylon, and held meetings in Madurai, Dindigul and Trichinopoly before leaving the presidency. Shaukat Ali's speeches are generally objectionable in tone, but they do not appear to have excited much interest except in Dindigul, where a large number of Muhammadans attended the meeting. The KHADDAR Board, visited Madras where Misra made a somewhat strong speech in support of the Volunteer movement.

2. A company of the Green Howards, taking advantage of the relief of the detachment at Bellary, carried out a training and demonstration march through the Muhammadan centres of the North Arcot district which was probably had a good effect.

3. There has been no marked development of the campaign for civil disobedience in Tanjore which was referred to in my last report. Opinion in the district seems to be divided into two camps, the majority wishing to agitate for a reduction of the tax and the minority being in favour of a fight at all costs.

6. AGENCY.--The Assam Rifles have arrived and are busy settling down and organizing an immediate campaignⁱ.

Yours sincerely,

M.E. COUCHMAN,

ACTING CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVT. OF
MADRAS.

To the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE.

ICS.,

Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department.

Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN; Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th ~~XXXXXX~~ February, 1924, No. 1713-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY.

POLITICAL.--The release of Gandhi is of course the chief event of the fortnight. It has been the cause of considerable rejoicings among the educated classes, but otherwise seems to have created very little excitement. Several municipalities and local bodies proclaimed holidays in their offices and schools and in some places the poor were fed. In Madras two meetings on the beach were held to celebrate the occasion, but, for meetings of this kind, were very poorly attended. The audience at the first only numbered 1,000 and at the second only half that number. As was perhaps only to be expected, the release is generally regarded as a victory for the SWARAJIST party rather than an act of grace on the part of the Government. Gandhi's health is looked upon as an excuse, and the prestige of the Government has certainly not gained by the release.

4. Propaganda in support of the campaign for the non-

payment of the increased rates of land-tax in Tanjore continued to be carried on, chiefly by certain members of the Legislative Council, but to a diminished extent pending the results of the deputation mentioned in my last report. His Excellency the Governor in Council received the deputation on February 13th and promised to give the memorandum of their case which they presented the most careful consideration. No decision has yet been reached.

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Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 4th March, 1924, No. 2286-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF FEBRUARY.

2. The Provincial Labour Conference held in Madras during the fortnight under the presidency of Varadarajulu Nayudu.

* * * * * The Conference expressed disapproval of ~~xxxxxx~~ Singaravelu Chetti's Labour and Kisan party of Hindustan.

3. The 'no-tax' campaign in Tanjore continues pending the decision of the Government on the representations of the deputation referred to in my last report; and there has been some difficulty in selling property which has been attached for want of bids. There are signs of that attempts are being made to organize a similar protest against the introduction of resettlement rates in the neighbouring district of Trichinopoly.

Demi-official from M.E. COUCHMAN, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th March, 1924, No. 2796-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1924.

POLITICAL.--Efforts to celebrate Gandhi month and to collect men and money for the Congress seem to have fallen remarkably flat everywhere; and it is becoming increasingly

clear that any popular interest that exists in the attainment of swaraj now centres in the doings of the Swarajist party in the Councils.

A report has already been sent to the Foreign Department regarding the effect of the decision of the Angora Assembly to abolish the Khalifate upon Muslim sentiments in Madras. The decision undoubtedly came as a surprise, and its legality is questioned and its effects resented. At the same time feeling on the subject cannot be said to be in any way intense and Madras Muhammadans are, as usual, awaiting a lead from the North of India. It is understood that the name of the deposed Khalifa is still mentioned in the Jumma prayers on Fridays. The Mappillas do not yet seem to have realized the significance of the abolition and will probably await a pronouncement on the subject from Yakub Hasan, who is due to visit Cannanore for the District conference on March 22nd, and 23rd. It has been mentioned in the papers that Shaukat Ali has also been invited to preside at a conference in another part of the Malabar district, but the Government have no information as to whether he will accept.

The situation in Tanjore remains unaltered. The Government, after due consideration, have decided not to reduce the resettlement rates and are issuing a Press Communique on the subject. It remains to be seen whether this decision will break up the resistance or stiffen it. It seems probable that for some time at any rate efforts will be made to carry on the campaign of non-payment, and it is possible that steps will have to be taken under the security sections against agitators from outside who endeavour to keep it going. There can be no doubt that the agitation is primarily political in character, and that the rates are not really excessive.

2. AGENCY.---* * * * * The efforts of the authorities have been considerably hampered by the action of a local Member of the Legislative Council, Narasimha Raju by name, who has been making enquiries in the area with the deliberate

intention of embarrassing the Government, and it is becoming increasingly clear that the officer in command of the operations must be armed with the ordinary powers of a military commander if he is to cope satisfactorily with the situation.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd April, 1924, No. 3431-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MARCH 1924.

POLITICAL.--The chief topic of interest is the progress of the campaign for the non-payment of land revenue in Tanjore. The decision of the Government referred to in my last report has had the effect, for the time being at any rate, of stiffening the resistance, and every effort is being made by politicians to foster the spirit of opposition to the Government. The District Magistrate found it necessary to prohibit about 30 persons, chiefly agitators from outside the district, from attending a KHILAFAT meeting on March 27th in an area which was the scene of serious 'non-co-operation' riots two years ago, on the ground that it would be used as an opportunity for incitement to the non-payment of revenue. It is also reported that intimidation and persuasion is being freely resorted to to prevent people bidding at sales of attached crops. Popular opinion in the district is still far from being united in spite of the propaganda that is being carried on. In many quarters the introduction of the Land Revenue Settlement Bill in the Local Council was awaited as a reason for not coming to a decision, but the Bill was defeated on its first reading in the Council on March 28th, chiefly because it contained no provision for subjecting resettlement proposals to a vote of the Council, and attention has since been focussed on a number of ryots' meetings in the district which were arranged for the end of the month. According to the latest newspaper reports it appears that at these meetings the intention of the

ryots to resist the payment of the new rates was reaffirmed, but this has not yet been officially confirmed.

The policy of the Government will be to permit free discussion among the people of the district as far as possible without prejudice to the peace and safety of the district, but to discourage and curb interference on the part of agitators from outside. They regard the collection of revenue for the moment as a matter of comparative unimportance and expect that their ordinary powers will prove sufficient in the long run, though the process of collection will naturally be delayed.

Apart from the situation in Tanjore there is ^{little} ~~xxxx~~ of political interest to report. Meetings and lectures continue to be held in a few districts, and there were two meetings in Madras on the termination of 'Gandhi month' on March 18th at which the general apathy was deplored.

There have been no developments of Muhammadan feeling with regard to the abolition of the Khalifate, except that opinion in Madras is now definitely opposed to the claims of King Hussain, and is inclined to the view that the strongest Muhammadan ruler should be Khalifa.

4. PRESS.--Strenuous efforts are being made in the extremist press to make a second Jallianwallah out of the Jaito affair. The obstructive tactics of the SWARAJIST party in the Legislative Council Assembly and other Provincial Councils have been applauded and the comparative ineffectiveness of the party in the Madras Council has produced some comment. The KHILAFAT question is also the subject of discussion and it is suggested that the Khalifa should be reinstated on the suffrage of the whole Muslim world at some central spot outside the Turkish Empire.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th April 1924, No. 4105-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF APRIL 1924.

2. POLITICAL.---A new party has been formed to organize the opposition in the Legislative Council to the Ministerial party. It is composed of elements of the SWARAJIST, Independent and anti-Ministerial parties and the majority of its members appear to have made themselves office-bearers of one sort or another. There have been some attempts to celebrate a 'National Week' from April 7th to 13th, but there has been no enthusiasm and from one or two places in the mufassal come reports of non-co-operation meetings having been broken up on account of opposition.

3. The District Conference in Malabar was a failure. The only important personage to attend it was Yakub Hasan and little interest was displayed in the proceedings. Yakub Hasan subsequently had an interview with the District Magistrate and obtained permission to visit the rebellion area to investigate distress among the Mappillas. He undertook to refrain altogether from political propaganda and seems to have kept his promise, but his report on the situation is, as was to be expected, not free from exaggeration. A SATYAGRAHA campaign is being carried on at a place called Vaikkam in Travancore as a protest against the prohibition against the use of certain roads by particular castes. The campaign was led by the Malabar agitator, Kesava Menon, and the notorious George Joseph, both of whom have since been arrested. The number of persons who are ^{prepared} ~~dealing firmly~~ to court arrest is said to be fairly large, but the local authorities are dealing ^{and sensibly} firmly with the movement and, at the moment, there appears to be no danger of a breach of the peace.

4. The no-tax campaign in Tanjore continues, but there have been no fresh developments. The extremist press is

anxious to make out that there has been a courageous defiance of orders issued under section 144, but as a matter of fact no person on whom such an order has been served has attempted to disobey it, and, though efforts are being made to induce landholders to refrain from cultivating their lands as a protest against the new rates, it is not likely that this policy will have much success. The lands are too valuable.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated 1st May 1924, No. 12/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF APRIL.

2. POLITICAL.---Subrahmanya Siva, the well-known agitator, has reappeared in Madras where he is trying to collect money for the Bharata Mata temple to be constructed in a village in Salem district where he has bought seven acres of land. From the latest speech which he made on the Madras beach it is seen that he will have to be carefully watched.

3. The Satyagraha campaign being carried on at Vykom in Travancore, as mentioned in paragraph 3 of my last report, has lost a good deal of its intensity since Gandhi has informed the Satyagrahists that they need not stay on duty in the streets beyond the limits of physical endurance.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 53/O-1, dated Ootacamund, the 16th May 1924.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT - FIRST HALF OF MAY 1924.

2. POLITICAL.---Subrahmanya Siva continues to make speeches in Madras, but is not attracting very much attention.

Although the Satyagraha campaign at Vykom in Travancore continues to occupy a lot of space in the daily papers of the Presidency, it does not appear that it is attracting larger numbers of adherents from week to week. No sign of a satisfactory solution is however in sight.

There have been no further developments in the political side of the Tanjore non-tax campaign. Taking the whole district, payment of kist up to the end of April amounted to about 75 per cent of the demand. In some parts collection was difficult because of the unfavourable season. In other parts, the determined attitude of Government in continuing to hold sales of moveables and property is having its effect. In other cases, the delay in payment is attributable to the ordinary phenomenon of cultivators waiting for a rise in the price of paddy to sell their crops and pay their tax.

3. The best news of the fortnight is the capture of the leader of the Agency rebellion, Sri Rama Razu. The Press Communique which is being issued to-day by the Government of Madras is printed as an appendix to this report. The Special Agency Commissioner writes that the action with the rebels and the capture and death of the Razu seem at present to have demoralized thoroughly the remainder who have scattered. It is hoped that this may really mark the beginning of the end of the rebellion.

4. PRESS.--The Satyagraha at Vykom occupies daily many columns of the Madras press. * * * * * The Reforms Inquiry was also a leading topic. Most of the vernacular papers refuse to consider the possibility of any good resulting from the inquiry because it is to be departmental instead of public, like the proposed Round Table Conference. The rather cautious pronouncements of the labour Government in England about reforms in India also come in for severe criticism.

APPENDIX.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

Dated Ootacamund, the 16th May 1924.

Telegraph reports have already appeared in the press of the capture and shooting of the rebel leader Alluri Sri Rama

Razu. The Government have now received the written report of the Special Commissioner, Agency Operations. It appears therefrom that Intelligence Inspector Upendra Patnaik with a patrol party of the East Coast Special Police got information that the Razu and his gang had been in Kondapalli village for two days. He came in touch with the party on the 6th May. Both sides opened fire and two rebels were killed and Aggi Razu, an important rebel, was captured. Others, including the leader Sri Rama Razu, escaped. On the morning of the 7th May another patrol party of the Special Police under Jamadar Kunchu Menon captured a man who stated that he was the leader Razu. He was brought ~~xx~~ ⁱⁿ to Major Goodall of the Assam Rifles the same morning. Later in the day, the prisoner seized an opportunity and attempted to run away; he was fired on by the police escort and killed. The body after being identified by the Deputy Tahsildar, Gudem, and many village officials, was cremated on the 8th. The most important rebel at large now is Gantham Dhora for whose capture every effort is being made.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIB. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. C. RERAR, CSI. CIB. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 132/0-1. dated Camp Ootacamund, the 2nd June 1924.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT -- Second HALF OF MAY 1924.

2. POLITICAL.--There has been a good deal of activity shown by the local Congressmen in Madras owing to the imminence of the municipal elections. Both at meetings and in the vernacular papers people are exhorted to return only the Congress candidates, now that Mr. Gandhi has given his sanction to the capture of municipalities and local boards by Congressmen.

3. The Non-tax Campaign in Tanjore is now definitely stated to be political and not economic. The Congress party are making determined attempts to make the ryots come over to them EN BLOC. But at a conference at Mannagrudi on the 18th and 19th May, the proposal to adopt mass civil disobedience failed

after heated arguments and a similar fate befell the proposal to merge the Mirasidars' (Ryots) Association with the District Congress Committee. Prohibitory orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, were served on a number of leading speakers ^{before} ~~under~~ the conference started, but Mr. Satyamurthi, M.L.C., managed to evade the order by leaving the train at an earlier station and motoring straight up to the pandal and so making his speech before the police with the order could arrive on the scene. There is little doubt, however, that all the speeches were in consequence of the order more moderate in tone.

5. Some good work has been done in the Agency in the last fortnight. Special efforts were made, as it was necessary under the agreement with the Assam Government to release the 600 Assam Police on the 1st June. After the encounter with the rebels ending in the death of the leader Sri Rama Razu it was ascertained that a considerable portion of the gang ~~xxxxxx~~ separated under Yendu Padal and remained above-ghats and another gang under the chief remaining rebel Gantham Dhora stayed below-ghats. The Assam Rifles conducted a concentrated drive in the above-ghats area and although they did not come into contact with the rebels themselves they pushed them out, and other police parties came into contact with them in small parties and were able to effect captures, including the first wife and daughter of Gantham Dhora. As a matter of interest, they also captured what was known as the Razu's puja box, which was a leather suit case originally belonging to a British officer. This contained, among other things, a complete list of rebels with dates of their joining, and the deserters with the date of their leaving the gang, also a list of fines imposed on villagers for giving information to the ~~xxxxx~~ police, and for handing up rebels. An even more important event has been the killing of the rebel Yendu Padal by the villagers of Pada-Jeruvu. The villagers had captured the rebel's son and so he came to

the village and summoned the village munsif and others to meet him on the edge of the forest. When they arrived he fired both barrels of his gun at the munsif but missed him. The munsif, however, had taken the precaution of sending men round to take the man in the rear and he was killed with sticks and stones. The Government have sanctioned a reward of Rs.1,000 to the villagers. It is possible that this may encourage other villagers to take similar action against Gantam Dhora but the action against Yendu Padal seems to have been due to the individual [~]initiation of the village munsif of Peda Juruvu and he may not find many imitators. Generally the attitude of the villagers remains unchanged and is one of non-co-operation.

6. PRESS.--The opinions of the vernacular press on the report of the Lee Commission have not yet been reported. They will probably follow the lead of the HINDU and the SWARAJYA, in exaggerating and criticising the concessions made to the services, and passing over the rest of the report as lightly as possible. SWARAJYA is at once fuming over and enjoying the 'distinction' of having been removed from the Madras Editors' Table list and is filling several columns daily with letters from its supporters, attacking Government on this score. Several papers have been speaking of the late leader of the Agency rebellion as a martyr, and so deserving of honours.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble MR. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No.257/O-1, dated Camp, Ootacamund, the 17th June 1924.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT - FIRST HALF OF JUNE 1924.

3. The Government have sanctioned the prosecution of Subrahmanya Siva for the seditious speeches in Madras mentioned in paragraph 2 of my demi-official dated 16th May.

4. In my last letter I reported that one of the chief Agency rebels, Yendu Padal, had been killed and the wife and daughter of the chief remaining rebel, Gantam Dora, captured.

Another, Gokiri Yerresu, for whom a reward of Rs.500 was offered, was brought in ~~by~~ by villagers. Subsequently, the younger wife of Gantam Dora was captured, and on the 7th June a patrol surprised eight rebels among whom was Gantam Dora himself. He was shot after a brisk fight. Several police muskets with ammunition were also ~~also~~ captured. There are still about thirty rebels to be accounted for and these have all dispersed into hiding places. Very large reductions are being made in the police force operating in the Agency as the rains make it temporarily impracticable to continue active operations.

6. The dispute about the entry of untouchable castes into the temple streets of Vykom has made no progress. It is significant that the party of Akalis who came to Vykom at the beginning of May and opened a free kitchen have now returned to Amritsar under instructions from the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhik Committee.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras,
to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary
to the Government of India, Home Department,
No.382/O-1, dated Camp, Ootacamund, the 2nd July 1924.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JUNE.

3. In the Agency, Bonkalu Modigadu for whom a reward of Rs.500 was offered, was captured by villagers. Two other rebels were also captured. Rifles and police guns are being recovered and it seems probable that those rebels also who are still ~~hiding~~ are anxious to get rid of their arms as being too incriminating a possession. A number of headmen and village officials are being confined as State prisoners in the Russelkonda Hill Jail. In the absence of the proposed ordinance which would settle some communal responsibility on villagers for giving information of the whereabouts of the rebels, this is the only means of bringing home to villagers that it is their duty to assist the Government in putting down the rebellion.

N.E. MARJORIBANKS
TO
J. CRERAR - ~~2~~ 2nd July 1924.

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4. There have been no further developments in the demonstrations at Vykam in Travancore. The prosecution under section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, for speeches made in Madras, has been sanctioned of E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, an agitator of a venomous type who has been very busy lately in stimulating these demonstrations.

6. All the vernacular papers have been employing their heaviest type to condemn Mr. Justice McCardie over the O'Dwyer-Sankaran Nayar case. References are made to the result of the Tilak-Chirol trial and the pose is assumed that there can be no justice in British courts between an Englishman and an Indian. The judgment in the Cawnpore Conspiracy case was also adversely commented on. The sentences passed are said to be very severe.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 5th August, No. 6633-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JULY 1924.

4. The Collector of Cuddapah reports that with the advent of the Muharram there was a fair hope that the longstanding dispute between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Proddatur over the customary stoppage of Hindu music would be amicably settled. Unfortunately at this juncture the SWARAJYA published certain interpellations and a resolution on the subject proposed to be moved by a Member of the local Legislative Council and it is said that the Muhammadans now consider that their prestige would be impaired if they accept the compromise when they have a champion in the Council to cross-examine the Government on the matter.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 19th August 1924, No. 7092-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF AUGUST 1924.

7. Contrary to general expectations the SWARAJIST candidates

were successful in three of the four elections for the Corporation of Madras. The President Mr. Tirumalai Pillai, was easily defeated by a Muhammadan candidate in a division which contains very few Muhammadans.

Demi-official from N.E.MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd September 1924, No.7621-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST.

4. The swarajists have been much elated by their unlooked-for successes in winning three of the four seats on the Corporation in the August elections. Five more seats are to be contested at the beginning of this month and it seems probable that the swarajist success will be continued. It is difficult to say with certainty what were the causes for the failure of two influential and long-standing councillors to retain their seats when opposed by two young congressmen with no municipal experience; the chief cause seems to be that they under-estimated the strength of the SWARAJ party and the value ~~the~~ of energetic canvassing of voters. The swarajists' campaign of capturing local bodies is now being started up-country and in Madura is said to be making considerable headway.

Demi-official from N.E.MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 19th September, 1924, No.8004-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

3. At the Madras Corporation elections, the swarajists repeated the success which they won in the August elections, and captured four out of the five seats. The Congress and Swaraj^{va}ist parties are very jubilant over their successes and have been organizing processions and meetings throughout the municipal divisions to congratulate the successful candidates. They will not enter office till November, however, so that

it will be some time before their policy in the Council becomes known. Similarly four Congress candidates have succeeded in being elected to the Madura Municipal Council as a result of the well organized canvassing undertaken by the non-co-operators. Other reports from Madura show that the Policemen's union in that town may soon be giving trouble. They have refused to yield to advice and to get rid of their non-official members, and the Government have at present no legal power to order disbandment of the union although it does not recognize it officially.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Government of Ma Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd October 1924, No. 8501-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

3. There have been no political activities worthy of mention during the fortnight. Mr. Gandhi's fast does not affect the people of the Madras Presidency very much. It is reported, however, that a Marwari in Madras gave an 'At Home' to the successful Congress candidates in the recent Corporation elections and that, in honour of Mr. Gandhi's fast, the Congressmen abstained from any refreshments.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 18th October 1924, No. 8891-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER.

2. * * * * * Two public meetings were held in Madras, the alleged object being to remove the tension between the Hindus and Muhammadans. But it is reported that the success of the meetings was rather discounted by the speakers detailing high-handed action by Hindus or Muhammadans as an excuse for any violence shown by their own party. The result was that feelings were embittered rather than calmed. * * * * * Four non-co-operators have been successful in getting elected to

the Bezwada Municipal Council and the Collector anticipates that this Council will probably soon start obstructive methods.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd November 1924, No. 9332-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF OCTOBER.

2. The Andhra Provincial Conference passed off quietly. It was presided by G. Harisarovvottama Rao, a man of some notoriety, and the welcome address was delivered by G. Venkata Reddi Subrahmanyam Chetti. The latter is reported to have expressed himself strongly on the plea for the dismemberment of the British Empire and the declaration of the complete independence of India. The latter subject was taken up as a resolution and caused a heated discussion, the votes being equally divided; the resolution was lost by the President's casting vote.

KHADDAR cloth was hawked round the streets during Deepavali, but does not seem to have driven trade away from the ordinary cloth shops.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th November, 1924, No. 9812-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF NOVEMBER.

2. Politically there is little or nothing to report. Sporadic meetings have been held throughout the Presidency to condemn the issue of the Ordinance in Bengal. These meetings as well as the local press start with the assumption that the Ordinance is directed not against anarchical crimes but against the SWARAJIST party. However, there are indications that educated people as a whole are not without some inkling of the real state of affairs in Bengal; for considerable disappointment was expressed at the meeting in Madras, because it was attended by SWARAJISTS only, and the leaders of the other political parties were conspicuous by their absence. No attempt was made to

organize a hartal.

NEW INDIA had the courage to state that drastic measures were needed ~~to~~ in Bengal for putting down revolutionary crimes. But the paper subsequently modified its attitude in view of the statement appearing in the Gandhi-SWARAJIST manifesto declaring that the repression was aimed at the SWARAJIST party.

Demi-official from N.E. MARJORIBANKS, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th December 1924, No. 10696-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF DECEMBER.

POLITICAL.--No political meetings of any importance have been mentioned from the districts. In Madras the event of the fortnight seems to be that Mrs. Besant has signed the Congress creed; but it is not known whether she intends to identify herself completely with the Congress or the Swarajya party. It is reported that Mr. Gandhi's son, Devadas, has come to Madras in order to teach the old lady spinning. He has also given some public demonstrations in the use of the charka.

The Swarajists who have won their way to the Madras Corporation are attempting to make their influence felt by resolutions demanding the hanging of Mr. Gandhi's portrait in the Corporation buildings and the wearing of khaddar by all Corporation employees. It is doubtful whether they yet have a sufficient following to carry either of the resolutions.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1925).

Demi-official from N. MACMICHAEL, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th January, 1924, No. 230-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JANUARY.

3. During the fortnight both Lala Lajpat Rai and Shaukat Ali addressed meetings in Madras. The former was chiefly interested in collecting funds for the Rohat refugees and for establishing in each town Hindu Sabhas to safeguard the interests of the Hindu community. It is said that response to his appeal was good and that he collected about ten thousand rupees. His speech about the present political situation was inoffensive. Shaukat Ali failed to arouse any enthusiasm and was clearly disappointed with the lukewarmness of the Madras Mussalmans for politics.

Demi-official from N. MACMICHAEL, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd February, 1925, No. 605-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY.

POLITICAL.--The carrying into practice of the spinning franchise appears to be generally unpopular although various attempts have been made to start clubs in order to popularize spinning. The rule in one club that the subscription of KHADDAR yarn each month need not necessarily be self-spun speaks for itself. In Guntur the Congress Committee have supplied charks to municipal schools, and municipal servants have been ordered to spin every day.

Demi-official from N. MACMICHAEL, Esq., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th February 1925, No. 882-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY.

6. PRESS.--* * * * A good deal was also published about

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the difficulties of the Indians in South Africa. The Telugu press in particular published long articles showing how in the name of voluntary repatriation the South African Government were trying to send away domiciled Indians by offering false hopes that better means of livelihood could be found in India. Other papers published articles to show that Indians in Kenya had been mainly responsible for the present flourishing condition of the country and they denounced the law restricting the acquisition of the landed property by the Indians to a hundred acres.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd March 1925, No. 1112-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF FEBRUARY.

The Malayalam press is commenting on a proposed KHILAFAT conference which has been announced in Malabar for the latter part of April. It is said that Muhammad Ali has promised to attend and preside. As the notified date of the conference is just after the end of the month of Ramzan when Mappillas are most prone to outbursts of fanaticism the Hindu organs express considerable anxiety and disapproval of the proposed conference. From notices in the press it is not clear what exactly are the subjects to be dealt with at the KHILAFAT conference. The term is apt^{now} to be used loosely for any conference of Muhammadans to discuss matters of general interest, preferably with anti-Government tendencies.

CRIME.---There was a communal disturbance which ended in serious results in the Salem district in the early part of the month.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th March 1925, No. 1386-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1925.

2. POLITICAL.---Mr. Gandhi appeared in Madras on the 7th of March

after giving only two days' notice of his tour. He was received at the station by a very large crowd which was preferably well behaved. In the afternoon he went to the Ripon Buildings and was presented with an address by the Corporation. * * * * * Later in the evening there was a very large meeting on the Triplicane Beach, which has been re-christened Tilak Ghat, in his honour. Eleven addresses were presented and Mr. Gandhi replied in English which was translated into Tamil; he spoke about untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, KHADDAR and the charka and made a strong appeal to the people to take ^{to} ~~the~~ spinning.

Demi-official from A.Y.G.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Camp, Ootacamund, the 4th May 1925, No.29/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF APRIL.

3. POLITICAL.---A Muhammadan from Madura tried to give a non-co-operation lecture at Sivakasi in Ramnad district, but the crowd threw stones at him and he had to leave the place.

Demi-official from A.Y.G.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, No.66/O-1, dated Camp, Ootacamund, the 16th May 1925.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MAY 1925.

3. POLITICAL.---It may be proper to record under this heading the death on the 28th April of Sir P.T. Tyagaraya Chetti, the leader of the non-Brahman or "Justice" party. He had been the acknowledged head of the "Justice" party ever since the death of Dr. Nair, in 1919, and the cohesion of that party may, to a not inconsiderable extent, be ascribed to his strong personality and the affection which he inspired. The question of who should succeed ^{him} ~~is~~ one which is now exercising considerably the members of his party.)

4. PRESS.---The extremist papers are by no means pleased at Mr. Das's last utterance at the Faridpur Conference. They

him blame/for his abject surrender and ask why he should wish to make a subservient offer to Government. They express surprise and suspicion at the "new love" which he shows for the Empire. Some of the papers are also commenting adversely on the efforts made by Lord Meston and Sir Robert Horne to recruit British youths to the Indian Civil Service and maintain that this is opposed to the principle of Indianisation approved by the Lee Commission.

Demi-official from A.Y.C. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, No. 120/O-1, dated Camp, Ootacamund, the 2nd June 1925.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MAY.

2. (POLITICAL.--Since the death of Sir P. Theagaraya Chetti efforts have been made to effect a RAPPROCHEMENT between the Ministerialist and the Oppositionist non-Brahmans. One of the Oppositionist non-Brahmans was put forward as the 'Justice' candidate for the Madras City vacancy in the Legislative Council and was returned unopposed. At a largely attended meeting of non-Brahmans at Madras, the Chief Minister who presided made an appeal ~~fixxxxx~~ for the reunion of the party and Dr. Natesa Mudaliyar, one of the leaders of the Opposition, declared that he was prepared to cross the floor of the House and sit with the Ministerial party. Sir K. Venkata Reddi Nayudu also protested his devotion to the non-Brahman cause. On the other hand at a general meeting of the 'Swarajya' party which was held some days previously, it was resolved that the 'Swarajya' party in the Legislative Council should in future function as a separate group. For the time being therefore there is considerable uncertainty as to the composition of the Opposition at the next Council meeting. Both in the 'reunion' meeting and in the Press there has been a recrudescence of frankly communal controversy.)

5. PRESS.--The ANDHRA PATRIKA and some other Telugu papers voice a suspicion that India will have to bear a certain por-

tion of the expenditure proposed to be incurred on the establishment of a naval base at Singapore and warn the Government that the opinion of the Legislative Assembly should be taken before this burden is thrust upon India. Other papers have commented unfavourably on the Local Government for not utilizing the whole of the remission of the Provincial contribution for the nation-building departments. The Malayalam papers welcomed the order of the District Magistrate of Malabar warning Mappillas against instituting ceremonies over the graves of Mappillas who died at Pookatur during the rebellion. Such celebrations would be a source of great potential danger among the fanatical Mappillas. Other papers reported with misgivings the rumour of further releases of Mappilla prisoners. This apparently referred to the fact that 25 Mappilla convicts have been sent from the Andamans to Malabar to see whether they can ~~xxxx~~ persuade their own families and families of other convicts to return with them and settle in the Andamans.

Demi-official from A.Y.C. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. EBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated camp, Ootacamund, the 17th June 1925, No.150/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JUNE 1925.

3. POLITICAL.--Considerable preparations are being made at Tirupati in the Chittoor district to give Mr. Gandhi a good reception; he is expected there in the beginning of July and a meeting under the presidency of Mr. C. Duraiswami Ayyangar, M.L.A., proposed to grant him a purse of Rs.2,000. A meeting of the Tirupati Municipal Council which was convened for 30th May 1925 for voting an address to His Excellency the Governor who will visit Chittoor district shortly was postponed for a lack of quorum and it is probable that His Excellency will omit Tirupati from the places to be visited.

The Collector of Malabar brings to notice that a certain amount of harm has been done to the proposed Andamans colonisation scheme by the propaganda of a Muslim sangham which has

hitherto been a religious reforming body and has shown no interest in politics. The sangham recently held a meeting in Calicut when a resolution condemning the Andamans colonisation scheme was proposed by Muhammad Schammad, M.L. A., who presided, and was supported by two members of the Madras Legislative Council who are also Mappillas. The Muslim Press of the Presidency are also opposing the scheme and are freely quoting the remarks of the Jail Committee condemning the Andamans as a place of residence.

Demi-official from A.Y.G.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No.182/O-1, dated camp, Ootacamund, the 3rd July 1925.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JUNE 1925.

3. POLITICAL.--In Madras a number of shops were closed on receipt of the news of the death of Mr. C.R. Das. The City Corporation passed a resolution of condolence and closed its office on the 13th June as a mark of respect to the deceased.

Throughout the Presidency, local boards have passed resolutions of condolence on the death of Mr. C.R.Das. In Tirupattur, North Arcot, the Municipal Council's schools were shut. In Kurnool, the shops were shut, but the shop-keepers appear to have had nothing but a vague idea that some Swadeshi leader had died. It is interesting that in Guntur - once the centre of the non-co-operation movement - the death of Mr. C.R.Das evoked only one small public meeting and a resolution of condolence from the Municipal Council at a meeting attended by only eight persons.

D.O. NO.191/O-1, PUBLIC, DATED 15TH JULY 1925.

MY DEAR CRERAR,

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JULY.

Demi-official from A.Y.G.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 15th July, 1925, No.191/O-1, Public.

3. POLITICAL.--There is nothing of much interest to report

in the political sphere. Memorials to Mr. Das have been freely voted throughout the presidency. In Madras July 1st was observed as Das Memorial Day. Shop-keepers were asked to close their shops at 4 p.m. but only a few Gujarati and Marwari shop-keepers complied with the request. A meeting held on the beach was not well attended. Bakr-id everywhere passed off quietly.

Yours sincerely,

CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS
To the Hon'ble Mr. J. Crerar, CSI. CIE. ICS.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

Demi-official from AY.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the
Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, dated the
1st August 1925, No.3432-1, Public.

3. Muharram has so far passed off quietly except in one district. At Proddatur, a town in the Cuddapah district, the Vysias in 1921 established their right in a civil court to have music in their temple and to conduct processions every Friday throughout the year. Since the Vysias obtained this decree the Muhammadans have not celebrated Muharram in Proddatur. But this year the District Magistrate learned that the Muhammadans intended to celebrate Muharram; and it was rumoured that the more rowdy element among the Muhammadans intended to obstruct the procession. Police were, consequently, posted at all the openings into the street along which the procession would move. At about 4 p.m. on Friday the 24th a crowd of some 1,000 Muhammadans had collected armed in various ways. They pelted stones at and made determined efforts to break through the police. The Taluk Magistrate, Sub-Magistrate and six reserve constables were slightly injured. Having regard to the character of the crowd and the small number of police available the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police thought it inadvisable to fire and the District Magistrate temporarily suspended the conduct of the Puja and procession on Friday the 24th. At the same time the District

Superintendent of Police wired for 50 reserve police from each of four adjoining districts. These reinforcements have arrived and that over 100 arrests have been made. All is now quiet and the District Magistrate intends to see that the Vysias are not molested in the exercise of their right under law on Friday the 31st.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th August 1925, No. 3215-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF AUGUST.

POLITICAL.--There is little of interest to report. Muharram terminated without trouble anywhere except for the incident at Proddatur in the Cuddapah district referred to in my last letter. The introduction of the Reserve Police from adjoining districts had a most salutary effect and the Vysias were able to hold their procession on Friday the 31st without molestation. One hundred and sixteen Muhammadans in all were arrested as a result of the disturbances on the 24th of July; of these charges have been laid against 84.

The municipal elections have aroused considerable interest and the SWARAJIST candidates have been successful in winning the five out of seven seats so far balloted for. Their success has been due, no doubt, chiefly to their intensive and well organized propaganda; but it is probable that the decision of the party to take a ^{practical} active part in political life has added considerably to the number of their adherents. They have now become a party who may be able to do something for their supporters.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd September 1925, No. 3984-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST.

POLITICAL.--There is little or nothing to report. In Madras

the justice party had rather more success in the contest for the last three seats and retained the two of them formerly held by the party. Towards the end of the election feelings began to run high and culminated on the night before the polling in a riot. The SWARAJISTS had organized a final and well attended demonstration and proceeded in procession through

The Police who were escorting a procession ~~called in~~ and effected eight arrests and an attack made on the SWARAJIST with sticks. A Sub-

Inspector and a few constables were slightly hurt and three persons received serious injuries. On the election day itself there was no trouble. The police had taken ample precautions.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.--The Legislative Council sat from the 18th to the 21st of August and from the 24th to 26th. Interest was centred in and time devoted to matters of a personal or theoretical nature rather than practical legislation. An adjournment of the business of the House was moved to discuss the unsatisfactory nature of the recent speech of the Secretary of State in the House of ~~XXXXXX~~ Lords regarding Indian reforms. The motion was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor on subject- the ground that the/matter was not the primary concern of the Local Government.

Demi-official from A.Y.B. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th September 1925, No. 4251-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

PRESS.--The vernacular press has been ^{chiefly} concerned with the proceedings of the Central Legislature. The adoption by a large majority in the Legislative Assembly of the non-official amendment to the Government resolution moved in respect of the Muddiman Committee's report is considered a triumph and the press is delighted with the agreement between SWARAJISTS and Independents in support of the amendment. The extremist papers condemn the action of the Council of State in rejecting the Bill to repeal repressive laws and consider that it is time this 'stronghold of reaction' was ended.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd October 1925, No.4519-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

POLITICAL.--There is little of interest to report. In Madras the SWARAJISTS were successful in the elections for the two seats in the Corporation which - as stated in my last letter - were the subject of objection petitions. The final result is that the SWARAJISTS, out of the ten seats ballotted for, have retained the three seats previously held by them and have won five seats - three at the expense of the Independents and two at the expense of the Justice party. They are naturally jubilant. The Justice party have taken stock of their position and are laying particular emphasis on the need for the more effective organization of their party with special reference to the establishment of branches throughout the Presidency for propaganda work.

Mr. S.Satyamurthi, M.L.C., who returned recently from England, has been active in speech-making. In an address on the subject of "England and India" his argument was that the British nation yielded only to force and threats. Armed revolution, however, was out of the question in India, and the only effective alternative to it was civil disobedience in the form of non-payment of taxes and so forth. As practical measures preliminary to the attainment of SWARAJ he suggested insistence on the repeal of the Arms Act and the compulsory military training of all young men. Mr. Satyamurthi commanded a large audience, but it is doubtful whether there is much serious backing behind speeches of this kind.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 19th October 1925, No.4547-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER.

PRESS.-- * * * * * Other topics with which the

press has been concerned are the Bombay mill crisis and the position of Indians in South Africa. The former is attributed to Lancashire and the refusal of the Government of India to repeal the cotton excise duty. The disabilities suffered by Indians in South Africa have been catalogued, and in default of SWARAJ ~~retaliatory~~ retaliatory measures against South Africans in India and a universal protest are suggested as partial remedies.

Demi-official from A.Y.C. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th November 1925, No. 5429-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF NOVEMBER.

POLITICAL.--In Madras something of a sensation has been caused by the election as President of the Corporation ^{of} Mr. Swami Venkatachalam Chetti - a member of the SWARAJISTS' party. SWARAJISTS have also been elected as Presidents of Municipalities in Cuddapah, Rajahmundry and Cocanada.

The trouble in Palghat last year when certain Ezhuvans claimed the right to be present at the car festival at Kalpathi - the Brahman quarter of the Palghat Municipality - has been revived again this year in a somewhat different form. The Arya Samaj has been active in Palghat and has recently secured a considerable number of converts. The Brahmans have taken up the attitude that while they have no objection to the entry into their agharam of Christian and Muhammadan converts from the polluting castes - as the converts are new members of recognized religions distinct from Hinduism - they are not prepared to extend the same rights to converts of the Arya Samaj - a body of which they know nothing. On the 31st October the entry of a few Arya Samajists into the Brahman quarters was obstructed and a street brawl ensued but without much damage except to one Brahman. No disorder has occurred since then, but the dangerous period will be from the 13th to 15th of this month when the car festival will be held. The situation is complicated by a certain amount of hostility towards

the Arya Samajists on the party of the Muhammadan and Christian communities, and there is reason to believe that the Muhammadan are about to undertake an energetic counter conversion campaign. Revivalist movements in Malabar whether Arya Samajist or Muhammadan are naturally not now very welcome to Government.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd December 1925, No. 5114-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF NOVEMBER.

POLITICAL.--The Car festival at Kalpathi - the Brahman quarters of the Palghat municipality - passed off without disturbance. It was, however, found necessary to issue an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, restraining the Arya Samajists from entering the Agraharam during the festival.

Muhammadan proselytism in Palghat has so far been a failure but a special effort is now being made as a counter to the Arya Samaj, and outside preachers have been introduced. Palghat Muhammadans, however, are not Mappillas and it is not expected that proselytism in Palghat will have any appreciable reaction in the Mappilla country.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th December 1925, No. 6039, 1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF DECEMBER.

CRIME.--The case that arose out of the Proddatur riot at the time of Muharram mentioned in my letter No. 3432-1, Public, dated the 1st August 1925 - has terminated. There were 102 accused, of whom 56 were convicted. Of these 52 were sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment, two to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and two to 3 months' rigorous imprisonment.

POLITICAL.--There is nothing of outstanding importance to report. Muhammadan propagandists from Madras, Poona and Surat

have been active in Palghat ⁶ the suspension should increase the popularity of the Government, urge that the suspension was belated and the result of necessity.

Demi-official from A.Y.B. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the
Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, dated the
4th January 1926, No. 6367-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF DECEMBER.

POLITICAL.--The 9th session of the Non-Brahmin Confederation was held in Madras from the 19th to 21st under the presidency of the Hon'ble. Mr. Jadhav, Minister of Education, Bombay. A resolution was passed authorizing the appointment of a round table conference of Non-Brahmin leaders of different parties to explore the possibilities of mutual understanding and united action in the interests of the non-Brahmin community.

- at intervals, but have achieved no visible results. In west Godavari their rival -- Swami Shradhdananda -- has achieved a much more striking success. In half an hour he converted 500 christians of the depressed classes to Hinduism.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL
REPORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO
THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1926).

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the
Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department, dated the 18th
January, 1926, No. 221-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JANUARY.

2. In Madras the SWARAJISTS have displayed some activity to celebrate the return of the delegates from the Cawnpore Congress. They are exultant at having secured the support of the Congress to their party programme, and appear confident that they can also win the electorate to their side. On the other hand Muhammadan opinion seems to have been impressed by the Proceedings of the All-India Muslim League and the presidential address of Sir Abdur Rahim. There is a tendency for Mussalmans with SWARAJIST leanings to insist once more that separate representation is necessary to the existence of the community.

Labour week (5th to 10th January) was celebrated by demonstrations, processions and mass meetings arranged by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway employees. Mr. Joshi, M.L.A., presided over a conference of Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway employees. He was moderateⁱⁿ tone and advised them to obtain recognition of their union as a first step even at the cost of restrictions that might be imposed by the Railway authorities. On another occasion Mr. E. Kirk presided and drew attention to the fact that all the higher appointments in the Railways were monopolised by Europeans and Anglo-Indians. He advocated recruitment by competitive examination free of racial restrictions.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS.
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the
Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to
the Government of India, Home Department, dated the
2nd February 1926, No. 494-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY.

POLITICAL.---There has been a certain amount of speech-making

by extremists mainly about the Cawnpore Congress and South Africa. The leaders, however, seem more interested than the general public, as attendances are reported generally to be poor.

Some members of the South African Indian Deputation visited Madras during the fortnight and addressed a meeting on the Triplicane beach. A resolution was passed calling on the Government of India to urge the South African Government to hold a Round Table Conference before taking further action on the Bill. In the event of the South African Government refusing this proposal, the Imperial Government was advised to disallow the measure under section 65 of the Union Government Act. It was also suggested that the Government of India should send a deputation to England consisting of representatives of all parties to put their case before the Home Government and, if necessary, before the League of Nations. Two members of the deputation Messrs. Godfrey and Pathar visited Coimbatore on the 23rd of January and were well received there by the Local Congress committee.

In Salem there has been some friction between Muhammadans and Hindus over a Pongal custom of certain sects of Hindus of leading decorated bulls in procession. The Muslims objected to the bulls being led past their mosques. In one village it was found necessary to issue an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, and small parties of reserve police were sent to two villages where trouble was anticipated. The incidents have been slight but are perhaps of some importance as there seems no obvious reason for the increased tension. It is suggested that it is a symptom of the revival of Muslim self-consciousness as against Hinduism of which there are manifestations in other districts.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS. Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th February 1926, No. 854-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY.

POLITICS.--There has been some activity in preparation for the coming elections. The Tamil Nadu Congress Committee has issued an election manifesto calling on the electorate to return the Congress SWARAJYA party candidates. Diarchy is condemned as a costly and futile experiment but the party pledges itself to stand for equal rights and opportunities for all classes and castes and to put up a strong fight in the Madras Legislative Council on the issue of total prohibition.

The electoral campaign has also been carried on in the districts. In South Arcot Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, ex-Advocate-General, held a number of meetings with the object of organizing the SWARAJ party. It is not expected in the district, however, that any party will carry much weight since the real fight - as is not uncommonly the case - will be between the representatives of two castes - the Padayachis and the Reddis.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd March 1926, No. 1219-A-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF FEBRUARY.

POLITICS.--Electioneering activities continue and Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, Mr. Satyamurthi and Mr. J. Prakasam - the editor of the SWARAJYA - have been on tour. In Madras city the Congress Committee have elected a sub-committee with powers to collect subscriptions and to enrol 50 members in each municipal division to undertake the work of educating the electorate. 'Radical' and 'total prohibition' are planks in the party's platform.

There has been a by-election in the North Arcot district consequent on the death of Diwan Bahadur Vijayaraghava Mudaliyar. The Ministerialists lost the seat and the SWARAJIST candidate

C.Venkataraman Naidu - polled 3,000 votes out of 8,000. Not much interest, however, was taken in the election owing to the near approach of the general election.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.--On the first day a motion to discuss the position of Indians in South Africa consequent on the passing of the Colour Bill in South Africa was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.

Demi-official from A.Y.B.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J.CREERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 18th March 1926, No.1512-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1926.

There is very little of general interest to report. The political parties are consolidating their forces with an eye to the elections, but there is not as yet much activity in the districts. In Madras, there have been meetings to explain the All-India Congress Committee's proposals to walk out of the Legislatures, and Mr. Satyamurthi had expressed the opinion that political progress in the presidency is impossible without the root and branch destruction of the Justice party.

In Nellore a Hindu procession - which was allowed to proceed past mosques - was held on the 15th. This was the first procession of the kind to be held since 1919, when the occasion resulted in a serious riot. Since then the procession has always been prohibited by an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. The objection of the Muhammadans is to the passage of the procession past their mosques, but the Hindus obtained a Civil Court decree declaring their right to conduct the procession. Last year when the usual order under section 144 was passed, the Hindus went on revision to the Higher Court. The learned Judge did not set aside the order as he considered that there was not then time for the district authorities to take steps to ~~see~~ see that the procession was safely conducted. He declared, however, that in his opinion an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, was intended to

obviate an imminent danger which there was no time to prevent. Where there was ample notice he considered it to be an abdication of the authority of Government for the district authorities to refuse to see that persons were enabled to exercise their legal rights in safety. As a result of this pronouncement the District Magistrate undertook to allow the conduct of the procession on the 15th of March. Large numbers of reserve police together with a detachment of 50 from the East Coast Special Police were drafted into the town from several other districts, and a telegram has been received that the affair passed off without disorder. The Hindus have exercised their legal right under protection. There would, however, almost certainly have been bloodshed, had elaborate precautions not been taken.

PRESS.--There is some adverse comment on the Taxation Enquiry Committee's suggestions as to sources of new taxation - especially on the proposals to tax agricultural income. * * * * * Among Muhammadan papers the AZAD HIND and the QUAMI REPORT support the resolution in the Assembly for the grant of reforms to the North-West Frontier Province and condemn the opposition to it of the Hindu leaders and SMARAJISTS.

Demi-official from A.Y.J. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS.,
Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the
Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd
April 1926, No. 2895-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MARCH 1926.

A detailed report has now been received from the District Magistrate, Nellore, on the conduct of the procession mentioned in my last ~~report~~ letter. The procession was conducted successfully with the aid of 50 Special Police and something over 400 officers and men from the Armed Reserve. The attitude of the Muhammadans was doubtful up to the last moment and there can be no doubt that nothing but the very complete arrangements made prevented an outbreak.

~~prevented an outbreak.~~

A riot happily not very serious occurred at Pⁿuganur in the Chittoor district. The occasion was the passing of a Hindu procession with music before a mosque. The District Magistrate is trying to get the parties to see reason, but anticipates that a special police force will be necessary if a procession which is due on the 21st April is to be conducted peacefully. Trouble of a similar kind is reported from the Madura district where other communities are resenting the exercise of a right conferred by the High Court on a particular community to conduct a procession through a particular street.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.-- The Swarajists walked out on the 16th. * * * * * On the 19th Mr. Saldanha moved the adjournment of the House SINE DIE on the ground that the House should not function without the elected members who had walked out. Leave to proceed with the motion was not given.

Demi-official from A.V.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. J. CRERAR, CSI. CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Ootacamund, the 21st April 1926, No. 1/C-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF APRIL 1926.

Electioneering activity is beginning. Swarajist candidates have already been selected in Guntur. Non-payment of taxes was suggested as an anti-Government weapon.

The Extremist Press generally condemns Lord Reading's vice-royalty as oppressive and the Royal Commission on Agriculture as not sufficiently Indian in personnel and unlikely to do any good from restriction of its powers. The appointment of Colonel F.H.G. Hutchinson, CIE., as Surgeon-General, Madras, is denounced on the false ground that he has superseded Lieutenant-Colonel M.N. Chahdhuri, I.M.S., (who, it may be noted, is his junior) because the latter is an Indian.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS.,
 Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG,
 Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India,
 Home Department, dated Ootacamund, the ~~2nd~~ 17th June 1926,
 No. ~~xxxix~~ 213/O-1.

2nd June

MAY

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF XXXIX 1926.

Electioneering is becoming brisk; the Swarajists are making a bid for Indian Christian support. A new Muslim party has been formed recently with its headquarters at Madras under the title of the 'South Indian Muslim Party'. Its professed objects are to protect Muslim rights and interests and to oppose the activities represented by the Shudi and Sangathan Hindu Movements. A Muslim Youths Conference is also projected. The models for these organizations are the Muslim parties of Bengal and the Punjab.

The principal topics discussed in the Press during the fortnight have been-- * * * * *

(3) The Non-Brahman press has been extremely outspoken on the appointment of Sir T. Vijayaraghava Achariyar to the Public Services Commission. The appointment of a Brahman to a post of this nature has been roundly condemned. From this JUSTICE has proceeded to a general attack on the Local Government on the Reserved side for its alleged excessive patronage of Brahmans.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS.,
 Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG,
 Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India,
 Home Department, No. 226/O-1, dated Ootacamund, the 17th
 June 1926.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JUNE 1926.

Calcutta riots and the Bengal Emergency Bill are still being discussed and one paper draws the moral that communal disputes merely tend to reinforce the authority of Government. The efforts of the Paddison Deputation in South Africa have been generally commended and a similar reception on the whole was given to His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the European Association's address.

Demi-official from A.V.G.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G.HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No.241/O-1, dated Ootacamund the 2nd July 1926.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JUNE.

* * * * * In Nellore Abdul Latif Farukhi addressed a meeting of Muhammadans in a speech, which would probably have been much worse, had not a reporter been present. The District Magistrate anticipates that this speech may defer a compromise which he had in train regarding Hindu processions past mosques. In Ganjam & the Telugus have opened a brisk campaign against the proposed transfer of the district to Bihar and Orissa. They seem convinced that final orders are about to issue this time; hence the activity. In East Godavari district the national flag was hoisted by Mr. T. Prakasam at a meeting of the District Congress Committee and the people of East Godavari were exhorted to strive for swaraj. At the same meeting it was suggested that individual civil disobedience should not be lost sight of as a weapon.

Demi-official from A.V.G.CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS. Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G.HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th July 1926, No.3309-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JULY 1926.

The Press unite in condemning the personnel of the Indian Delegation to the forthcoming session of the Imperial Conference and to the Assembly of the League of Nations. The SWADESAMITRAN goes so far as to say that General Hertzog and Dr. Malan would represent India quite as well as Lord Birkenhead and the Maharaja of Burdwan.

Demi-official from A.Y.C. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th July 1926, No. 3462-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JULY.

Electioneering continues its normal course. Meetings are noisy, but no real disorder or assaults have occurred so far. The Madras SWARAJISTS' traditional attitude of non-acceptance of office seems to be modifying. Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar in a recent speech said that non-acceptance of office was not necessarily a permanent condition. One of the chief seceders from the SWARAJYA party, returned to the fold within a day or two; others have taken up a distinctly hostile attitude towards their former colleagues.

Demi-official from H.G. STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th August 1926, No. 3823-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF AUGUST.

The Madras Corporation elections resulted in a decided setback to the SWARAJIST party's hopes. Where the contests were keenest their defeat was most severe. Special precautions were taken against any possible breach of the peace and there was no trouble. The Justice party are exultant over their triumph. They have added yet one more to the number of communal organizations; this has the title "The non-Brahman League of Youths" and consists of students and young employees in firms. The party also has ideas of raising a volunteer corps for use in election campaigns. This is a sinister development which it is hoped may go no further in view of the rival organizations which would undoubtedly follow it. The Justice party's tirades against Brahmans during the elections have inevitably exacerbated the feelings of the latter community.

Earl Winterton's speech in the House of Commons on the India Office Estimates has received an unfavourable reception here; his remark that communal differences would increase with the grant of further re-

further reforms has been the subject of particular animadversion.

The Bengal fiasco over Pandit Malaviya and Doctor Moonje's entry into Calcutta has received, as was inevitable, great notice. The general impression is that the Bengal Government have been good enough to make a great score for the SWARAJISTS; the serving of an order upon the two after their entry into Calcutta and the original disobedience had not been prevented, is considered merely ridiculous, if not worse.

Demi-official from H.G. STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS. Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd September 1926, No. 3972-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST.

Office-bearers have been elected for the Non-Brahman League of Youths referred to in my last report with Mr. Surendranath Arya as president. Inaugural addresses were delivered on the 25th August. Among other injunctions given to non-Brahman youths by the speakers was that they should direct their energy to the elevation of the depressed classes.

Two meetings of Muhammadans were held in connection with the rumours about Hyderabad. Speakers expressed their indignation particularly at the 'mischievous propaganda' carried ~~only~~ by the Arya Samajists and Swarajist newspapers against the Hyderabad State. They demanded that the Government of India should immediately contradict the rumours that were affl^oat. Resolutions were passed exhorting the British Government to respect the Nizam's position and authority in view of the cordial relations which had always existed between Hyderabad and Great Britain.

The Bengal Government operations with regard to Pandit Malaviya and Dr. Moonji have continued to afford food for discussion and condemnation. His Excellency the Viceroy has been given some credit for the withdrawal of the cases against the two Swarajists. The QAUMI REPORT, however, justifies that the recent prohibitory order~~on~~ the ground that Pandit Malaviya invariably

incites Hindus against Muhammadans and would have done the same at Calcutta.

Demi-official from H.G.STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G.HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th September 1926, No. 4284-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

Electioneering continues its normal course. The municipal elections held on the 2nd instant in Madras resulted in the return of two Congressmen, (including Mr. S. Satyamurthi, M.L.C.) one Independent and one member of the Justice party. Three Muhammadans of different political persuasions contested the Harbour division; of these the Congress nominee was returned.

A considerable number of repatriated emigrants has arrived from Trinidad, British Guiana and Natal. Those from Trinidad were in a destitute state and had little good to say of that country but the British Guiana repatriates were in much better case. Those who returned from both South Africa and Trinidad complained of bad treatment and extortionate rates in hospitals in those countries.

The Music before Mosques question in Nellore remains unsettled. The Muhammadans have told the Hindus that they have abstained from killing cows out of deference to Hindu feeling and that therefore they expected the Hindus to give in on the question of having processions with music before mosques. This statement was considered as embodying a threat of what the Hindus might expect if they insisted on the decree of the Civil Court being enforced; they are therefore considering the matter again.

Demi-official from H.G.STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G.HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd October, 1926, No. 4824-A-2, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

* * * * * The Madras Presidency Muslim League has

been revived after six years of coma. This has led to a division amongst the local Muslims, some leaning towards an independent organization, others holding that connection with the National Congress must be maintained.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 18th October 1926, No. 5139-A-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER.

The press is exerting itself on the election; among other topics is the South African Deputation's visit. This has been denounced in ~~the~~ some Telugu papers as an utter waste of public money, and several papers declare that the Deputation's programme was so crammed with formal functions that its opportunities for studying conditions in India must have been obviously of the slightest. His Excellency the Governor's farewell message to the Legislative Council has formed the subject of considerable comment, on the whole unfavourable in nature.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 1st November, 1926, No. 5331-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF OCTOBER.

Elections govern everything. The feature of the nominations is the predominance of the Independents. This makes prediction difficult. Among the prominent men returned unopposed to the local Council are the Raja of Ramnad and S. Satyamurthi. Electioneering is intense and on the whole ably conducted. The Swarajists in Madras have women canvassers in action; the function of these is to persuade women voters to support Swarajist candidates.

* * * * * Another topic is the Agricultural Commission which is exciting a certain amount of real interest. The ANDHERA PATRIKA observes that the Commission

must see typical villages in various parts of India and take evidence from experienced rural agriculturists if its labours are to be of any value at all. Some papers declare the Commission useless and expensive but the majority are prepared to give it a chance and see how it works.

Demi-official from AY.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Government of Ind H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary too the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th December 1926, No.5965-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REEDRT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF DECEMBER.

The chief event of the fortnight has been the successful formation of a Ministry entirely from the Independent section of the Legislative Council. The Ministers are--

- (1) The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan, Bar-at-Law, LL.D., B.C.L.,
- (2) The Hon'ble Mr. A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar, and
- (3) The Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur R.N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar.

The composition has been well accepted by on the whole, although it is possible that if a resolution is passed by the Gauhati Congress permitting Swarajists to accept office, an attempt may be made by the Swarajists to replace the present Ministry. The Legislative Council met for the first time on 14th December, Rao Bahadur C.V.S. Narasimha Raju, leader of the Swarajist party, was elected President. The election of the Deputy President was postponed to the next meeting. The Council adjourned to 24th January 1927.

2. The Andhra Conference at Ellore and the Tamil Nadu Conference at Madras both passed in the fortnight resolutions advocating complete independence outside the British Empire. The Andhra resolution was passed only after considerable opposition in which Mr. T. Prakasam, M.L.A., took a prominent part; the Tamil Nadu Conference however wishing no doubt to go one better, passed its resolution unanimously.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CIE. CBE. VD.
ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to
the H.G.HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Govern-
ment of India, Home Department, dated the 4th January
1927, No.17-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF DECEMBER.

Political interest has lain in Gauhati. The murder of
Swami Shraddhananda was received with indignation and both
Hindus and Muhammadans held meetings of condolence.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL RE-
PORTS FROM THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON THE STATE
OF THE COUNTRY (1927).

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD.
Chief→/ ICS., / Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG,
Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India,
Home Department, dated the 2nd-February, 19th January,
1927, No.255-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JANUARY.

Political interest has centred in the Gauhati proceedings. The general impression is that this year's Congress has not marked out any clear line of political advance. It has failed to bridge the gulfs between the various shades of opinion represented and has also failed to remove the inter-communal troubles. The President of the Congress, Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, was given a welcome when he returned to Madras on the 5th from Gauhati and a meeting was held on the Triplicane beach in his honour.

2. The All-India Conference of Indian Christians during its recent assembly in Madras passed a resolution demanding Indian Christian representation in all Legislative bodies but declared in favour of Indian Christian voters being brought on the general non-Muhammadian roll.

3. Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti has been selected leader of the SWARAJYA party in the legislature, this has chagrined Mr. Satyamurti who had expected to inherit the office. The Justice party is showing signs of broadening its policy. It has adopted resolutions in favour of KHADDAR, temperance, political detenus and so on and is being twitted with having lifted these from the Congress propaganda.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD.
ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to
the H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Govern-
ment of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd February,
1927, No.278-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JANUARY.

The session of the Legislative Council began on 24th January with an address by His Excellency the Governor. * * *
An adjournment motion objecting to the despatch of Indian troops to China was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor.

* * * * * One Kanarese paper urged that the Indian Deputation ~~in~~ South Africa should go to Kenya on its way back to India and study the situation there.

* * * * * The proposed visit of Mr. Gandhi to the Tamil country has given a fillip to the khaddar movement and exhortations to contribute to the 'khadi purse' for presentation to Mr. Gandhi are frequent. Mr. Saklatwala, the Communist M.P., has written to Mr. E.L. Ayer that he will visit Madras about the 18th of February. Mr. M.Singaravellu Chetti, the local Communist, is urging the City Corporation to present an address ~~to him~~ of welcome to this distinguished visitor. The corporation has passed a resolution by a narrow majority to present an address to him. Labour complains that no one has been nominated to the local Council to represent it. Mr. Joshi's nomination in that capacity to the Assembly has been well received. The defunct Government Press Labour Union has been revived under Mr. Satyamurti as President, and there are signs of the usual type of agitation being worked up. Mr. M.Singaravellu Chetti in addressing the workers hoped that India would attain swaraj in about fifteen years and assured the audience that all sections of the people would be happy and contented if the Communists come into power. The mill hands of the Choolai Mills threatened to strike on the morning of the 23rd January and some stone-throwing was indulged in; the arrival of the Police, however, saw them go quietly in to work. These mills, it is said, are working at a loss and the Directors are only waiting for an opportunity to close them. They in fact would welcome a strike. About 250 Tramway employees declined to go on duty on the 17th afternoon as a protest against the dismissal of a conductor and the suspension of a driver. There was only a partial dislocation of traffic for a time, and the management being found resolute, the strike was given up. The workmen in the Madras Electric Supply Corporation are demanding an increase in their wages. All these movements are symptomatic of a growing tendency among Extremists to make use of labour grievances, real or fancied, in their

political campaign. The orientation of the labour movement merits careful attention.

The Nellore Hindu-Muhammadan question referred to in some fortnightly reports of last year (see e.g., that for the first half of March 1926) shows signs of re-opening under the encouragement of another dictum by a High Court Judge that the duty of the executive is to enforce the orders of the judiciary. The Government's attitude to this question is under consideration.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th February, 1927, No.695-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF FEBRUARY.

A Hindustani paper commenting on the rumour that Sir Atul Chatterji will succeed the present Governor of Assam suggests the names of certain Muhammadans for the post, such as Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir Ali Imam and Sir Rahimathullah. Another Urdu paper warns the Muhammadans not to join the Congress or the Swarajya party for they should remember that if they should do so music will be played before mosques and Hindu leaders will be found preaching in them.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd March 1927, No.892-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF FEBRUARY.

Mr. S.Saklatwala, M.P., arrived at Madras on the morning of the 25th. A few Congressmen and the Secretaries of the Labour Unions were on the platform to receive him, but there was no demonstration. Special labour and political meetings are being arranged in order to give him an opportunity to address all classes of people he faces. He is being taken round the "cheris" and slums in order that he might see for himself the real condition of the "proletariat". It is alleged that

that Mr. M. Singaravelu Chetti asked the millhands and other work people to turn up in rags and with a "famished look". The Indian Cultural Association will read a valedictory address, the City Corporation will present him with an address of welcome, and Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti gave a dinner in honour of the distinguished visitor.

The Andhra Press is not pleased at the suggestion for an Andhra Province having been turned down.

The collection for the Gandhi khadi purse are going on. A Coimbatore paper appealing for large contributions naively puts down forward this as a good investment, Coimbatore being a large cotton producing district. ED

The despatch of Indian troops to China continues to attract much criticism. One Kanarese paper however observes that the protest meetings are organized mostly by the Congress party and that, as an integral part of the Empire, it is India's duty to help subjects of other parts. One paper remarks that Parliament's claim to decide what kind of Government India should have is opposed to the loudly trumpeted principle of self-determination. This same paper added that the Dominions had obtained their independence by forcing their views on the British and that India should do likewise. One Malayalam paper remarks that establishment of an Indian Navy without an Indian Mercantile Marine would be a useless burden on the country.

Demi-official from A.Y.B. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 17th March 1927, No.1214-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MARCH 1927.

During Mr. Saklatwala's stay here he visited the Labour Unions and also certain Associations with Congress leanings. In his reply to the address presented by the Corporation he said that Communism could be best propagated through municipalities. He preached 'Bolshevism' wherever he went and called on the labourers to join the Trade Unions and agitate for

higher wages with the help of the Congress leaders. He laid special stress on the need for Youth and Mass movements and for the formation of a Workers and Peasants party. He advised students to start an All-India Young Comrades' League. At a huge meeting held on the Triplicane Beach he asserted that the British Parliament was a 'big political humbug', that it was anti-democratic and that it had always ruled by force. He refused to believe in a constitution drawn up by aliens and help up to ridicule and contempt Dr. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill. To meet his tour expenses a special meeting was arranged at the Gokhale Hall to which admission was by one-rupee and half-rupee tickets, but much to the disappointment of the organizers very few people attended and the collections did not exceed Rs.60. Mr. Saklatwala's ridicule of Gandhi's khaddar movement was not well received by the local Congress members.

In the local Congress party there are two distinct currents of thought. One group is inclined to give a qualified support to the Independent Ministry in order to keep out a possible Justice Ministry. The other wishes to wreck the present system by downright obstruction. In a meeting held at the Triplicane Beach speeches were made condemning the present Ministry for its vacillating policy with regard to prohibition and the Hindu Religious Endowments Act and for allowing itself to be led by the nose by the bureaucracy in certain matters. The meeting was very poorly attended. It is possible that the Congress party fear that if they do not back the Independent Ministry the Justice party might once again come into power.

The South African Agreement has come in for considerable discussion. On the whole the general attitude was definitely approving at first. But this approval tended to weaken. The chief ground of objection was South Africa's insistence on western ^{standards} ~~standards~~ of living. It is thought that the new policy of assisted emigration might practically result in all the

Indians in South Africa except those who are wealthy leaving it. On the whole it was recognized that the deputation from India scored a definite success.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G.HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 4th April, 1927, No.1563-1, Public.

PORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MARCH.

4. The attitude of the Swarajists in the local Council in supporting the Ministry by refusing to vote on the no-confidence motion brought by the Justice party has exposed them to attacks from all sides, even from Congressmen. They are twitted with having broken their election pledges and set at naught the Gaughati resolution. Their explanations have failed to carry conviction. There are indications of divergences within the party coming to a head over this. One member proclaimed his intention of calling upon the Swarajist members of the Legislative Council to resign by moving a resolution to that effect at the next All-India Congress Committee meeting. The fusion of the different political sections of the Congress is now being favourably regarded.

The carrying of Mr. Jayakar's motion in the Legislative Assembly to reduce the demand for the Executive Council excited general comment; the main trend of that is that the Government have failed to fulfil the national demand formulated by all parties in the Legislative Assembly. One Malayalam paper criticized the South African agreement and declared that it was not based on principles adopted by civilized countries with regard to liberty of movement, residence and citizenship, but on racial pride. The surplus budget of the Government of India was considered to be proof that poverty-stricken India was over-taxed.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.S. LAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stonehouse Hill, the 18th April 1927, No. 1/0-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF APRIL 1927.

2. The Swarajists deny that there was any breach in their ranks over their party's support of the Independent Ministry and express a hope that the All-India Congress Committee will ~~be~~ ratify their action. Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar on his return from Delhi declared that the attainment of 'swaraj' through the Councils was impossible and laid special stress on the need for a new orientation of the Congress policy and activity. He suggested the formation of a National Convention Parliament under the aegis of the Congress; this would consist of the elected representatives of the Central and the Provincial Legislatures and would have as function the framing of a constitution for India. The leaders of the Justice party are said to be considering the desirability of joining and co-operating with parties whose aims and objects are similar to theirs.

4. When the recent proposal for joint electorates was published in the newspapers, it was received well both by Hindus and Muhammadans and particularly by Congressmen. Subsequently however, ten Muslim members of the Madras Legislative Council met and decided not to approve of the proposal. Their decision cannot be held to reflect the general Muslim view. Possibly it ~~xxx~~ is fear for their chances of re-election which has led them to enunciate this disapproval. Messrs. Basheer Ahmed and Hameed Khan, members of the Legislative Council and residents of Madras, and influential among the local Muhammadan community, have welcomed the proposal and advertised it. They have told their co-religionists that in the Punjab and Bengal, where Muhammadans predominate, the proposed change would be a distinct advantage to them and that if Sind is constituted into a separate province and the reforms are introduced in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, they would be having Muslim autonomous provinces on the

border of other Muhammadan countries. These and other aspects of the question, viz., the general utility of the proposed scheme in composing Hindu-Muslim differences, the safe-guarding of the interests of minorities, are now receiving attention; opinion has not definitely crystallized it.

7. As the result of the continued Hindu-Muslim tension in Nellore referred to in previous fortnightly reports, the district Magistrate has been forced to pass an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, forbidding music within fifty yards of a mosque on the 1st May, for which date a Hindu procession has been proposed. It is said that a considerable amount of money has been collected in order to finance a revision petition to the High Court.

Public Department,

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stone House Hill, the 2nd May 1927, No. 7/0-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF APRIL 1927.

Mr. B.G. Horniman visited Madras; he presided over the Kerala Conference at Calicut and returned to the Presidency town on the 19th April when he addressed a public meeting on the Triplicane beach. He dwelt mainly on the alleged betrayal of the Congress mandate by the Swarajist members of the Madras Legislative Council. He called on Congressmen not to co-operate in any form with the foreign Government. He pointed out that no country was free from religious disputes and internal dissensions and said that Ireland got her freedom by non-co-operating with the British Government. Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar made light of the Speaker's criticisms of the Madras Swarajists and said that the Congress should not resent friendly criticism.

2. Our local Communist, Mr. S. Singaravelu Chetti, has started a new party called the "Labour Political Party"; its object is said ^{to be} to safeguard the interests of the working classes and to help them to put up their own candidates to capture seats

in the Corporation. He laid special stress on the need for a Labour party as a separate political entity. He said that it would be worked on the lines of the British Labour party and be guided by the principles laid down in the works of Philip Snowden and Ramsay MacDonald.

3. Mr. B. Shiva Rao, President of the Madras Labour Union, is also in favour of Labour putting up its own candidates for the two municipal divisions in which the mill operatives predominate. His advice is that the workmen should not identify themselves with any political party ^{but} stand on their own legs. It is said that the Swarajists view this departure without enthusiasm as possibly tending to weaken their political power.

Public Department

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stonehouse Hill, the 16th May 1927, No.15/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF MAY 1927.

The chief incident of the fortnight has been the trouble connected with the Burma Oil Company strike about which separate reports have been sent. There is little to add to my last letter dated the 12th except that His Excellency went down to Madras on the night of the 14th. The Burma Oil Company notices regarding the taking ^{of} the striking staff were to expire by the 16th or 17th; it was possible that any attempt to take on new labour might result in trouble and it was for this reason that His Excellency decided to go to Madras. The Magisterial inquiry is still proceeding. One thing is worthy of mention in this connection; that is the influence of our local Communist, M. Singaravelu Chetti, in strengthening the resistance of the men to an agreement. According to the Commissioner of Labour's account of some negotiations conducted with the strikers, this agitator played an obstructive part in them although he has no connection with the Union.

The workers of the Diocesan Press, about 240, struck work on 2nd May as a protest against the dismissal of three compositors. Apparently these three were discharged for turning out insufficient work; the strikers, however, say that they were victimised on account of their Union activities. The strikers demand their reinstatement and that of other dismissed men and the removal of the Works Manager who, they say was responsible for the dismissals. Further, they ask for the abolition of the piece-work system and want the compositors' pay enhanced. So far, no attempt appears to have been made to bring about a settlement. It is said that the Management propose to take on fresh hands and meanwhile the workers hold frequent meetings.

The labourers of Madras city to the number of about 2,000 celebrated 'May Day' at the Peoples' Park. Dr. P.Varadaraajulu Nayudu presided. The originator of this celebration was again our local Communist. Sympathy was expressed with the Chinese labourers in their present struggle and a resolution was passed emphasising the oneness of world labour.

The proposed formation of a separate Labour Political Party in the City does not, as I remarked in my previous Fortnightly Report, evoke much enthusiasm in the breasts of the local Swarajists. They therefore profess solicitude for Labour's welfare and advancement and have been following this line in their recent activities. At a special meeting held for this purpose at the People's Park on the 7th, however, the Swarajists found themselves heckled and hooted by labourers. Messrs. Sani Venkatachalam Chetti and S.Satyamurti, who came to address the meeting, chose discretion and quietly withdrew, their exhortations undelivered.

The labour situation at Negapatam gives some cause for anxiety. Trouble arises not locally, but from what is done or said to be done at Golden Rock, Trichinopoly. The unrest in the latter place referred to in my last Fortnightly Report has not subsided, but there has been no further development. It appears that the local Labourers Association has app

to the Agent of the South Indian Railway and has asked the workshopmen of Negapatam not to come to Golden Rock till the Railway authorities are more reasonable in their treatment of labour. Police investigation in the assault case referred to in the last report is still going on. It is said that the Labour Unions of these two places are concerting measures for a simultaneous strike at Golden Rock and at Negapatam Workshops in case of any dismissal of men at Golden Rock. Eleven men from Golden Rock were dismissed on the 6th, but so far action has been confined to representations to the authorities.

~~8. 'Shivaji Day' pass~~

In Nellore the Hindus celebrated 'Shivaji Day' by taking a picture of the hero with music through the streets, both morning and evening. It is said that they intended to take it past mosques but were dissuaded from doing so by the police and magistracy. As a retaliation the Muhammadans of the place are considering the question of taking a photograph of Aurangzeb in procession.

3. The Press has continued to discuss, on the whole adversely, the Indian Navy Bill. Among other topics ~~re-discussed~~, has been the Conference of the Rulers of Indian States held recently at Simla. Several Tamil papers fear that the deliberations of the Ruling Princes might impede the political progress of India and warned these Rulers not to delude themselves that, by obstructing the advancement of India, they could perpetuate their autocracy. In demanding the immediate release of Mr. Bose the DRAVIDAN asked whether the Government of India were prepared to shoulder the serious responsibility of causing the death of a martyr. The appointment of Mr. Crossthwait as an acting Member of the Railway Board has been objected to. More than one Tamil paper commented adversely upon the failure of the Government to appoint an Indian in accordance with the assurance given. The Telugu papers have been discussing the suggestions made by the TIMES and the DAILY HERALD regarding

the personnel of the forthcoming Royal Commission. ~~would consist of Conservative Members; it said that the~~
The ANDHRA PATRIKA remarked that it was obvious that the Commission would consist of Conservative Members; it said that the ~~dux~~ description given by the DAILY HERALD of an Indian, lawyer, who was stated to be a likely member, ~~xxxx~~ applied to Lord Sinha. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Its comment on this was that Lord Sinha's appointment would make very little improvement. Another Telugu paper, however, heartily welcomed this suggested nomination and considered that the non-Brahman public of this presidency would be gratified by it and the authorities would be making a blunder if they failed to avail themselves of the Indian Peer's services. The QAUMI REPORT deploras the helplessness of the great Muslim Ruler in India, i.e., the Nizam, and suggests that Muhammadans should protest against the prevailing conditions in Hyderabad. The origin of this comment was an editorial note in the RIVASAT of Delhi to the effect that the Nizam is now under the influence of his subordinate European officers.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, ~~to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stone House Hill, the 4th June 1927, No.18/0-1.~~

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF MAY 1927.

2. The Swarajist leaders on their return from the All-India Congress Committee held a meeting on the Triplicane Beach. At this, they extolled the achievements of the Committee in laying the foundation of Hindu-Muslim unity. They dwelt on the advantages to both communities of 'joint electorates' on the lines indicated. They referred to other decisions of the Committee such as--

(1) the framing of a constitution for India by the Working Committee in consultation with the elected members of the legislatures,

(2) the organizing of labour under the aegis of the Congress,

(3) the boycotting of British goods, and

(4) the sending of a Medical Mission to China.

Public opinion is still uncertain on the 'joint electorate' question and a good many in both communities doubt whether this will ever solve the communal problem. The Working Committee's finding that the Madras Swarajist M.L.C.s have not acted consistently with the Congress or with the Gauhati resolution has been very ill-received by a section of the Congress; naturally the Justice party views these recriminations with pleasure. The Nagpur satyagraha has failed to attract attention.

3. A much more interesting and important aspect of Madras City life at present is the labour situation. Nearly all the Labour Unions in the city are showing signs of greater activity and are agitating for the redress of their alleged grievances. Singaravelu Chetti attends almost every labour meeting where he preaches very thinly disguised communism and constantly harps on the benefits of strikes. Of late he has shown a tendency to advocate violence. The strike in the oil installations ended on the morning of the 17th instant, the management of the Burma Oil Company agreeing to considerable concessions. The workmen of Massey & Co. formed a Union on the 23rd instant and struck on the 25th. The immediate cause of the strike was the dismissal of 29 workmen who, according to the management, were surplus to the establishment. With the exception of a few maistris, all the rest about 650, struck as a protest. As is the way with such strikes, the men demand as a condition precedent to their return not only the removal of the alleged cause of the strike, but also other concessions such as the increases in pay, full wages for holidays and Saturdays, the abolition of the system of cutting off two days' wages for one day's absence and security of service. The indefatigable Singaravelu is to the fore here also and, as already reported to the Government of India, his efforts to enlist the sympathy of the Public Works Department Workshop

employees have succeeded, these men to the number of 1,046 having gone out on a sympathetic strike. . No reasons were alleged (these were put forward subsequently) and no other cause could be traced. These men have since returned to work. The strike in the Diocesan Press continues but shows signs of collapsing. There seems no prospect of amicable settlement. About twenty men are now working in the Press and others, it is said, would resume but for their fear of hooliganism. About fourteen men were brought from Bangalore by the management. Singaravelu Chetti is exhorting the strikers to hold firm and promised them (with apparently little foundation) that he would bring about a strike of all the printing presses and newspapers in the City for a day.

5. * * * * * Mr. S.C. Bose's release was generally approved, but it was said in most quarters that this might have been done much sooner. The ANDHRA PATRIKA declared that those appointed to represent India at the International Economic Conference would not voice the opinion of the country and concluded that India's representation at International Conferences was only nominal. * * * * * The Telugu Press commented on the recent Burma Oil Company strike troubles in Madras and criticized the Police for not having taken the necessary precautions. The Muhammadan Press is considerably agitated by no Muhammadan being appointed to the High Court. The AZAD HIND suggests that Muhammadans should continue to agitate until a Muhammadan Judge is appointed. The same paper referring to the ~~next~~ news that Lord Sinha is likely to be a Member of the forthcoming Royal Commission says that, if this is so, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Saiyid Amir Ali should also be appointed.

Demi-official from A.Y.B. CAMPELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to the Hon'ble Mr. H.B. HAIG? Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stonehouse Hill, the 17th June 1927, No.68/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JUNE 1927.

The labour situation in Madras continues troubled. Men of the Public Works Department Workshops who went on strike on the 31st May and resumed work on the 2nd June, went on strike again on the 9th instant demanding a general increase in their wages. The Chief Engineer went down to Madras from Ootacamund on the 11th instant. The Minister for Public Works also arrived in Madras on the 15th instant. Fifty men resumed work that day and it is reported that the remainder returned to work on the morning of the 16th on receiving an assurance from the Minister that he would consider their demands. The Works Department of Massey & Co. has been closed down indefinitely. Negotiations are, however, proceeding under the guidance of the Assistant Labour Commissioner. Strikers on one occasion mustered with sticks near the Works and pelted the Police and loyal workmen with stones. Singaravelu Chetti was seen in the midst of the strikers with a red flag. The Commissioner of Police apprehending trouble from these demonstrations issued notices to Singaravelu Chetti and his associates prohibiting the holding of strike processions in parts of Royapuram where the Works are. Protests against this order were made in parts of Royapuram where the Works are. ~~Protest~~ at a special meeting and threats that it would be defied were issued. * The Diocesan Press strikers are still out. Fresh hands brought from Bangalore are working. On the evening of the 9th there was a big meeting with a torchlight procession in the neighbourhood of the Press. About 1,000 workmen belonging to the different Labour Unions in the City attended and some violent speeches were made. A threat is being held out that the scavengers in the city will go on a sympathetic strike if the Press authorities persist in their attitude. In view of Singaravelu

* So far, however, no attempt has been made to disobey the order.

Chetti's attitude, the Government decided to apply to the Chief Presidency Magistrate to serve a notice on him to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace and as a result of this Singaravelu Chetti has declared in court that he will not advocate violence at any time. The case is at present adjourned.

2. The Congress continues its efforts to attach labour to itself. Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar with this object in view invited the City labour leaders to an informal Conference at his house. The question of organizing labour within the Congress was discussed and a committee was formed to frame rules. Mr. Singaravelu Chetti, however, would have nothing to do with these negotiations and has told Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar to leave labour alone, alleging that Congress stands for landlordism, capitalism, private ownership, etc. and that its interests are opposed to those of labour.

Suggestions are being made in certain quarters that the labour position in the city demands the establishment of an Arbitration or Conciliation Board to enquire into and settle labour disputes. At a meeting of the Madras Labour Union a resolution was passed urging the Government to appoint a Committee of Enquiry to investigate the conditions of labour in this presidency.

3. The workmen at Godan Rock continue restive. A large number of bricks belonging to the Railway Company were stolen, and the Company complained to the Police. The Police searched some houses during the men's absence at the Workshops. As a result of this the workshopmen struck and complained. This enquiry into the lost bricks has been given up. Absenteeism on the pretext of funerals has again made its appearance. Conditions in this area must be held unpromising.

4. There has been a certain amount of controversy among Congressmen over the Working Committee's resolution on the Madras Swarajists. Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, the Congress President and Swarajist leader, came in for a good deal of

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criticism ~~in~~ both in the Press and on the platform. The Swarajists held a meeting to vindicate the rights of the Working Committee; at this some Andhras demanded that Messrs. T. Prakasam and E. Sambamurti should be given an opportunity to express their view. This was refused by Mr. Satyamurti who presided. Thereafter came interruptions and heckling and the meeting dissolved in confusion. Two days later Messrs. Prakasam and Sambamurti held a counter meeting; at this they held up to ridicule and obloquy the ways and methods of the Madras Swarajists and asserted that the Working Committee had no jurisdiction and its decision in the matter was ULTRA VIRES. At another meeting Messrs. P. Varadarajulu Nayudu and R.K. Shanmukham Chetti attacked Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar. Both of these are said to have called on the non-Brahmans to join the Congress in large numbers in order to purge it of its worse elements.

5. Congress activity is in evidence in the City. An attempt is being made to sweep the municipal polls at the coming elections. Promotion of communal unity, propagation of Khaddar and boycott of foreign goods are at present the chief items in the programme.

6. * * * * * A Kanarese paper the SWADESHABHIMANI deplored the frequency of strikes and remarked that the labourers were at present influenced by the mob orators; it recommended them to gauge the situation better before deciding upon a strike and to ensure that they would be able to see it through. The Muhammadan Press has continued to agitate itself about the absence of a Muhammadan from the High Court Bench and as usual dwelt on the position of the Nizam.

Demi-official from A.V.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. V.
ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public
Department, to the Hon'ble Mr. H.G. HAIG, CIE. ICS.,
Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,
dated Stonehouse Hill, the 4th July 1927, No.82/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JUNE 1927.

Some enthusiasts have attempted a form of satyagraha in Madura. The two leaders were both non-~~xxxxxx~~ Madura men. Their effort took the form of marching about the town with swords and daring the Police to arrest them for an offence under the Arms Act. Unfortunately their intelligence department (or their valour) was at fault for, in Madura district, it is no offence to carry a sword without a licence. As a result the whole effort fell very flat and at no time did the demonstrators attract any considerable following.

3. One J.N. Ramanathan has of late been attempting to advertise himself by championing the rights of non-Brahmans to worship in temples in defiance of the usual restrictions on the non-Brahman caste. It was said that he intended to pursue these activities in Coimbatore recently and an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, was kept ready; it was not found necessary to apply it, however, as he gave up his intention of worshipping in the famous Perur temple. These activities of his do not seem so far to have aroused any serious interest or to have won him a following.

5. The Swarajists in Madras celebrated the second anniversary of the death of Mr. C.R.Das by a meeting of the Triplicane beach on the 16th. A Muhammadan M.L.C. present spoke in support of the joint electorate. The Justice party is now said to be considering the advisability of joining the Congress. It is possible that a definite decision will result from a proposed conference of non-Brahmans this month at Coimbatore. The possibility of this fusion is said to be causing Congressmen considerable anxiety.

6. The forthcoming municipal elections in Madras City have produced considerable activity by both parties, Congress

non-Brahman. As has already been hinted in previous reports, efforts are being made to enlist labour votes and many professions are made of solicitude for the welfare of the workers. The Justice party advises them to form a Labour party of their own.

7. * * * * * The strikers of the Diocesan Press have now passed a resolution that the Superintendent and the Works Manager should be removed. They now demand the reinstatement of the dismissed men and pay for the strike period before they rejoin work. There is no indication whatever that the Mission authorities are prepared to take them back on these conditions. The Assistant Commissioner of Labour has intervened in the dispute and certain proposals are under consideration by the Press Committee.

8. * * * * * The Godavari District Conference at a meeting held recently passed a resolution for complete independence for India. One Telugu paper, however, observes that to pass such a resolution is ridiculous when the people of India cannot induce unity in their various parties or work out a constructive programme. The alleged existence of a colour bar in certain establishments in Edinaburgh has received considerable condemnation.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to the Hon'ble Mr. H.G. HALG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stonehouse Hill, the 19th July 1927, No.101/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF JULY 1927.

The chief incident of the fortnight was the meeting of the Non-Brahman Federation at Coimbatore on July 2nd. Prominent members present were the Raja of Panagal, K.CIE. M.L.C., Rao Bahadur Sir A.P. Patro, M.L.C., Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiar, M.L.C., R.K. Shanmukham Chettiyar, M.L.A., A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar and Diwan Bahadur O. Tanikachala Chetty.

Diwan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reldiyar presided. Three important resolutions passed related to Congress entry, non-acceptance of office and no confidence in His Excellency the Governor. The first of these was passed by a huge majority; its stated object was to achieve greater unity among non-political Brahmins of all shades of opinion, and among all political parties in India for the speedy attainment of swaraj. It was also stated that Congress under certain mischievous influences has degenerated into a monopolistic organization and that the influx of the new non-Brahman blood will strengthen and tone it anew. The resolution is permissive; that is to say, individual members of the Justice party may join the Congress or connected institutions; but the South Indian Liberal Federation will preserve its individuality and an appeal was issued to all non-Brahmins to join the Federation.

The second resolution declared the party committed to non-acceptance of office till provincial autonomy is granted. The reasons alleged for this were that the Justice party's six years of power had convinced it that dyarchy was extremely difficult to work and that it has been found possible to instal in office under that regime a non-Brahman Ministry with no following which 'by its unscrupulous methods has brought the administration of local self-government into contempt'. An attempt was made to strengthen the third resolution into one demanding the recall of His Excellency the Governor but this was given up and the no-confidence motion was passed. The grounds for this resolution were the nomination and continuance in office of the present Ministry which according to the Justice party rests upon an 'unholy alliance with an apparent opposition'. A further ground alleged was that His Excellency was permitting a Member of his Executive Council (sc. Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar) to abuse his position and authority to foster and strengthen the monopoly of public and responsible offices by a particular community (sc. Brahman).

Other resolutions moved were in favour of full provincial autonomy being granted to this Province and the Government of India being made responsible to the Legislative Assembly. A trend in present-day politics had its reflection in a resolution that a separate newspaper should be started to safeguard the non-Brahman labourers in the Madras presidency and to strengthen the labour movement. The same opinion probably inspired a resolution in favour of labour representatives being nominated to the local Legislative Council and the Local Boards. It was resolved that the Hon'ble Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar had to claim to represent India at the League of Nations. Other minor resolutions related to boycott of Brahman priests, boycott of Brahman vakils, starting of co-operative societies, boycott of foreign cloth and so on. According to the Press, a certain number of prominent non-Brahmans have already taken advantage of the permission given to join the Congress; and a certain number have published their disagreement with the first three resolutions which involve a reversal of the policy till now pursued by the justice party.

3. The 'Rangila-Rasul' judgment has aroused a certain amount of perturbation in the minds of local Muslims. A meeting was held in Nellore in which the resignation of Mr. Justice Dulip Singh was demanded, congratulations were offered to the editor and printer of the MUSLIM OUTLOOK and amendments to the Indian Penal Code declared essential. A hartal was observed on the third day of Muharram in that town. Muslims in the presidency town have also been discussing this matter and resolutions have been carried to the same effect. It is proposed to hold a mass meeting on Sunday the 17th July, and an appeal has been issued to Mussalmans to observe a hartal on that day.

4. Labour unrest in the City continues unchanged. The negotiations in the Diocesan Press strike have fallen through. Strikers formerly employed by Messrs. Massey and Company began mass picketting in front of the company's premises. On the first day they were orderly. On the following day they attac

lorries carrying workmen and threw stones at them with the result that four persons were injured. The strikers were dispersed by the police and five of them have been charged for disorderly behaviour. Mass picketting having proved futile and dangerous, Singaravelu Chetti, it is said, has suggested house-to-house visits in order to coerce men not to go to work. Massey & Co. have put up a notice saying that they have no intention of employing more than 250 men at present. The strike leaders are accusing the Police of siding with the capitalists and are also abusing the Government for not having ended the strike.

A meeting was held on the beach to concert measures for the speedy termination of both these strikes; only about 700 workmen attended, a number apparently much less than was expected. At this meeting the Governor was urged to come to Madras at once to enquire into these industrial disputes and to terminate the strikes; threats were made of a general strike in the City ~~if this were not done. There is apparently already a move to induce the scavengers to strike.~~

There was an unpleasant repercussion of the industrial unrest on the City police. Constables in some divisions refused to receive their pay. This was due apparently to an anonymous circular surreptitiously thrown into the police stations or pasted on station walls. On the 3rd July they had a meeting at which a constable spokesman read out and explained a circular issued by the Commissioner of Police in connexion with this trouble. Better counsels have so far prevailed and all the constables have received their pay. It is interesting to note that outsiders who attempted to join the meeting were chased off by the men.

5. * * * * * The Telugu papers have been discussing the recent resolution of the Andhra Congress in favour of complete independence; while some thoroughly approve of this, one or two papers condemned resolutions advocating

non-co-operation and non-payment of taxes; these papers declared with considerable truth that it was the people and not the leaders who would suffer the evil consequences of such irresponsible suggestions. * * * * * The Muhammadan press has been considerably agitated by the 'Rangila-Rasul' judgment and that in which the editor and printer of the MUSLIM OUTLOOK were concerned. The AZAD HIND asks Muhammadans either to unite together and gain their object by disobeying the orders of the authorities or to commit suicide in a body rather than live to hear such scurrilous remarks against the Prophet.

Demi-official from A.V.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CBE. VD ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. H.G. HAIG, Esq., CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated Stonehouse Hill, the 4th August 1927, No.110/O-1.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF JULY.

Speculation continues busy over possible developments changes as a result of the recent resolutions passed at the Non-Brahman Party's Conference at Coimbatore. Statements issued to the Press by the Ministers in answer to attacks on them and the Raja of Panagal's reply to charges of inconsistency have been closely followed and commented on. Among the prominent members of the Justice Party who are said to have joined the Congress are--

Diwan Bahadur O.Thanikechalam	Surendranath Arya,
Chetti,	V. Chakkarai Chetti, and
A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar.	J.S. Kannappan.

Apparently the Conference was not originally intended to be any more than a District Conference and its development into a Provincial gathering was, it is said, the work of the Raja of Panagal.

On the 14th July the Madras District Congress Committee decided to form a committee consisting of Mr. Satyamurti and others whose objects would be to organize demonstrations of the unemployed of all classes and of both sexes in the City in order to bring home to the Government the extreme gravit

of the unemployment problem.

Electioneering activity in anticipation of the municipal elections in August and September is noticeable in Madras city. Labourers have put up their own candidates in one or two divisions and the Justicites are supporting these. One labour leader, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, has called upon Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar to withdraw the Congress nominees for these divisions in favour of the labour candidates. There seems, however, to be no likelihood of a favourable response.

2. The Rangila-Rasul judgment continues to agitate Madras Muslims. On the 17th, most of the Muhammadan shop-keepers in the city suspended their business and observed a 'hartal' as a protest against the decision. That evening, the City Mussalmans gathered in large numbers in the Triplicane mosque and marched thence to the Triplicane Beach in procession singing songs in praise of the Prophet. The gathering on the beach has been estimated to number 10,000 and speeches were delivered from two platforms. In these, Mr. Justice Dulip Singh's judgment was strongly condemned and some speakers demanded his resignation. Resolutions for (1) an amendment of section 153-A, Indian Penal Code, or a special Ordinance to penalise attacks on founders of religions and (2) release of workers and volunteers who have been sent to jail including the editor and printer of the MUSLIM OUTLOOK were passed.

Such protest meetings were held practically every day thereafter in different Muhammadan localities in the City. On the 22nd, two meetings were held at one of which Mr. Abdul Lathief Farukhi, M.L.A., editor of the AZAD HIND, was prominent. Mr. Yakub Hasan said that the Arya Samajists were responsible for these scurrilous attacks on the Prophet and took the Hindu leaders to task for not saying a word in condemnation of Rajpal, the author of Rangila-Rasul. Some speeches have been violent in tone and some have advocated complete dissociation from the Hindus.

Trouble seems possible in the Choolai Mills as a result of

a result of

certain reduction of staff and of the introduction of payment for piece-work in the place of the monthly wage system. So far, nothing overt in the way of a strike for example has occurred. Through the intervention of Sir James Simpson and some Indian gentlemen, the strike in Massey's Works ended on the 17th July. Forty-five strikers were taken on first and the rest were told that they would be given when it became available. Some leaders are said to be threatening that, if the remaining men are not taken back to work within two or three ~~days~~ weeks, those who have been re-employed will be called out again and a general strike proclaimed. (C).

5. It was reported that a body of Nellore Muslims, while returning from the river after immersing their Muharram symbols, ordered music in a Hindu private house to cease as they passed and the music was stopped. It is said that there is a recent movement among the Nellore Muslims to boycott the Hindus.

6. The Press has been discussing the personnel of the Statutory Commission. One Telugu paper declared that there could be no greater indignity than that on this Commission Indians and Europeans connected with India should find a place. The same paper urged that a serious propaganda should be carried on in the country to boycott the Commission. * * * * The Press has continued to comment on the resolution taken by the Non-Brahman party at Coimbatore early in July. Most papers expressed considerable satisfaction at the resolutions and held that the Congress will be strengthened by the entry of the Justicites. One Tamil paper thought that the Justicites' resolution to join the Congress had caused great apprehension in the minds of Brahmans and Europeans. One Kanarese Paper however, declared that the resolution of non-acceptance of office was inadvisable and inconsistent and two others declared that that of Congress entry was merely a device to regain their lost prestige in the country. The Urdu press has been concerned mainly with the Rangila-Rasul case.

 @ The Diocesan Press strike, however, did not yield in this way to Sir James Simpson's intervention.

Demi-official from H.G. STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. H.G. HAIG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th August 1927, No.3699-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF AUGUST.

2. Mr. Satyamurti's presidential address at the Tinnevely Conference has attracted considerable attention. His suggestions favouring the working of dyarchy through a Ministry commanding a majority of elected members has given rise to much speculation and those who advocate non-acceptance of office ask with some justification what exactly his intentions are. The remark made by the Hon'ble Mr. V. Ramadoss Pantulu, the Swarajist member of the Council of State that even if the Madras Ministry is defeated on the no-confidence motion, there is no reason why it should resign is of interest in this connection.

For the forthcoming National Congress in Madras, office-bearers have been elected to the Reception Committee. The personnel is confined to a section of Congressmen. Justices were offered a few places on the Executive which they declined.

(Rao Bahadur M.C. Raja and his Adi-Dravida followers have announced their disapproval of the Justice party resolutions passed at Coimbatore last month.)

The Madras Presidency Muslim League is stirring. Under its auspices, several meetings were held to protest against the "Rangila Rasul" decision.

On the morning of 9th August, two Congress volunteers from Madura climbed on to the statue of General Neill in Mount Road and attempted to deface it with a hammer. They broke the lower sling of the sword/belt but were arrested before they could go further. They were put up before the Chief Presidency Magistrate under section 427, Indian Penal Code, and the case has just ended in conviction and a sentence of fine and imprisonment.

The Urdu press remains occupied with the Rangila Rasul and the AZAD HIND remarks that this case has revealed the Muslims in their true colours. The QAUML REPORT declares that the resignation of Justice Dulip Singh need not be demanded and advises Muhammadans to depend on the promise of the Government, adding that in case of violation of the promise some effective course will have to be adopted for the honour of the Holy Prophet.

Demi-official from H.B. STORES, Esq., CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble H.G. HAIG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 2nd September 1927, No. 4086-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF AUGUST. 1927/28

2. The attacks on the Neill statue continue and so far nine volunteers have been sent to jail, the periods of imprisonment ranging from three months to two years. * So far the responsible Swarajists appear to have denounced these attempts although one Congressman has approved the work of these enthusiasts and it is said that Mr. Gandhi also has declared that the statue should go. The whole business is looked upon by the Madras public more or less as a free show and the cross roads where the statue stands attract of an evening a considerable number of persons come to watch the fun. One or two orators of a cheap and nasty type are endeavouring to get other youths to continue the attacks on the statue. It is doubtful whether they will succeed in inspiring a largely factitious movement with any real life.

* Somayajulu, their first leader, was convicted for abetment and sentenced also.

3. A rather serious situation has developed in Coimbatore where the workers, about 5,000, in nearly all the cotton mills went to strike and refused to leave the mills. It was feared that the process of ejecting several thousand men from the mill premises might be one of considerable difficulty.

culty, but the actual ejection was carried out with complete success owing to skilful tactics and preparation by the Police and Magistracy. A Coimbatore vakil who has hitherto led the strikers was arrested on the 23rd of August on a charge of inciting to violence under section 107, Criminal Procedure Code. He was put up before the Sub-Divisional Magistrate who refused to release him on bail. The men still remain out, but there has been no overt trouble since. Ramaswami Ayyengar, the vakil referred to, issued a printed pamphlet which was widely distributed in the town. It set forth the strikers' grievances (which had never been placed before the Mill authorities); it accused the Police and Magistrate of co-operating with the employers against the labourers and appealed to the townspeople for help in the most extravagant terms. The general population of the town regard the strike and its leaders with disfavour and it is probable that 90 per cent of the men desire to return to work; but until the possibility of another satyagraha attempt has gone, it might be unwise to allow a general return.

The Diocesan Press strike has collapsed. About a hundred strikers turned up at the press on the 22nd August and offered to resume work unconditionally. Only 43 were taken on, the rest being sent away as there was not enough work for all who came.

The scavengers and other conservancy coolies of Madras went on ^{lightning} strike on Sunday the 21st August demanding an increase in wages. At a special meeting of the Corporation Council it was resolved to grant an increase of pay and the men returned to work.

6. There was a small Hindu-Muhammadian brush at Adoni in Bellary with a few casualties. This is the outcome of a recent pronouncement of the Sessions Judge on the general right of communities to go in procession in public thoroughfares--cf. the High Court's decision in the Nellore case. It was said that the procession was engineered by the Magistrate for private reasons and the case

police investigation. The Collector has ~~been~~ ^{been} ordered to send a special report on this.

Another small friction of the same kind is reported from Kurnool and unfortunately this seems to show deliberate provocation by a Hindu. He bought a shop near a mosque, and erected an upper story over the shop premises, planted a pole and decorated it, and arranged for a Hindu god's procession to stop at the spot which is barely 20 yards from the mosque entrance. The Muhammadans at first took no objection to this Hindu procession, hitherto a most insignificant affair, but at the last moment after the procession had passed the mosque (music being stopped as usual) and assembled at the Reddi's shop, the Muhammadans gathered in large numbers under the Mulla's instigation and threw stones at the 'Utlu' pole and the shop causing slight injuries to property. This question of fixing the 'Utlu' has developed into one of as to where music should be stopped and begun again. The procession was given up on that occasion and attempts were made the following day to bring the parties to an agreement but without success and the Hindus have given up their procession. They are said to be contemplating recourse to the civil courts.

7. Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi visited Krishnagiri in the Salem district on the 24th August; their motor-car was preceded by a khaddar sales van which did a certain amount of business. This van and the car were, it is said, placed at Mr. Gandhi's disposal by Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar, the President of the Congress. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariyer, the well-known khaddar enthusiast, is a Salem man and was with the party. It is curious that the khaddar sales at Krishnagiri were far less than those in the smaller and less prosperous town of Hosur. Several addresses and purses were given to Mr. Gandhi who appears to have been treated by the assembled crowd with every mark of respect. Gandhi laid emphasis on social reform prohibition and advocated the wearing of khaddar of the spinning wheel. He emphasised the

necessity' of Hindu-Muslim unity but to this a curious commentary was provided by events in the town. Muhammadan leaders had printed Tamil notices setting forth questions relating to the murder of Swami Shraddhanandha and condemning the views held by Mr. Gandhi regarding the interpretation of Islam, the judgment in the Rangila Rasul case and local friction at Krishnagiri regarding processions. The Muhammadan leaders held aloof from any active demonstration of welcome to Mr. Gandhi; and on the following day some ill-disposed persons put up a festoon of old leather and wood sandals over the main road between two trees under which Mr. Gandhi and his party had occasion to pass. In the centre of the festoon was a board with an insulting message to Gandhi written on it and also a drawing of a 'charka'. It is said that the leaders of the Muhammadans have decided to send an apology to Mr. Gandhi. The Hindus retaliated by circulating an insulting notice in which a vile abuse is poured upon those suspected of putting up this festoon. Among the terms used in this document are 'sons of prostitutes' and 'pigs'. This notice was circulated in Tamil and sent round in a motor-car attended by a band. The situation is being watched. The leaders on both sides are usually reasonable men and the District Magistrate anticipates that on this occasion he will be able to keep them so.

8. Our communist Singaravelu Chetti organized a meeting of labourers on the 24th August to condemn the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. There was an audience of 300. Singaravelu announced that he would observe mourning and hoist a black flag half-mast in his house for a week and as a mark of respect to the two communists.

The decision of the Government to introduce a new section in the Indian Penal Code making attack on religion a specific offence has been welcomed by the Muhammadans. Dr. Ansari's frank statement on the present political situation and appeal to the Congressmen to take a decision

light of realities have caused a flutter in the Congress circles.

9. PRESS.--* * * * * The ANDHRA PRADESH paper criticised the Indian Chiefs' desire that the question of the position should not be entrusted to the Royal Commission. The paper urged that the problems of both British India and Indian States should be decided at one and the same time as any compromise effected between the British Ministers and the Chiefs of Indian States beforehand would impede the future progress of India and of the States. The Government of India's decision regarding the protection to the Indian mill industry has not gone far enough according to the same critics. The Urdu press is still commenting on the Rangila Rasul case. One paper suggests to the Government of India an appeal to the Privy Council against Justice Dalip Singh's judgment. Two leading Muhammadan papers agree that Indians should boycott the Royal Commission if it contains no Indian members. The AZAD HIND asks Government to move cautiously in the matter of joint electorates, declaring that Muhammadans will never accept it. * * * * * Dr. Ansari's statement has also provided the press with a fruitful topic of discussion, and the recent no-confidence motion in the Legislative Council has been variously interpreted. One or two papers have condemned Miss Katherine Mayo's book 'Mother India'.

Demi-official from H.B. STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr. H.B. HAIG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th September 1927, No.4360-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF SEPTEMBER:

The chief incident of the fortnight was the murder of Mr. Peterson, Commandant of the East Coast Special Police, by a constable of the force. This has already been reported to the Government of India direct.

2. Mr. Gandhi has been perambulating the Presidency during the fortnight collecting khadi purses, extolling the merits of non-violent non-co-operation, and condemning the many social evils that he says have crept into the Hindu society.* * * * * He expressed himself strongly against prohibition by degrees or stages and suggested that the loss in the revenue on account of 'total prohibition' might be made good by cutting down military expenditure. He visited also Chingleput and South Arcot districts. In Chingleput the Wesleyan Missions took a prominent part in welcomes to him and one lady presented him with an address.

3. The alliance that was behind the vote of censure moved against the Ministry in the Council seems not to be continuing. There is no indication that the SWRAJISTS will make common cause with the Justicites in the Council. Some Congress members have been considering the formation of a new party to be called the 'Congress Nationalist party' whose avowed object would be to support in the Council all measures calculated to benefit the country. It is doubtful whether this will obtain any measure of support. Some Muhammadans have been throwing out feelers for the creation of a separate Muslim party in the Council. The prospects of success are doubtful but if such a formation took place it would be the first Muslim bloc in the history of the Madras Council. The Congressmen are occupied with preparations for the ensuing Indian National Congress which is to be held at Madras.

4. The Neill statue campaign continues. Volunteers are coming from mufassal and some youths of the city have also joined. The total number put up so far before the courts is 21; of these three are women, one a little girl of 11 who was ordered to be detained in the Children's Home. One of the volunteers was a boy of 13. His father disowned him as incorrigible and he was sent to a Senior Certified School. Behind this movement are of no repute and are made up of fanatic and ill-balanced youths to make noise. Leading Congressmen

ment and are said to have made genuine but futile efforts to persuade Mr. Gandhi to issue an order to at least change the methods employed for the removal of the statue. Mr. Gandhi, however, was non-committal and his final recommendation was to invite the attention of the volunteers to the need for conforming to the conditions precedent for a proper SATYAGRAH. MR. Singaravelu Chetti generally appears in court during the trial of the volunteers and seeks permission to speak on their behalf as AMICUS CURIAE.

5. The Coimbatore strike has collapsed. All mills are full so far as labour is concerned and all departments are working except the weaving department of one mill where the damage done on 17th August is being repaired.

The Massey & Co. strike continues unchanged. Some of the strikers have secured employment elsewhere and others are hanging about in the hope that the management will admit them again. They have lost faith in their leaders and have called on them to account for the money collected from them.

6. The Press has been occupied with the no-confidence motion against the Ministers. Many papers hold that though the motion was defeated, the Ministers have lost the confidence of the public since more than two-thirds of the elected members voted against them and they must resign even though the law might permit them to continue in office. Some papers declare that there is no need for the Ministers to resign and a few opined that the public had confidence in them. The DRAVIDAN, a non-Brahman paper, urged that the Government ^{or} ~~xxxx~~ should drive them out of office.

7. * * * * * The attacks on the Neill statue have aroused considerable comment. Some papers commended the 'patriotism' of the assailants and hold that if the authorities were interested in maintaining law and order, they should remove the Neill statue forthwith. One non-Brahman paper opined that the Brahmans were behind this move to breed a spirit of non-Brahmans against being entangled in the politics of the country.

Demi-official from ~~M~~H.G. STOKES, Esq., CIE. ICS.,
Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon
H.G. MAIG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government
India, Home Department, dated the 3rd October 1927,
4632-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND HALF OF SEPTEMBER.

Hindus participated freely in the local Muslim celebration of the Prophet's birthday. Our local Communist received an invitation to visit Russia to participate in the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet. He has applied for a passport.

A public meeting was held at the Gokhale Hall to denounce Miss Mayo's book as mischievous and scurrilous. The speakers were ~~ready~~ mostly Congressmen. They declared that the book full of half truths and untruths calculated to lower India in the estimation of the world. As one mode of argument they poured abuse on western civilization and morality in terms of questionable taste.

During the last fortnight eight volunteers presented themselves at the Neill statue. * * * * * The campaign shows signs of weakening and it is noticed that the interest of the City in this free show seems to have diminished. The members of the Madras District Congress Committee decided not to take any responsibility for this campaign but declared that they will carry on the agitation for the removal of the statue through the platform, the press, leaflets and the Councils.

3. At a recent Labour meeting called by Mr. Shiva Rao it was resolved to establish a Labour Investigation Bureau. The objects of this are said to be to collect information regarding factory and non-factory labour, to publish the results of these inquiries and to press for reforms if necessary. Mr. Singaravelu Chetti has suggested the formation of a Bourgeoisie Investigation Bureau. The object of this apparently would be to collect statistics of the riches possessed by employers and determine how much of this wealth could be applied to the amelioration of the condition of the labouring classes.

4. * * * * * The Extremists' attitude has been to condemn the Kenya Government's action in accepting the Feetham Committee's report without previously consulting the Government of India. The Telugu press adds that if the Government of India did not assert their right to be heard, the position of Indians would be hopeless. The ANDHRA PATRIKA remarks that India is in no way benefited by representation on the League of Nations, for individuals of the type of Lord Lytton were not likely to place the desires of the people before the body. One paper remarks that the Hon'ble Sir C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar's statement that Indians were gratified at the constitutional activities of the League in matters economical and political was contrary to the opinion expressed by many politicians in India. * * * * * The Bill to penalise attacks on religion has received rather a mixed reception. TAMIL NADU declares that the enactment of the measure would be a great obstacle to the advancement of Indians and adds that if the object of Government was to prevent wanton attacks on religion, they could do so even under the existing laws.

Some Malayalam papers declare that General Neill was incomparably worse than General Dyer and that the maintenance of the statue is an affront to the patriotism of Indians.

The Muhammadan press has been concerned chiefly with the alleged paucity of Muhammadans in Government service especially in higher posts. It urges in particular the appointment of Muhammadans to the Board of Revenue.

Demi-official from H.G.STOKES, Esq., CIE.IC.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to the Hon'ble Mr.H.G.HALG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 19th October 1927, No.4944-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF OCTOBER.

The fortnight has been on the whole without incident. Mr. Gandhi has continued his tour in the Tamil districts and his advocacy of KHADDAR has added a fresh exhortation. He has been inspired by what he saw in the

rence is to his call for an improvement in sanitary conditions.

The Neill statue campaign continues but shows signs of
~~(The statue has begun operations. A sub-committee of the~~
~~been formed to investigate).~~ The statue of Mr. V. Krishna
Ayyar, an Indian ex-Member of the Madras Executive Council
~~xxxxxxx~~ defaced a few days ago by some as yet unknown persons.

Without notice to the authorities a procession was hastily
got up by a few Hindus in Nellore on the 6th October, but
untoward consequences followed as the Police and the Magistrate
arrived in time, and after the arrest of three persons the trouble
subsided. On the 7th October, on a rumour that the Hindus
again intended to take out processions without notice, shops
were closed and xxx there was considerable excitement in the
town; groups of people began to collect and the streets became
crowded. This necessitated issue of orders under section
Criminal Procedure Code, and also under the Police Act. A person
who has represented the intransigent element among the Hindus
was assaulted one night by persons as yet unknown. The
tendency of such isolated attacks to become more xxxxxxxx
is rather disquieting.

4. * * * * * The Muslim press continues to discuss
paucity of Muhammadans in Government service. The AZAD HIND
condemns any proposal in favour of joint electorates and says
that if the Royal Commission on Reforms is to be entirely non-
Indian, Indians will have no concern with it. The same paper
appreciates the promptness of the new Home Member of the Govern-
ment of India in introducing in the Assembly a Bill to amend the
Indian Penal Code in spite of the opposition of the Hindu mem-
bers, and adds a commendation to Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar for
having strongly supported the Bill.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. ICS.,
ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to
Hon'ble Mr. H.G. HAIG, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the
Government of India, Home Department, dated the 3rd
1927, No. 5196-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE SECOND

The Legislative

feature of the sitting was the obstruction of the passing of supplementary demands.

There is a rumour that there have been negotiations between the present Chief Minister and his predecessor for a coalition of their parties. This however has been contradicted by Raja of Panagal. Another new party is said to have been formed from among the non-Brahman element, its objects being to organize the Justice party and to secure the cancellation of the resolutions passed by the Special Non-Brahman Conference at Coimbatore. Mr. B. Shiva Rao^{is} suggesting the formation of a new Congress political party consisting of those who have been working the Reforms on non-communal lines.

3. There has been a recrudescence of the Reilly statue campaign. Efforts have been made to arrange for volunteers to come from the Telugu districts and it is said that a party is expected to arrive at the end of October will be led by an old woman of Rajahmundry aged about 70.

5. * * * * * The ALAD HINDU to believe that the attacks made on Raj Pal and Swami Sivan were the results of an organized plan and remarks that such action can neither strengthen the position of the Muhammadan community nor weaken that of the Hindu.

Demi-official from A.Y.G. CAMPBELL, Esq., CSI. CIE. CIE. ICS., Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, to Hon'ble Mr. H.G. HALD, CIE. ICS., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 16th November 1927, No.5456-1, Public.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT FOR THE FIRST HALF OF NOVEMBER.

The Legislative Council sat from 31st October till 5th November. * * * * * Resolutions to the following effect were carried, viz.,--

✓ (1) recommending the immediate release of M.P. Narayanon, a Malabar rebellion prisoner (a vakil), * *

3. The chief topic of discussion has been the Special Commission, its personnel, terms of reference. The reception of the proposals

Viceroy's statement has been cold. The exclusion from the Commission and from direct participation in it has aroused considerable indignation in some quarters. A motion is on foot to have the Commission boycotted completely. Dr. Besant called a special meeting of the Madras leaders to consider the situation and arrive at a common attitude to it. No decision was reached. However, Mr. C. Srinivasa Ayyangar has definitely pronounced for boycott. While the Liberal League under the leadership of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar has pronounced itself in favour of a boycott of the Commission, the Justice party has not up till now committed itself to any decision.

Mrs. Besant's decision to rejoin the Congress is of some interest. She was given a public reception on the 1st of July. Several eulogistic speeches were delivered at the Gokhale Memorial Hall. The Hon. Mr. S. S. Sivaswami Aiyar presided over the occasion.

constitution for India of which notable features were the widening of the franchise, joint electorate, provincial linguistic provinces with Hindi as a common language for the whole country and the abolition of the India Office. He said on this occasion that he preferred a Parliamentary Commission to a mixed commission.

4. The President of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railwaymen's Union has been to Kharagpur and on his return related a meeting the subjects discussed at the Special Conference of the Railwaymen's Federation. He said that if no satisfactory settlement was reached, the general council of the Federation would consider and decide upon a strike on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and thereafter a general strike on other lines. He remarked that he himself was not in favour of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway workmen joining the strike in view of the disorganized condition of their union and warned members of the union not to be led astray in the meantime by unconnected and irresponsible persons as Siragani. The South Indian Railway Labour Union was formed at which 400 men attended.

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