H.M.F. voll III

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பக்கங்களின் எண்ணிக்கை	
புதுக்க இருப்பிய நாள்	
ஆதார் குறிப்பவர் சுருக்கொப்பம்	

## நாடு ஆவணக் காப்பகம்

தமிழ்நாடு அரசு

H. A. M. voell 11/ 219:4-230

ரசாணை எண். கோப்புத் தாள் எண். அச்சகம்

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Jan 26th 1901.

RED TAPISM IN INDIA:

WE have on many previous occasions pointed out that official bierarchy in India is a very slow to move and the following extract is a summary of the proceedings that was seen in Madras. In Madras there is the same story and we believe that collectors are called upon to explain their action if they venture to take time by forelock and this red tapism has become chronic with the Madras secretariat. The proceedings of the Government in connection with the sorrowful event of Her Gracious Majesty's demise which has cast a gloom over the length and breadth of the land affords another striking example of the red tapism to which the Madras Government seems to be unevocable wedded. It was on the morning of 23rd instant that the mournful news of the demise of our beloved Queen Empress was received and the news spread will wild fire throughout every book and corner of the metropotes and the far off mofussil stations. The Mercantile community closed their business on hearing the news and went into deep mourning while the public at large postponed all social functions. The chief justice on coming to the court adjourned for 2 days and notified afterwards that the court will not sit till Monday we are constrained to state that the gravity of the situation and the solemnity of the occasion were not adequately realised in the secretariat and other Government offices. It took till towards evening for a notificati on to be issued and no official intimation was therefore made available to the public till more than 12 hours after the un-official intimation. had been received. We can well understand that no precedent can be found suitable to the present occasion but ordinary decorum and common sense ought to have dictated that public offices should be closed at once and business unless of a very urgent native postponed. Our reporter who went to the Secretariat to obtain what information he could returned with the answer that the order of the Government of India was awaited and that nothing could be done till orders were received. The clerks in the various offices were sitting at their tables doing nothing but speaking about the virtues of their late gracious Lady till the Chief Secretary who came to office that clerks might go home after finishing urgent work. We were aware that the other offices collowed suit and gave half a holiday. The

next day on the occasion of the accession of Edward the VII the same faree was repeated. Thus the procedure is remarkable. But what shall we say of one of the secretariat offices which even after receiving intimation from the chief secretariat did not close its office either on wednesday or on Thursday. We expect His Excellency Lord Ampthill to make a thorough enquiry into the matter and see for himself how official machinary entrusted to his charge works in the presidency. We also hear that in one of the public offices clerks who had been allowed to go home on thursday were sent for and asked to work till late in the evening. This is red tapism with vengeance! We know that the Government will nowat least rise equal to the occasion.



THE SIXTH JUDGESHIP OF THE MADRAS HIGH COURT.

It is well known that Mr. Justice Shepherd retires from
the High Gourt Bench with effect from the re-opening of the Court
after the summer vaccation and the time has accordingly come for
the local Government and the secretary of State to consider
the appointment of a successor to him. Since a Sixth judge was
appointed for the local High Court, it has been a matter of complaint
with the Indian public that a place which ought to be filled by
one of them has been so long allowed to be held by a Eupopean
Barrister in forgetfulness or disregard of the decision arrived
at by the Government of India and acquesced in by the Secretary
of State several years ago.

It will be seen that the number of Nation judges to be selected from the judicial branch of the provincial service or from pleaders or Advocates of the High Courts is fiexed at three and two respectively for Calcutta and Bombay and two for Madras. In accordance with this declaration Calcutta has long had three Indian judges and Bombay two for the last 5 years Madras alone which is said to be a very advanced province is left in the cold, there having been so far only one Indian judge. Now what is the reason of this different treatment accorded to the people of this presidenc, Not that there is any lack of educated legal talent or poverty of professional eminence but that the local authorities are anxious to preserve one more place for their own countrymen to the serious injustice of the Indian community. We can not say why this racial selfishness is so predominant in this presidency. The only explanation that suggests itself to us is that the local Government has not been particularly impressed with the moral obligation of giving effect to the pledges made to the people of India. It is impossible for anybody to wriggle out of the clear terms of the Government of India's despatch and the fact that they have been fully respected in Calcutta and Bombay aggravates the disangenous m evasion till now successfully attempted in Madras. Last year

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the Mahajana Sabha memorialise the Secretary of State to order the appointment of an Indian when the next vaccancy temporary or nermanent in the office of one of the two pursue Barrister judges took place there having been at that time as there are still 3 Barrister judges two civilians and only one native of India. It took nearly 8 months for Lord George Hamilton to furnish a reply which as communicated by the local Government to the president of the Mahajana Sabha was "that he (the Secretary of State) is not disposed to consider at present from which of the eligible classes a selection should be made to supply a vacancy which has not vet occured and that he cannot therefore accede to the request of the Sabha." Indeed when to the secretary of Statexwerks wrote his reply, there was no vaccancy to fill up and Lord George Hami Hamilton was perhaps technically right in declining to make a definite assurance. But His Lordship it is clear recognises the force of the claim urged by the Mahajana Sabha for the only point which he did not then feel called upon to decide was as to the class of eligible candidates from which a selection should be made to fill up a vackancy which had not yet occurred. But the contingency which did not then exist has now amisen and it is therefore time for both the local Government and for the Secretary of State to take the subject into consideration in a spirit of justice and famin .... The Madras Government still shows a disposition to bunke the question as has been proved by the extra ordinary exercise of veto in regard to the Hon'ble P.Rathnasabhapathi pillay's question intended to be asked at the last meeting of the Legislative Council and published in our issue of the 6th instant. The Hon'ble member wished to know whether "Government will be pleased to avail itself of the opportunity afforded by the approaching retirement of the Hon ble Mr. Justice shephard and appoint another Indian judge". Not only was this question disallowed in the name of his Excellency the Governor but when the Hon'ble member refened to the matter in

the course of hai Budget speech he was ruled out of order as though this subject was as obnoxious to the officials as the subject of the Malabar resettlement we would however appeal to Lord Ampthill to memember that in asking for a second Indian judge we do not set up any new claim or any plea for special favour. All that we want is pure justice a fulfillment of the promise already made in recognition of our just claim. In Bengal and Bombay that Promise has been fulfilled, in Madras strangely enought the Government is still attempting to evade it. It may also be mentioned that in Bengal in addition to the 3 judges selected from the Native Bar or the provincial service a fourth Indian has been appointed in the person of Mr. B.L.Gupta who gets the office by right as a KENK covenanted civilian. If Bengal our tolerate 4 Indianswn on the High Court Bench the Madras Government need not certainly be apprehensive in appointing two in obedience to the deliberate recommendation of the public Service commission and the decision of the Government of India.

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THE APPOINTMENT OF INDIANS TO HIGHER OFFICES. Mr.Ghose in his presidential address has drawn pointed attention among the characteristics of the present age of reaction, to the fact that contrary to the most solemn pledges of proclamations race is being made a qualification in the distribution of appointments. He emphasised the fact that the Governmens local as well as Imperial have often attended to other considerations than mere ability and integrity in the matter of appointments our grievances on this score are old enough, and since the proclamation of 1858, which gave us direct pledge the without differences of race or cred we as the subjects of the woverieng shall be freely and impartially admitted to offices in the service of the states the duties of which we may be qualified by our education willity and integration to duly discharge, little or nothing has been done to save this solemn assurance from being practically a dead letter these forty years and more. The extremely inadequate recognition of the claims of the children of the soil to offices in the public service is the longest lived and the most prominent sign of the prevailing tetrograde policy. These claims, Mr. Ghose pointed out, by apt quotations from various despatches of the secretary of State and the Government of India, are not merely moral but legal they were based not so much en considerations of abstra t justice as on those authoritative declaration of rulers. While thus Mr. Chose argues the necessity for the admission of Indians into the higher ranks of the public service as a measure of famine arising out of obligation Mr. Dutt discusses the same matter in a recent pamphlet of his from even an aspect of General equitableness In any case there is the undemiable fact that the higher services in India are so recruited that they are made a monopoly for England who draw their pay from India, send their savings to Europea andon retirmement drew their pensions from Indian revenues Ability and integrity are by no means difficeint in this land and in all the offices which has hitherto been thrown open to Indians the possession of these qualities by Indian officers has been amply proved. Notwithstanding this some three generations of Indians who have been educated in public schools and colleges where their

their intellecutal and moral training has been throughly English have been virtually excluded from the higher posts in their own country. . . . Mr. Dutt expresses the firm belief that by giving effect to Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria's Royal proclamation of 1858 and admitting the people of India without distinction of race or creed to all offices under the state the annual drain might be gradually reduced. He proposed some other remedies for effectually reducing this drain altogether but this one of re-vivifying that portion of the proclamation of Queen Victoria releating to the admission of Indians to public service even by itself will go a great way to bring about the desired effect as might best he seen from the following consideration to which Mr. Dutt draws attention. By taking into calculation all appointments in India of the annual value of £ 100 and upwards while the European service is in receipt of 14 millions sterling the Indians of whose claims to serve in their own country and under their sovereign so much is solemnly spoken and written get barely over 3 millions. "I do not believe says Mr. Dutt" that such an exclusion, believe sgysxmxxxxxtof the people from higher services was every known in any civilised country, ancient or modern."will the english voter will realise this statement that the Benevolent Despotism that obtains in India "his ecluded the people of India from 80% of the the salaries and pensions of £100 a year or more reserving them for English boys wishing for a wealthy career among the thm starved people of Indiag".

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XTHE HON'BLE MR. A.T.ARUNDEL.

We congratulate the Hon'ble Mr. A.T. Arundel on his elevation to the viceroy's Executive Council. It is gratifying to find that the claims of Madras to representation in that council have after a long interval been recognised. It cannot be denied that all this while the interests of our presidency did not receive that attention from the supreme government which they deserved and which have been demanded for them by a representative of the Presidency int the council. The Hon'ble Mr. A.T. Arundel has by his ability and service, well mented the distinction and we have no doubt the varied administrative experience of this officer will prove of even greater usefulness to the public in the enlarged scope now afforded to him. We are confident that Mr. Arundel will not fail to press his remonstrate., against the iniquity of our provincial contract of secure to the finances of our presidency a fairer measure of justice. His close acquaintance with the practical working of local self government will again it is hoped enable him in his new position to furter our interests in that direction. Mr. Arundel has the benefit of a long district acquaintance and we daresay that his term in the supreme Executive council is full of promise for Madras.



CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN DADABHAI NAOROJI AND
LORD GEORGE HAMILTON.

India publishes the first portion of an apparently prolonged correspondence between Mr. Dadabhai Maoroji and Lord George Hamilton regarding the admission of natives of India into the various branches of the public service. We need not make any large quotations as the whole correspondence will appear in our columns: but there is one sentence in Lord George Hamilton's letter from which we derive some hope. "His Lordship like his predecessor is of opinion that a majority of the more important controlling posts must remain in the hands of Europeans but subject only to this condition he is entirely in favour of the maintenance of the access of Indians to public employment and has done nothing since he has been the secretary of state to impede it". We hope to always remind Lord George of the sentence in his letter. In the first part of it we entirely agree and as regards the second we trust that his Lordship will ever be true to his word. As a first instalment then may we not expect His Lordship to give effect to the recommendation of the public service commission and the Despatch of the Government of India as regards the appointment of a second Indian judge for the Madras High Court. Here there s is no new policy to be inagurated, but only an old resolve of promise to be given effect to. We hope Lord George Hamilton will make up his mind this time alike to be just and generous to us.  $m ^{
m Vr}$  . Justice shephard has left India for good and a permanent sixth judge has to be appointed in his place. His Lordship has done injustice to the people of India meny a times by speaking unkindly of them. Here he can do a pure act of justice and ensure their good will and gratitude. He told the Mahajana Sabha when it last memorialised him that he was not prepared to decide from what class of eligible candidates a selection should be made to fill ax vaccarry which had not occurred. The vacancy has now occurred, and we hope there will be no hesitation on his Lordship's part to apppint an Indian.

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THE MADRAS CONFERENCE. The fact of the Madras Provincial conference urging at the same time the appointment of a second Indian judge and of an Indian member of the Executive council of the Governor is likely to create the impression that both are equally remote as regards accomplishment, or was that both are equally remote as regards accomplishment or that both are yet beyond the range the range of practical politics This is by no means the case. A second native judgeship has been actually sanctioned but the sanction has not been given effect to while as regards the membership of the Executive Council the official mind has yet to be persuaded to accept the proposal. We confess it was not the wisest or the most practical course for the conference to have pressed both the questions at the same time. The one could have been well put off for a future occasion while as regards the other the principle having been already admitted and action is being awaited it would have been far better not to have obscured its importance and urgency by urging another demand along with it. It is always of greater advantage to confine our attention to a few of the more pressing needs or grievances, ' leaving the rest for a future occasion. Those who pass a string of resolutions are not likely to create an impression upon the of the importance or im urgency of any. The temptation to rush through a mumber of subject at a single session of the congress or conference has to be resisted if the more important of them are to receive due attention.

February 12, 1902.



To the readers of "India" the animated controversy between Mr. Hyndman and Mr. J.B. Pennington should afford the most exciting interest. As their controversy proceeds the margin of difference between them is gradually diwardling and Mr. Pennington is even prepared to accept Mr. Hyddman's contention that the English should govern the whole of India under the Mysore system by "Native rule under English leaderships" We are indeed, gratified no less at the advance of thought which this concurrence of opinion indicates than at the compliment which Mr. Pennington pays to South Indian Statesmanship. "I quite agree" says this retired Madras tiveban, "that Mysore is the most encouraging example of Home Rule or at any rate Local self Government which might well be followed wherever circumstances are favourable. It proves to my mind that in the South of India, at any rate, we have native statesman who are practically on a par with Englishman and certainly in many pints they are our superiors even as administrators, though no doubt in many other respects Englishmen will for many years to come have the advantage", we are glad that Mr. Pennington has the honesty and candour to acknowledge the merits of Indian statesmanship especially when there are men,, whom seniority without merit has raised to official eminence, ready to tell us that there are not Indians fit to be even an under Secretary

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to the Government of Madras. Englishmen can never gain the respect of the people by perely refusing to acknowledge their merit. Every one who possesses merit must be more or less concious of the fact and the only effect of one's knowing that it is dishonestly deprecated is to diminish one's respect for those who so deprecate it. It would be more manly to tell the people of India that Englishman want to hold all the nigher appointments than to insult them by appearing asserting their inferiority. We would respect a man who tells us that his interests require that he should keep certain things for himself but we can feel nothing but contempt for those who would justify their selfishness by dishonesty and arrogance.

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March 15. 1902.

### Leader

The selection of the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Bobilli and Rajah Sir Şavalai Ramaswamı Mudaliar to represent Madras at the forthcoming coronation of the Emperor in England will give general satisfaction. The Maharajah is the representative of one of the ancient Zamindaries in India and is an enlightened courteous and capable administrator of his estate. He had the high honour of paying a visit to Hon ble late Majesty Queen Victoria and the Members of the Royal family in 1893. His Majesty the Emperor, who was then the prince of Wales, granted the Maharajah an interview and was graciously pleased to say that he was glad to make the Maharajah's acquaintance. It is therefore fitting that at the Coronation of the Emperor Madras should be represented by one who amidst other qualifications was the rare distinction of being personally acquainted with the Europe Emperor besides others of the Royal Family. The choice of Rajah Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar the other nominee to represent the city of Madras is no less satisfactory. He is one of the most popular citizens of Madras and is a conspi Cous member of Indian Society. His charities and philanthropy are well known and the city of Madras should really be glad to be represented by him at the Emperor's coronatoon.

August 2, 1902.

### The India Office Reception.

The Englishman has unearthed a piece of interesting information regarding the India Office reception of Indian representatives in England. Our contemporary believe that a representative of an Indian paper was invited to the reception and was informed that the invitation was conditional upon his not saying a word disparaging the function. He returned his ticket. The function as a function was doubtless one of the most brilliant. The reception was gorgeon's and there could possibly have been no misgivings as to its being thought so by the public where then was the need for engineering its success in this fashion? But for the melancholy the meanness of debiting the cost of the celebration to revenues of India and the gross absurdities of calling upon invited guests to pay their bill of fare, the event of the reception would have passed off as one of the most memorable in connection with His Majesty's Coronation. But what does our contemporary's information point to? That the India office sets peculiar values upon invitations proceeding from it. In one case in the case of the guests from India, the India office demanded payment for their feast; in the other, that of the representative of the Indian newspaper the invitation was in the nature of a hush money. The way that Lord George Hamilton this trades upon invitations for

state functions is indeed admirable. It is weretly

worthy of only Lord George.

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October 15, 1902.

### Leader

What exactly is the part the District superintendents play in the administration of the Madras City Police? Originally they were created to look after the presention of cases before the Magistrates and we have been entertaining four of them on sumptuons Salarie since the days of Colonel. Weldon. Do they really constitute the police prosecuting agencies in the city? What is their knowledge of law and judicial procedure? Have they been found to enter upon the duties of investigation in any important case? If so with what success? In the matter of holding inquests which seems to be their main functions now, how are they an improvement upon the old corner? Under each Superintendent, there are two Divisions and Division Inspectors, six stations and as many sub-Inspectors and station House Officers. What is the sort of check or control he exercises over them? Does he at least visit all his station in the day? We leave it to the Committee to say whether 1t is not high time for the abolition of this costly and unnecessary office.

January 22, 1903.



# The Indian Element in Madras Legislative Council.

The Indian element is more and mere kept out of the Madras Legislative Council and even the seats long held by Sir V. Bhashyam Iyengar and Mr. Sankaran Nayar are now held by the Hon'ble Mr. Acworth and Sir George Moor. The existence of a planting member in the Council when the special legislation affecting planting interests is before the special legiclation affecting it is justifiable: but it has been a mystery to us what special interest Sir George Moor was appointed to represent. Madras would deny that it is less advanced than Bengal and in Madras without doubt the relation between the European and the Indian are more peaceful and friendly. Nevertheless it is in Madras that the Indian is elbowed out. A comparison of the Madras Legislatiove Council with the Legislative Councils of the other two important presidencies will show how inadequately the Indian public are represented in our Legislature. The strength and proportion of Additional Members in the 3 provincial Council are as follows:-

	Total	Indian	European
Bengal	19	11	8
Bombay	21	11	10
Madras	21	7	14

It must be stated that the above include all Additional members both official and non-official; it

is remarkable that while in Bengal and Bombay the Indian members form more than one half in Madras they should be exactly one third. What is this due to? Why should there be such a great difference? Is it because that the Indian here is more gentle to the European or because the latter is more aggressive? Any how the state of things here pointed out is not very creditable in the Local Government which has practically taken away Indian seats to be given away to Europeans without any actual necessity, When the new India Councils Act was passed \_ English statesmen like Gladstone and Salisbury expressed earnest hopes that the living forces of the Indian people will be represented in the new Councils. But so far as Madras is concerned, these hopes have not been realised and things do not look better for the future either.

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### The Indian National Congress.

The first public meeting in connection with the holding of the 19th session of the Congress in Madras in December next was held of the Victoria Public Hall yesterday. (The meeting was under the auspices of the Madras Mahagana Sabha and was attended by very many of the leading and influential citizens of Madras. The object of the meeting was to appoint the Reception Committee of the Congress and another Committee to undertake the preliminary arrangements in connection with the Industrial exhibition to be held for the first time in Madras along with the Congress The Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur presided over the meeting. The reference in the course of his introductory speech to warmest support given by his late father to the Congress during its first session in Madras in 1887 elicited the hearty applause of the audience yesterday. As one of our leading public men and by reason of his intellegence he awas eminently fitted to start the proceedings in connection with the Congress in Madras. He impressed on his fellow citizens yesterday the importance of directing energy in promotion of objects tending to the public welfare and thereafter introduced business laid down in the programme for the meeting. The Reception and the Industrial Exhibition Committees were then formed. Over 200 names in all were placed before the meeting in connection with the



former committee and the number is none too large; considering the work to be done. Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar in seconding the Resolution, in respect of the Exhibition Committee exhorted the public to put forth genuine enthusiasm and zeal for the cause of Congress and to put their nead and neart into it. The work of the 19th Session of the Congress in Madras has been commenced and it is needless to say that it is the duty of every one of our countrymen to strive his utmost to accomplish its success. This is the 4th time we are having the Congress and it is to be noped that the Gentlemen of the various Committees will endeavour to make the session to way inferior in point of its organisations or resources to any of preceding ones in this city or elsewhere.

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December. 5 1903.

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THE ENSURING CONGRESS.

The provisional committee appointed to determine upon the subjects to be considered by the congress have done their best to reduce the number of subjects as far as possible so that the more important and more pressing matters may be taken up and discussed more fully and satisfactorily than before. The first subject they have selected is the constitution of the congress. The opinion in the congress is by no meansxwwwxunanimous as regards the expediency of framing a rigid constitution. Eighteen years have passed since the congress was started and there is clearly something in the view that after such a time it must have a constitution well defined, if not very rigid. The next subject that the committee would consider is the expansion of the Legislative Council. No doubt the present constitution of these council has given us some measure of real representation but the feeling is coming upon us more and more that it is very inadequate for the large area and population. Incidentally also there are other matters connected with the subject which deserve to be considered such as the power of the council in financial matters, the rules for election and so forth. The land revenue question will remain xx one of the standing subjects for deliberation by the congress so long as the present policy continues of "bleeding" the agricultural classes even in opposition to the principle laid down by the late Lord Satisbury and there will accordingly be a seprete resolution on it. And then with regard to the public service. Indians have been "cheated" persistently and long. The Public Service Commission was appointed "to do final justice "to the claims of the natives of India. But we have not been done even partial ju-It is time that the attention of the congress  $\boldsymbol{x}$  is increasingly devoted to this matter as also to the question of local self-government which is slowly being undermined and destroyed as we can clearly perceive from the Madras city Municipal Bill; The congress will also deal with the official secrets Bill. The aim is to limit the number of subjects as fer as possible. We can not say what leaders from other provinces will say. But

But here we have been convinced that the fewer the subjects that are taken up the greater will be the impression that we shall be able to produce on the Government as well as the public both as regards their genuineness and their urgency.

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Feb 24, 1904.

EUROPEANS AND INDIANS AND INDIAN JUSTICE.

The resolution of the Government of India on the absurd complaint that in differences between Europeans and Indians and partiality was being shown to Indians, has been telegraphed to London. In nearly every journal it has found publication and many have given it prominence. In view of the vast mass of political matter which the opening of parliament will daily provide it may be taken for granted that Scant attention will be given to this most important subject. This is a pity. The question is one which strikes at the British rule in India and should command attention here. So far as I have been only one paper has expressed itself on the topic. That paper does not say much but what it does say is distinctly to the point. The "Echo" says:-

"The Indian Government is to be congratualated upon its reply to the arrogant memorial presented to it by the "commercial community of Bengal. The memorial was in effect a protest against the dealing out of even handed justice between Indians and Europeans. In certain notorious cases of ill-treatment of natives the local authorities, either through pressure or through prejudice have failed to protect the weak and the Government has had to interefere to secure that justice was done. The memorial urges that such interference "renders the management of labour, never an "renders the management of labour never an easy task an increasingly different problem "and tends to make the police and magistrates more zealous in the performance of their duties with the disastrous results to the status of Europeans. The reply of the Government is that such arguments are "intenable. That is to partx put it midlly. We rejoice that the Government has put its foot down in this ignoble cannot.

The "Times" gives a half column leader on the question in which it begins by stating that i+ is to be hoped that the reply of the Covernment of India will remove the misapprehensions which have arisen among the Europeans and states that Covernment would have been wiser to have adhered strictly to the simple text that

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it is a "paramount obligation to see that justice is done and that right shall prevail". This sentiment admirable in theory, is says "The TimeS" not easy in practice but it is regrettable that that the Government should have had to deny charges of unfair treatment for for it shows that racial feeling is aroused. It should be remembered that British rule in India is based on justice and tolerance. Time, tact and mutural forbestance are necessary to prevent collisions whether the circumstances be extenuating or aggravating but such collisions are detrimental to the British Good name maxx

OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

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MR. TILAK ACQUITTED.

Mr. Tilak has been acquitted by the High Court of Bombay of the grave charge of peying started against him by Mr. Aston and prosecuted with extraordinary vigour by the Government of Bombay which has not yet completely recovered from the infatuation that came over it in 1897. The Magistrate who \*\*\*\*\*\* the case originally found nothing which be could not believe against Mr. Tilak; and his open disregard of law and procedure which has rightly called forth the condemnation of High Court, staggered public opinion. The sessions judge while finding that the Magistrate had acted irregularly and that Mr. Tilak had acted homestly and with the sole object of serving the interests of the estates. Yet found it necessary to confirm the conviction while reducing the sentence. The High Court has once more shown that it has strength to do justice to honourable innocence in the face of the forces arrayed against him whatever else may be said against Mr. Tilak, his countrymen have said never considered him capable of dishonourable conduct; and it is nothing sort of an ony of taxefate that such a man should have been convicted of so kamenon's a charge as persury.



Ele NOS

April 25 1905.

D E R. will occur in the necessary funds being made available for the expenses of the Madras delegate proceeding to England along with the delegates from other provinces. The proposed deputation to England is of the greatest importance to the country at this juncture and has been noticed with approval by the press in England. Our public men should realise the full responsibility that rests on them. This is the time not for indulgence in personal feelings but for a united and whole hearted devotion to public ends. From what quarter or in what manner the funds are found is a question altogether of minor importance. Anyhow they must be found and the delegate should leave in time. We hope our friends of the congress and Mahajana Sabha will work in this spirit and without magnifying small mistakes or indiscretions on the part of individuals, will unite in the service of the country we should remember that our cause is advocated by a large number of friends in England who while devoting their time of energy to it expect us to bear the b work and to fully and honestly carry out the engagements we make with them. They would certainly grow disgusted if we show an unworthy spirit of personal difference. We do not know the exact time whe n the delegate is not know the exact time when the delegate is required to be in England. If the Bombay and punjab delegates leave next month there is no reason why the Madras delegates should not joink them. But if the delegates are required there in july then there is plenty of time for the Mahajana Sabha to tap other sources of public spirit than the limited saving of the congress committee.

### L E A D E R.

From a telegram which we published yesterday it will be seen that a public meeting was held in Bombay at which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and in Bombay Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, Barrister at Law, were appointed delegates on behalf of the Bombay Presidency to proceed to England. The idea of sending the Mahamedan gentlemen as co-adjutor to Mr. Gokhale is an excellent one. We have little doubt that in Madras the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur could also be persuaded to join the deputation if the congress party instead being divided within itself and affording ammusement to the public by its internal squabbles would work in the right spirit and convince the Nawab work in the right spirit and convince the Nawab that his proceeding to England at this juncture is highly necessary in the public interests.

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#### PROTEST MEETINGS IN MADRAS.

One of our foremost public men writing to ws from England says: "The account of the protest meeting in Madras contained in the issue of the "Hindu" which you have been good enough to sede me is very reassuring. I am not credulous enough to believe that these protest meetings will have any real effect on Lord Curzon or will seriously endanger his position with the India office. Things curzonian will go in their usual reactionary style. inflated by hollow though high sounding speeches and the India office under the present regime will look on with a sort of stare. made up of mild wonder helplessness and apathy. Nevertheless I call the meetings reassuring because they show a gleam of high hope in the midst of disappointment, bordering an despair, and that is that our nation is getting unified and is acting in a manner worthy of good citizens. The meetings show that notwithstanding the success of our enemies they can no longer be called opponents the solidarity of our people is an accomplished fact. Lord Curzon has unconsciously brought the different parts of India, Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsees and others much closer together and that is an immense gain. Even he cannot but back the hand of time for long and if he leaves us as united as we are just now, we shall not in the long run have much cause for regret at his reactionary policy and his truthful utterances.".

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### "OUR PERIPATETIC RULERS".

The Times of India in a well written article which we have printed an another page on "our peripatetic Rulers" enters a vigorous protest against the annual migration to the mills of various local Governments and the supreme government. Many years ago there was a large and influential public meeting held in Madras in which both Indians and Europeans joined to make representation to the Government of the great hardships to the people and to the administration caused by this periodical exolus to the hills but it was not to be expected that an "rulers" would hearmen to reason and public protestation when their personal interests were buttressed by memool and prescipture usuage. The article in the Times of India lays hare all evils and is a crushing indictment of the present system.

September 21, 1905.)



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### THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

We understand that there is a proposal to get up a public meeting in Madras to promote the swadeshi movement. We do not see the necessity for it. Public meetings are means to an end but they often totend become the ends themselves in this country. There has been a good deal of take of of witing since the idea of this treatment was wasted from Bengal to this part of the Country, but it must be confessed that so far in Madras little practical has been achieved from the volume of correspondence which is appearing the in the press and from other indications it is fairly clear that the whole country is alive to the advantages of the movement and is awaiting with eagerness practical shapes being given to it.

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### INDIAN REPRESENTATIVE IN ENGLAND.

We are glad to learn that Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has met with a splendid reception in England. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton and a large number of Indian residents in London met him at the chaning cross station. The Liberal met him at the charing cross station. The Liberal newspaper the Daily News, the Daily chronicae, star and Morning Leader had issued sympathetic notices of Mr. Gokhale's laner, and in the interview which Mr. Gokhale had with the representative of the Press he pressed his conviction that the direct representation of India in the house of Commons was absolutely essential the three principal provinces of India each sending two representatives Mr. Gokhale also maintained that one half of the members of the India council should be men elected by the people of India the Government having the power of veto. Mr. Gokhale also declared that har his mission to England was to urge upon the people there the necessity of recognising the principle of self Government for India. The Daily chronicale says in an editorial note that 'that great country with a population of some three mundred millions has in reality no voice at all in its own Government. It is done by a tiny band of English officials admirable public servants, it is true but they will be none the worse for having a little light thrown upon India problems from the Indian point of view". The Daily chronicae observes in conclusion that if the native demand is wisely and strenuously urged it cannot see how it can be long refused. Mr. Gokhale has begun his compaign in England under the happiest auspices, and it must be widely regretted that the Indian delegates from all the provinces are not with him at this juncture.

November 30 1905.) 34 3) 6

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

With reference to the Swadeshi movement forming one of the subjects of the resolution for the next congress the Indian neople of Allahabad says: - "On this question there is some room for some difference of opinion as to whether it properly falls within the province of the congress. It may be unhesitatingly stated that congress should pass no resolution boycotting foreign goods or British goods. Next as regards the Swadeshi and movement proper it is essentially an industrial with these questions as a rule. When the social reform question was raised the congress declared that it was beyond its scope and hence the social Reform conference is a distinct movement, when an Industrial exhibition was thought of, it was wisely detached from the confess as the limitations of the parent movement might have hampered the growth of this infant movement. (Similarly the Swadeshi movement although it has acquired a semi political character in some places, can only survive and spread if it is ultimately releaved of its political nature. If it is taken up in the congress or a resolution is carried stating that the congress binds itself to the use of indigineous goods we are afraid the Swadeshi movement will greatly suffer in the long run. It is a great movement and we do not think it requires the support of the congress let it makes its www own way. All opposition to it must give way in the course by time. It is now being supported by all classes officials and others . Let it we taken up earnestly as an industrial and economic problem and let it be excluded from the agenda of the congress. We think it will be both wise and expedient. There is no need to expand at present the scope of the congress. Let it continue as purely and strictly political.

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### THE MADRAS PROTEST AGAINST OPPRESSION IN BENGAL.

No intellegent person can mistake the significance of the protest which the inhabitants of Madras at a public meeting of over 2 thousand of them raised against the reign of terror now prevailing in the province of Bengal more especially in the new province carved out by Lord Curzon and entrusted to the charge of Mr. Fuller The protest signifies that the people of this country have long ago survived the period when they could be treated like a multitude of barbarians, who would patiently and silently suffer under the petty tyranny of officials and have entered upon a period of manhood of national self-consciousness and self respect when they would resent and effectively repel all capricious and oppressive intereference with the lawful exercise of their rights and liberties conferred onthem by the laws of the empire and guranteed to them by the tradition of the British nation as well as by the reiterated assurances and pledges of the sovereing and responsible statesman. It reflects no credit on theBritish rule in India that after 150 years of that rule, its agents should abandon however temporarily these administrative methods of law and constitution of liberty and peace which alone are sanctioned by parliament and should resort to the obvious methods of repression of Russia a standing reapproach to civilisation, from what is being done in Bengal, one would imagine that India was at the eve of a popular mutiny against which the authorities responsible for peaceful and lawful rule are forced to take precautionary measures. But the country is as peaceful as ever and the people are as law abiding.

The emphatic protest that has gone forth from Madras against the strange doings in Bengal should teach the many blim men in the ruling oligarchy that at present no province and no section of the people in India stands alone, separated from the rest by the absence of active sympathise or ties of common interest binding all one into organic whote of which one part moves in sympathetic answer when

another part is touched. Anglo-Indians may remain as long as they like under their old complacent delusion that India is a comtinent and her people are a congenies of disunited races incapable of a common response to common sentiments and aspirations. But the fact is different and at no time more than at present is the statement of Sir John stratchey verified in the actu condition that India of the present day is far more different from the India of Lord Ellinboroigh than the England of Queen victoria was from that of Queen Anne. Madras and Pombay and the pet provinces of Anglo-Indians such as the Punjab can no more displuse with the brotherly co-operation and service of their countryman of Bengal than these letter can with that of the other sections of the mation. In the modern history of India and in the progress of her people the Bengalees have rendered valuable service and the names of Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Kriso Das Pal and a host of other living men who are true patriots and who labour and suffer not for the honour and well being of Bengal alone but of the whole countr embraced within the arms of the Pax Britannica and tied in fraternal union by the priceless legacy of our ancient and hallowed motherland we hope that Lord Minto is statesman enough to comprehend this newsprintand this new era that has dawned in the country whose destines will be in his charge for the next few years and that His Excellency would leave a record of work honourable to his reputation and to the history of the nation that he has come here to represent.

December 6 1905.

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### "VANDE MATRAM"

Under the heading "Vande Matram", the Madras Times has a leading article. The writer analyses the movement that has taken place all over India and comes to the conclusion that there can be no other common ground of action or common bond of sympathy between the Rengalis of new Province, Maharatta Brahmins and Madrasis, than opposition to Pritish domination and a desire which will grow to assert the Indian right and capability for ruling India ". There is unquestionably a growing desire to assert Indian right and capability for ruling India but this is not based on any opposition to British domination. The writer continues: "It is purely a trial of strength. between the British Government and the congress leaders..... gentlemen who are perfectly happy under British rule, who acknowledge that peace and justice prevails as it never did before who reside in profound quiet in a well-administered province cannot refrain from bringing dissension and trouble in their midst because the congress wills it. It has sent round the fiery cross among the Brahmin laws and usedand every endeavour by personal entreaty and otherwise to stir up sedition among the peaceful citizens". There was a time and that not long ago when the dadras Times was most friendly to the cherished aspirations of our educated countryman and found in the congress and other political organisations of this country encouraging signs of progress and advancement. But the times have changed and instead of Digley and a Barlow we have writers of certain class who cry "sedition" in every sentence without so far bringing themse themselves within the clutches of the criminal law of defamation.

GLONOB.

February 16 1906.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

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We have no doubt a fresh impetus will be given to the Swadeshi movement in Madras by holding a series of mass meetings. The necessity for holding such meetings was considered at a meeting of the Mahajana Sabha yasterday and it was resolved to hold the first mass meeting on the Esplanade on Friday next, the 23rd instant. These meetings are calculated to whip up dropping spirits and we trust fully they will have the desired effect. The choice fully they will have the desired effect. The choice of Dewan Rahadur K.Krishnaswami Row to preside over the first mass meeting is indeed an excellent one. We are glad that several of our prominent public speakers are taking part in the proceedings.

/March 15, 1906.

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SOME SWADESHI ENTERPRISES IN MADRAS.

While in all parts of the country the new spirit of Swadesism is in evidence Madras has not been altogether lethargic. There has been no doubt more noise here than action. But there has been some action too. In all parts of the presidency people are opening their eyes to the impatance of patronising indigenous articles in preference to foreign ones and in response to this new feeling in many centress shops for the exclusive sale of indigeneous articles have have been opened. There are at present not very pretentions establishments and their capital does not exceed a few hundred rupees or at the utmost a few kkersthousands.

Other efforts on a larger scale have been started in the city of Madras. The first outcome of the outburst of the swadeshi feeling a short time ago, was the establishment of the Indian Industrial company Limited., which we are glad is doing satisfactory work at No. 2 Kondi chetty Street Esplanade Madras. That the Indian Industrial company is doing excellent work and is meeting a real public want is evident from the fact that since its establishment several other similar establishments on a smaller scale have been opened in various places in Madras.

The Madras chrome Leather industry Limited is another Swadeshi enterprise which we commoand to the notice of the public.

India's self Government.

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The important paper which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale read before a distinguished audience at the East India Association on the 11th July instant was the subject of an animated discussion among these nresent including Lord Reay who presided on the occasion. After pointing out that the sole aim of the British rule was all along helieved on the declarations contained in the charter Act of 1833, and the proclamation of 1858 to be the welfare of the Indian people and their association in the Government of their country. Mr. Gokhale proceeded to show how these pledges have remained unfulfilled how the educated and uneducated classes have begun to lose confidence in the good faith of our rulers and how their faith in the character and ideals of the British administration is beginning to be shaken. We then pleaded for a bold and states manlike attempt to win back the confidence of theeducated classes in India and went an to expose the hollow plea of 'efficienty' of Government against the demand for more self Government nowers for the people." "It is sometimes urged" he said "That existing arrangements make for efficiency of administrations and in the interests of efficiency it is necessary that they should not be disturbed. There is an air of plausibility about the plea but these who urge it ignore the wisdom of an observation which the present prime Minister once made that 'good Government can never be a substitute for Government by the people themselves. The efficiency of the Indian bureaucracy entirely excludes the interests of the Governmed. To may be as Mr. Gokhale said that bureaucracies like the Bourbons never learn and these who blindly uphold the existing system and resist all attempts however cautions and moderate to broaden its basis, prefer practically to sacrifice the future for the present. The spresent system he said is unnatural and foreign system As a permanent arrangement it is impossible and the only true basisof all civilised Government is the will of the people as expressed in constitutional institutions. Mr. Gokhale then briefly summarised the immediate demands of the party of progress in India towards the goal of self Government demands which are already familiar to our readers.

August1, 1906.



Mr. Bryan on British Rule.

We publish elsewhere an article from the New York sum in which the eminent American statesman Mr. W.J. Brayan who has been in India recently on a tour has given his impression of the British rule in this country for a dispassionate criticism of the methods and results of British Government in India from a man of equal position and authority it will be difficult to find position and authority it will be difficult to find a parallel. That this great american should have felt comnelled to write as he did in the following sentences must make our rulers pause and take stock of the actual conditions of the country more earnestly and steadily than they are prove to do. Mr. Bryan writes: - "So many Americans have during the last few years spoken admirably of England'd colonial system that I have looked forward to the visit to India with increasing interest because of the opportunity it would give me to study at close range a question of vital impatence to our country, I have met some of the teaching English officials as well as a number in Subordinate positions have talked with educated Indians. Hindus, Mahomedans, and Parsees, have seen the people rich and poor in the cities and in the country and have examined statistics and reads speeches, reports, petitions and other literature that does not find its way to united states and British rule in India is far worse far more burdensome to the people and far more unjust, if I understand the meaning of the word - than I had supposed.



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## L EADER.

"India" received to day says: - "A rumour which comes from Madras is not satisfactory. It is to the effect that it is in contemplation to appoint a European Barrister to the macant Prime judgeship in the local High Court thereby superseding Mr. C.Sankaran Nair, who has three times acted in that capacity with conspicuous ability and success and who commands the entire mublic confidence,. We confess we are quite unable to credit the report. There are already 2 English Barrister judges in the Court including chief justice and Mr. Morley's declaration! of his intention to interpret the Quuen's proclamation in an bonest and liberal manner is still so fresh that it is hard to believe that the crime of the colour will be permitted to bar so distinguished a lawyer as Mr. Sankaran Nair from the office he has already shown himself so qualified to fill. In any case we feel sure that it is only necessary draw Mr. Morley's attention to cases such as these in order to secure that justice to Indians which it sometimes seems so hard for them to get from these who govern them."

April 17, 1907.

CANDID FRIENDS.

"God save us from a Candid friend" is the line with which the Madras Times of this morning begins its leading article on "Lord Rosebury' .... And it concludes its delectable article with the following remarks.... "Truth is ever galling. We imagine that his (Lord Rosebury's) remarks on the honesty of Indian Magistrates be treated by his friends with a dignified and deep silence. Their feelings require no expression as they can be imagined". The Madras Times seems almost to be gloahing over remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Sivaswamy Aiver and the Honthle Mr. Krishna Wair regarding corruption among certain sub-magistrates. It has taken the earliest opportunity after the remarks were uttered and availed itself of them to add to its wax armoury of pansored weapons to attack Indians Indian character. It is nothing to the Madras Times that the remarks were considerably qualified by the context that they related only to certain low paid sub magistrates who under straitened circumstances were said the succumb to the temptation of their anomoalous position. The Madras Times has chosen to consider a plea for rational treatment in the interstss of good administration of a class of public servants as a sweeping indictment of the moral character of the community to which they belong. The base insinuation and the journalistic jugglery which the Madras Times had adopted are too unworthy and too obvious to deceive anybody. But the incident ought to serve to warn the Hon'ble Non-official Members of the Legislative commercial that in their exposition of views in the discharge of their duty, they cannot be too games eautions, especially of Anglo-Indian vilifiers who are always on the provisional for something with which to discredit the people of the country.

April 25, 1907.

INDIANS ABBOAD.

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With reference to the letter of Mr. G.Subramania Alyer published in another column regarding the scandalous treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal and Natal by the white settlers there it is of interest to note that according to a telegram receive to day, a large and non-party meeting of the Members of the House of commons was held yesterday afternoon, who unanumous denounced the re-enactment of the Transvaal Asiatic Ordinance. The meeting also resolved to send a deputation to urge Mr. Morley to make representation to the colonial office with a view to the rejections of the ordinance. The question of sending a deputations to general Botha was also considered. It remains to be seen how ar these undoubtedly weighty movements will secure common justice to our suffering fellow countrymen in south Africa. If these peaceful XXXX persuasions fare of effect, we are bound to retaliate in the most effective manner possible.

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MR. PAL IN MADRAS.

Mr. Pal delibered altogether three lectures in the last three days of his stay in Madras. In his second lecture Mr. Pal made some telling criticism of the national goal of self Government within the Empire which is advocated by many eminent Indians politicians the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale being the foremost among them. In the course of his remarks Mr. Pal said :-"Te really self Government within the Empire a practicable ideals It would mean what I have said must now, either no real self Government for us or no real overlordship for England. Would we he satisfied with a shadowy self government. If not, would England be satisfied with the shadow of over lordship? England would not be satisfied with a shadowy over lordship. We refuse to he satisfied with a shadowy self Government and therefore no compromise is possible under such conditions between xxxx self Government in India and the overlordship of England" It seems to us that Yr. Pal may claim that the truth of this observations has received an opposite illustration in the nature of the present relations between England and the Transvaal colony. A Reuter's telegram received yesterday told us that the Imperial Government has declined to disallow the Transwall Asiatic ordinance. In the House of Commons Mr. Winston Churchill stated that Lord Elgin has decided to advise His Majest not to disallow the Transvaal Asiatic ordinance which was we supported by the unanimous authrotity of the parliament of a self Governing colony: The nature of this action of the Imperial Government is obvious. English politicians of all shades of opinion have in unmistakable terms denounced the unjustices and the uniquity of the ordinance. Both in the house of Lords and in the House of Commons it has been recognised that British Indian are sought to be treated by the white colonists in the Transvaal with no feeling of humanity, brotherhood or common justice. And yet the Imperial Government has felt itself powerless to impress its own views and secure equatable treatment to its own Indian subjects living in that part of the Empire. In Mr. Pal's words the overlordship

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or England over the Transvaal is now shadowy of exists only in name, so far however as the attainment of the ideal of Swaraj sent up by the new Movement is concerned, we haveyet been unable to discern what are the proposed practical of practicable steps. Mr. Pal's arguments may so far claim to have made an intellectual conquest in the situation made an intellectual conquest in the situation was Even this we consider is no mean achievement.

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May 8 1907.

### YESTERDAY'S PUBLIC MEETING.

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The Public Meeting held yesterday evening to express the indignation and protests of the people against the high manded acts of the Government in deporting the Punjabi and Eastern Bengal was very largely attended. The meeting gave expression to the unanimous feeling of the Indian community at the retrograde and unjust measures which the Government of the country have adopted. The meetings which have been held in all parts of this presidency of which accounts have been appearing in these collumns day to day and the letters from correspondents in places far and near throughout the presdiency show the depth of feeling excitement and disgust which the action of the Government has provoked in the minds of the people. The chairman of Yesterday's Public meetings was Mr. P.R. Sundara Iver. a well-known lawyer of conspicuous ability, great talents and much public spirit. He condemned the policy of the Government in-agurating the recent repressive measures, in firm temperate and dignified language. Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghavier moved the first proposition in a long and eloquent speech and both he and the chairman carried the audience with them in maintaining without reserve that a large portion of the Anglo-Indian press in this country was responsible for the troubles of the Government andfor leading the Government astray. Mr. T. Venkatasubbier, a High Court vakil spoke in Tamil explaining in vivid and persuasive language the deportation of Lajpat Rai and the nature of the action of Government in regard to the present unrest in India. Mr. G.Subramania Aiyar at the repeated and earnest call of the audience spoke on the secured proposition. In this connections we feel found to point out that in their anxiety tox draw out Mr. G. Subramania Aiyer to speak a good portion of audience did unjustice to one or two gentlemen who had been united to speak on the occasion by refusing to listen to them. The meeting asa whole was responsible only for the Resolution adopted and not for the views of individual members or their mode of expressing



them. No section of these present was entitled to impose its will upon the meeting and disctated to it that it shall not bear a particular speaker of speakers. The incident which happened yesterday is one which is much to be regretted and wehave no doubt that good sense of our youngment will prevent recurrence of the same in future.

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June 4 1907.

## A THUNDERBOLD AT THE PRESS.

As was expected the Government of India in the pursuit of its campaign of a repressive and reactionary policy in this country has hurled a thunderbolt at the press by a Resolution which is published in our telegraphic columns. Presecutions for offences against the penal laws of condunctions of newspapers w will in future be facilitated by the Local Governments in every province being empowered to give sanction for the same without reference to the Government of India. The terms of the Resolution also indicate that the Government will put forth its power of launching prosecuions as unsparingly as possible in future. We cannot i by any means admire the wisdom of the course taken by the Government. It is virtually sitting on the safety value and under the present conditions in the country a measure of this sort will only add to the sense of imitation and sullen discontent of the people. The Resolution as it stands reads like an indictment of a whole class of people who are labouring for the advancement of their country. One false step leads to another and on the whole the reactionaries in Indian political life seem to be getting on famously.

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# L EADER.

The wednesday R view writes:-

The Madras Mahajana Sabha has taken the lead in proposing to send a deputation to England. We hope it will not be long before Madras finds a leader hope it will not with the spirit and capacity necessary to undertake with the task and do it with success. A. no time was there the task so much need to place before the British public the real facts concerning India as there is at present. The ignorance of the real state of things was never so intense or iniversial nor the campaign of misrepresentation ever so active. Further we have reason to believe that there are many Englishmen who desire to know the real condition of affairs of which they have only a vague and imperfect idea at present and to learn the time natue of the new movement in India of which they have been hearing so much of late. We have in a former issue develt at somelength on the necessity of sending such a deportation and the immense benefit that is likely to account therefrom. We have also indicated the lines on which the representatives will have to proceed to instruct the British public if they wish to obtain their sympathy. In They have to disabuse the British mind of just these ideas that have contributed to the prevailing sense of panic. It is still possible to convince Englishmen that India is, to the core, loyal that aspirations of Indians are consistant with British Supremacy and that the unrest is far from being deep rooted or mischlevous. The British public must be convinced that our actions and motives have been sadly misrepresented. Extremism as it is preached by curtain man among us, must of necessity be distastful to most Englishmen and no useful purpose can be served by carryi g the ideal of Swaraj so far beyond the seas. The deputation will have to concern itself more with facts than with theories. Much depends on the impression it produces on the British mind at the present time. We hope that amagements will be made to send the deputation at an early date and that each province will

send its own representation.

January 24, 1908.



CAPTAIN KEMP AND THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT.

The Government of Madras have passed the following order regarding the conduct of Dr. Kemp. The order is dated 10th instant:-

"The decisions of the courts in captain kemp's case have established that the assault committed by captain kemp upon the plantiff was not nearly so badly hurt as he endeavoured to make out. The defendent was ordered to pay 100 rupees damages but both parties had to defray their own costs. In the criminal case captain kempt was fined Rs. 30. In consideration of these circumstances and of the expense to which captain kemp has been put by his prosecution and the litigation in the civil court the Governor in Council considers that it is unnecessary to impose upon him any further direct punishment. His transfer to the cuddapah District as District medical and Sanitary officer will now be carried out. Captain kemp(s future conduct will be under observation and if it should prove unsatisfactory, steps will be taken to revert him to military duty.

The above order of the Madras Government speaks for itself. In their desperate anxiety to save their own face for having quentered a punitive police in coconada and to exculpate if possible, captain kemp the Madras Government have discovered that the assalt committed by captain Kemp was not unprovoked and that "the plantiff was not mearly so badly hurt as he endeavoured to make out". No further direct punishment than that suffered by captain kemp through the action the action of the courts is considered necessary by the Government such extreme solicitude for the interests of captain kemp is simply touching. The order is a delicious production for which enough thanks cannot be Hundred to the Government.

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The Madras corres ondent of the Calcutta Indian papers seems to have given a realistic colour to the proceedings of the meeting which was held in Ma ras on saturday last to protest against the treatment of Indians in Transvaal. There is one serious inaccurac however which should be noticed. The correspondent wired that the amendment proposed to the second Resolution not only related to the omission of the clause asking the Government of India to retaliate but also to the insertion of the words "British goods" at the end of the Resolution among things to be boycotted by Indians. The latter portion was evidently father to the thought but the amendment actually proposed had nothing to do with the beycott of "British Goods". The following remarks of the "Hindoo Patriot" on the meeting will be read with interests:-

urhe protest meeting in Madras in connection with the Transvaal affairs was almost a strormy one, in that some speakers were missed at and howled down "Moderate" and benighted Madras seems to be copying Extremi st methods. The second resolution which gave rise to the uproar, was however nonsensical and extraordinary The amendment is just what it should have been and is well that it has been passed what is regrettable is that so much spirit should have been shown in opposing the resolution and in listening to the appeal to the commonsense. In showing commonsense the meeting came within an inch of lossing all commonsense and it was almost by an accident that another full fight was averted and the smart incident did not repeat itself. But in regard to the Transvaal Government Madras has done its part well."

### MADRAS MAHAJANA SABHA.

The Honorary Secretaries of the Madras Mahajana Sabhash have have submitted their representations for the consideration of His Excellency the Government General in council in regard to the Reform proposals. They pointout that "the Mahajana Sabha has been usually consulted on all matters of public importance, and it is a matter for regret that the Local Government did not think fit to consult the Sabha on the Reform proposals and no reason has been couchsafed or is known to the Sabha for this departure from the usual practice": We think the practice ceased to be 'usual' some time back. When the Decentralisation commission arrived in Madras the Local Self Government did not invite the Sabha to send its representative to give evidence although it did not disdain o request the chamber of commerce, the Trades Association and such like bodies to do so. That in spite of its being ignored by the Local Government the "ahajana Sabha exists is perhaps a strong profs of its vitality.

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March 9 1908.

### LEADER.

The following is the text of a telegram which has been sent to the Times of India by its "adres Coprespondent:-

Madras, March 6.

"Extraordinary printed circulars are being published broadcast in Tanjore calling upon the people to kill Englishmen and wondering why they did not take advantage of the recent Zakka Khel expedition.

The circulars are signed "Bande Matæram" The Police are making enquiries as to the author of the circulars".

So far as we are aware, no such news has been current in Madras nor to our knowledge has anything to that effect appeared in the Madras Papers of the 6th instant.

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# THE NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT CONFERENCES:

The Ninth North Arcot District Conference opened at Arni vesterday afternoon. Mr. C. Karunakara Menon. Editor of the Indian Patriot presided. The president's address is of a general chracter dealing with such subjects as the old and the new system of District administration the need for sympathy in the treatment of the people by the officials; the necessity for popular control over District officers, the economic condition of the country, the administration of forest, excise and land revenue the possibilities of trade development and the daugh of boycott. He remarks that the administration is a think apart from the people. that it is an automatic machinery which moves like clock work. He compages the men of today and their occupation and responsibility ad District officers with the men under the company's rule and deplores the deterioration that has come about. The great difference between the old and the new generation of officials he observes is found not only in actual administration not only in their dealings with the people but even in their writings. By way of illustration of the remark that the District officials possess little influence over the people and are consequently unequal to xxx emergencies He says: - he adduces the case of Mr. Wynch at Tinnevelly. He says: - "At Tinnevelly the mob ruled the town whole day and might and the Magistrate was unable both to anticipate the disturbance and to face it when it occurred". He emphasises the difficulties of the administeration and points out that the best way of minimising them will be to to ensure popular control in the administration. For this he would have the District Board so reconstituted on an elective basic as to be fully representative of every talug and sub talug in the district with power to advise the collector by Resolutions passed by a majority an important questions and to make individual representations on minor matters. On the subject of boycott he does not contend that boycott will under no circumstances be justifiable but be thinks that in the absence of boycott, he does not contend that boycott will under no circumstances be justifiable but he thinks that in the absence of powerful provoking cause it is not easy to prosecute a boycott with success and

advantage. He argues that there is little necessity for us to assume an aggressive attitude towards others. Referring to the Tuticorin Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company and to the efforts made by the local Vakils for the success of the company Mr. Menon says that nothing can be more scandalous than the security proceedings against them. He calls upon the Government denounce the attitude of open hostility assumed by local officials in their dealings with the company and in this connection observes: - But if the Government or its officials openly or covertly interfere with our independent efforts in the sphere of commerce and industry if they throw obstacles in our way when our efforts come in to competition with European enterprise, we have a legitimate ground of complaint, whether such a legitimate ground of complaint would justify boycott as a necessary condition of our industrial and commercial progress he does not say Mr. Menon concludes with an appeal for the help and sympathy of the Government and of the Euorpean community and is hopeful of the future "because the Government is indeed more keenly alive to day than before to the importance of industrial development and has shown symptoms of sincere sympathy with movements stated in the heart of indigeneous industries."

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# HIGH COURT BENCH AND INDIAN. BARRISTER.S.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha have at a meeting held yesterday resolved to send a memorial to the Secretary of State for India to appoint an Indians Barrister as judge of the Madras High Court to the vaccancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice Boddam., when his attention was drawn to the matter recently by a question in the House of Commons Mr. Morley said that he would give it his consideration when the time came for filling up the vaccancy. We have repeatedly pointed out the anomaly in the existing law mnder which when the High Court consisted of 6 judges, it was permissable to have two Indian judges but when the number of judges is increased to 7, it is possible to have only 1 Indians judge. This anomally will exist in its full form only when an Indian can not be appointed to the number of judges provided for to be selected from members of the Indian civil service and from Barristers. There has now arisen an opportunity when the anamoly can be partially removed by appointing an Indian barristers to the vaccancy caused by Mr. Boddam's retirement. It seems to us that the point is too plain to be mistaken. An English Barrister fresh from Englsn, however high his legal learning must be inferior to an Indian Barrister practising in this country in many of the essentials required in a judge of the High Court in his knowledge of customs and traditions of the people and of their laws. The field to select from among the class of Indian Barristers is very wide. For a sort in the High Court in one province, the nomination need not be made from among the Barristers practising or holding some judicial office in that province alone. On the other hand it would in our opinion be a wholesome rule and one conducive to the best interests of the public if ordinarily when appointment to so high a judicial official as that of a High Court Judge is to be made the nomince hails from a province different from that in which he has to serve as judge.

THE "PIONEERS" BOMBS.

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The pioneer has published another malignant article inwhich it continues its campaign of vituperation and slander of the people of this country. The article is headed "Sedition in Southern India" and its opening sentence in-dicates the degree of license which this Anglo-Indian organ permits itself in villifying men of all classes in the country .. . . . What can be the object of a paper of the standing of the "Pioneer" to seek to a paper of the standing of the "Pioneer" to seek to prove that race hatred on the part of the people of every calss towards their alien rulers is "universal ancient and deep seated"? the fact that for onehundred and fifty years British sovereignity has been accepted loyally and lovingly by the vast majority of the people of this land, must dispel this silly notion in the mind of any fair minded person. The pioneer howers however mind of any fair minded person. The pioneer however attempts to prove what it calls "this truth" by referring to what has happened in Southern India since last year. It says: "No clearer illustration of this truth can be found than in the present position of affairs in the Madras Presidency." The statements of an contem porary are however so loose, disjointed elusive and devoid of fairness that it would be useless to follow them detail. To take one instance. " At such widely separated points of the Presidency" says the pioneer, "As coconada and Tinnevelly serious riots have followed the preaching of the truths of Begin Chandra Pal" . As a matter of fact Bepin Chandra Pal never visited Tinnevelly and there was an interval of about a year between his teachings in Madras and the Tinnevelly riots. Writings like those of the Pioneer tend only to inflame the feelings of all concerned. They do not relieve the tension of the existing situation and are not a help but a hindrance to those responsible for the Government of the Country.

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# " THE MADRAS TIMES ON MADRAS MODERATES.

A local Anglo Indian contemporary is effnoive in its gratitude to the Pioneer for its article on 'Sedition in Southern India' which we referred to the other day "It is seldom" we are told "that the pioneer from its distant home in the U.P. devotes a leading article to South India. Its issue of last wednesday was an ex exception for the article on page 2 was entitled."The Sedition in Southern India" and it is impossible to deny that the information displayed therein was sound! what is more interesting however is the attitude of our contemporary whom it must be needless to name specifically as the Madras Times towards the Madras Moderates. What is the Madras Times opinion of the Madras Moderates? It is a delicious compound of "admiration" and "contempt". The following sentences are from our contemporary's leading article to-day: "Our admiration for the excellent qualities of the Madras Moderates is tempered by no little contempt for their timidity. There are not enough Ragunath Raos among them. The sheep is a harmless worthy animal and is much to be preferred to the treacherous blood thirsty panther but one can never feel much respect for a sheep still less is one inclined to entrust national affairs to a congress of people in whom the sheep like qualities predominate" And what are we to say of an Anglo-Indian paper which so openly dewides the Madrasi Moderates, who according to it are still in the majority in the Indian community. Anglo-Endians are chartered liberatines, with honourable exceptions of course in whatever field they may happen to be employed in this country.

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June 5 1908.

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POLICE AND PUBLIC MEETINGS.

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It is a matter of we notoriety that a good deal of initiated and annoyance is caused by the manner in which the Police have been creating fuss and trouble at Political meetings. The re-organisation of the "C.I.D." and the campaign against popular agitation have convinced in point of time and it is not exactly clear what legitimate functions the police in uniform and in undress and their secret spies and informers have to perform at mass meetings on the Bench or at committee meetings at the Madras Mahajana Sabha. Bu But apart from the methods adopted by over zealous officers and their subordinates it would be interesting to know what the males actually lay down for the guidance of police officers in this matter. The question is one on which the local Government should be asked to publish the orders which are vogue in this Presidency and to so modify it as to free public meetings from the disagreeable and mischivious attention of the secret police and their satelites.

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THE TANJORE DISTRICT CONFERENCE.

The second Tanjore District Conference commenced its sitting sittings on saturday last presided over by our veteran politician Mr. G.Subramania Iyer,. The presidential address included a trenchant criticism of the methods of the Government on the one hand and a valuable epitome of practical suggestions for the carrying on of a an political work on the other. Mr. Subramania Tyest the outset of his address refers to two principal difficulties which confront uset present in the path of our political progress. The first is from without and is "the highhanded and re-actionary policy of Government which has created an immense amount of suffering and humiliation on many of our innocent countrymen and has created espair in some minds". The second which is from within is due to the unfortunate differences which have arisen out of the happenings at the last surat Congress So far as the latter is concerned. Mr. Subramania Iyer points out that in spite of the attempts of our enemies to magnify and intensify them, the need for union, and for united work against the common enemy the bureaucracy is paramount, and it is this and to unite again in the striving after national progress. The former the repressive policy of the Gvernment need not be referred to in detail here.

Mr. Subramania Iyer devotes the major portion of his address to the constructive work before us. Speaking of our objects and aims as defined by the convention he says, we need not quarrel with the definition but set to work together. Keeping the ideal of Swaraj as our ultipate goal by the propagation of Swadeshi Boycott and national education. So far as our common organisation is concerned he thinks that "what is wanted now more than a creed is a body of rules and regulations to save the congress as well from the mischief and caprice of irresponsible men - men of no aducation or social position without the sobreity of age or experience, or from the ambition of individuals who in spite of valuable service in past now fail to reopen with new forces pressing on the congress for a new response". In regard to the boycott he has strongly combated the permits who do not hope for much success by an appeal to facts and to the experience of other nations and he went the length

of asserting that "without as system of boycott of foreign goods our swadeshi movement will fail to realise its objects and its real import". On the purely administration and local question, Mr. Subramania Tyer did not say much beyond a few suggestions for broadening the basis of local Government ax in connection with the reform proposals. The reason is he says that he is convinced of the utter fruitless ness of making appeals to the bureaucracy of redress grievances. The bureaucracy he says must be replaced by a nationalised system of Government "before poparlar grievances can have a chance of hearing". He thinks therefore that we must gird for the far more important task of "conserving and organising our resources and bringing them to bear on this one object".

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THE "PIONEER" ON KANUK SEDITION CASE.

The "Pioneer" thus moralises on the Karur sedition case;
"Yet another prosecution for sedition is reported from the Madras
Presidency. One Krishnaswami Sarimohaving been committed to the
Coimbatore criminal sessions on a charge of having delivered sedition speeches at Karur on the 16th and 17th March last. Possibly
one of these days, the Madras Government will suddenly stuck with
the idea that Prevention may be better than prosecution and that
the powers which the Legislature has provided for stopping the
meetings expressly for the purpose of avoiding an endless series
of underlying trials one meant for employment.

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July 30 1908.



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THE MADRAS MAHAJANA SABHA.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha at a meeting held last evening resolved by a majority that in the present state of the country, the sabha considers it undesirable that the Provincial Conference should be held this year we consider that this decision is to be regretted. There are probably some practical difficulties, in regard to the holding of the conferences but the present condition of the country is in our opinion just the occasion when and good reason for men of light and leading in the community to confer to gether and endeavour to give guidance to the people and advice and a helping hand to the Government.

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THE MADRAS SEDITION CASE. The second case of sedition against Ethiraj Surendranath arva ca came to a termination today by the public prosecutor under the instructions of the Government withdrawing the case against the accused with the permission of the court. The Local Government has evidently considered that the sentence of 5 years. transportation passed against the accused upon the first of the courts in the case which was closed vesterday was sufficient punishment. The General opinion is indeed that the punishment was quite excessive and out of all preparation to the nature of quite excessive and out of all preportion to the nature of the imputed offence, the position in the life of the accused and all surrounding circumstances. It is really doubtful whether the barred judge who fx if we may say so exhibited though out the trial much judicial fairness and impartiality would ha e passed such a xxxxe severe sentence if the crwon had not taken the unusual course of specially asking for an exemplary sentence after the verdict of the jury had been delivered. It would be observed that the accused happened to be without any advice at the moment. There was no body to reply to the arguments put forward on behalf of the crown for an exemplary sentence and nothing was urged on his side for a mitigation of a sentence when the learned judge after the crown prosecutor's plea for heavy sentence, asked the accused whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed against him he was totally unprepared and replied that he had nothing to say. That there was a good deal to be said for him in this behalf will be clear from the evidence of Revd. L.P.Larsen who was examined on the prisoner's behalf to day and who with another European Missionary of gentlemen expected to give similar testimony, had been summoned as witnesses in the case s but were not examined for reasons not forthcoming. The circumstances attending this trial into which we are unable to enter more fully today will we hope convince the Local Government that there is no need to take an alarmist view of the state of things in this part

of the country and that Madrasis as peaceful and silent as can be

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THE CONGRESS.

Our Calcutta Correspondent sends to day a message of some length regarding the views of the Bengalle that the Madras Congress should be a united one and that the famous four Resolutions adopted at the calcutta congress of 1906 should be reaffirmed in an unmistakable manner. We have received a copy of a circular issued by the secretaries to the Reception committeed in the subjects to be taken at the congress are indicated but which does not seem to include all the form calcutta congress Resolutions.

In the portion of the circular letter we have to note not n only the ammission therein but what is also noticeable there is no detailed reference to the numerous sedition trials throughout the country which ha e shocked the Moral sense and the sense of security of the whole Indian population and have east the greatest discredit upon the administration. The disgraceful state of the Law relating to sedition in the Penal Code the absence of provision for trial by a jury of one's own countrymen in cases tried in the Mofussil Courts and of a national system of trial by jury in the High Court sessions in the case of an Indian accused, the oppressive manner in which the provisions of law relating to arrest of persons, to bail, and searches of private houses have been used, the unnecessary and harsh imposition of the Punitive police in many parts of the country are subjects one would in imagine fit for the congress to make a "collective pronouncement" upon.

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December 28, 1908.

#### SATURDAY'S PUBLIC MEETING .

The meeting of the citizens of Madras held on Saturday last at the victoriak Hall under the presidency of His Highness the Prince of Arcot for the purpose of expressing our grateful thanks to viscount Morley and Earl Minto was attended with conspicuous success, under the ordinarym circumstances we should have expected the Madras Mahajana Sabha to have convened the meeting under its auspices. The reforms are the outcome of the legitimate and constitutional g agitation of public bodies like the sabha in the country and its necessary and desirable that such bodies should be the foremost in welcoming the reforms. In Calcutta a Deputation waited on the Viceroy. The Bombay Presidency Association had already telegraphed its grateful acknowledgements to the Viceroy and the secretary of state and while distant Mofussil town in this presidency. Such as Berhampore in the North and Tinnevelly in the South Have been holding meetings and offering thanks it was indeed a fortunate circumstance that some of our leading citizens in spite of the preoccupations of the moment, so readily arranged for and accomplished the successful meeting of saturday last. It was appropriate that His Highness the prince of Arcot should have presided over the meeting. His Highness happily characterised the reforms as conceding to the peoples of this country a largely increased share in the administration and Government of this country! T "This is not the firs, step" said His Highness, "towards admitting the natives of this counting to a share in its Government; neither will it be the last and I think it only depends on ourselves how soon we shall get further concession". The observation is conceived and expressed in the most admirable spirit. The resolution that was adopted at the meeting was no less happy. It gave expression to the whole hearted warm appreciation of the high motives and lofty purposes which have inspired Lord Morley and Earl Minto". and regarded the reforms "as constituting or behalf of the British Government an enduring claim to the gratitude and loyalty of the people of India". The

reforms were welcomed as laying a sure foundation for a vigorous and healthy Indian political life and an efficient and sympathetic administration. The resolution could not have been entrusted to better better hands than Dr. Nair. As usual he made the best of his opportunity and delivered a highly interesting speech. He seized upon the main features of the reform and dealt with them in the order of their important. It is noteworthy that the proposal to which the greatest significance is attached on all hands is the one of making the village the unit of self Government Dr. Nair dealt at some length with this and concluded a characteristically vigorous speech with the pithy observation that the best and most practical way in which we can thank Lord Morely and Earl Minto for the reforms

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is by doing our best to deserve them. If fell to Mr. R.Satagopacharia

to secured the Rosolution.

January 6, 1909.

### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The following Cablegram has been received by the Madras Mahajans Sabha from Johannesburg, South Africa;-

"Bor God's sake call mass meetings. Protest everywhere The situation becoming daily desperate. Imperial Government will only move under overwhelming pressure of public opinion in India. Yesterday Madrasi besidents of long standing were summarily deported failing to proceed produce registration certificates under the racially insulting Act., families are threatened with starvation. Many including the chairman of the Association Natal congress leaders, Hindus Mohammedans, Paisees awaiting trial, expecting gool or departation."

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### TEADER.

The meeting of Liberals was held on Tuesday at the New Reform club to consider the XMXXXXXXCOETEIVE measures recently adopted by the Government of India. A resolution was adopted declaring that "while welcoming all proposals for associating in a large degree the people of India with the Government of that country the committee deplored the "wholly unprecedented measures lately sanctioned against the personal liberties of the people of India, in as muchas no grounds have been laid before parliament or the public justifying the deportation of citizens of India from their homes without charge or for subjecting accused persons to secret enquiry before a Magistrate on the most serious charges when they can neither be present nor heard in their own defence or for giving absolute power to the Executive to declare any body of persons an unlawful association and members of it criminals. The committee pledged itself to use km every effort to obtain the restoration to the people of India of "these elementary civil rights of which they have been deprived".

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(6) r. 136

February 5, 1909.

HIS EXCELLENCY AT BERHAMPORE.

Yesterday was a very busy day for His Excellency at Berhampoore. In the course of the day His Excellency made two very interesting speeches. one at the Town Hall in reply to the several Addresses of welcome and the other at the Kallikota college. There were several representations made to His Excellency in the Addresses and by the rvots. Deputation The Latter requested that a revision of the assessment of the lands commanded by the Rushi Kneya project and recently sold in public Actuon by the Government should be postponed untill the next resettlement for a period of xm years. His Excellency has promised to give the matter his consideration when the question of resettlement comes before him. As regards the several Municipal and the District Board. Addresses they contained the usual crop of local question of water supply drinage and Railway. On one matter all the Addresses laid special stress. The Address of the Municipal council of Berhampore prayed for the extension of the election of councillors to 3/4 of the total strength of the council i.e. 18 councillors. The chicacole Municipal Address asked for the extension of the elective franchise by sanctioning the election of 2 more members. And again parlakimidi council urged the extension of the right of election from 1/3 to 1/2 the total no. of the Councillors. The District Board also prayed for the extension of the elective system to District Boards. In reply His Excellency assured the several bodies that he sympathised very much with the desire shown by them to see the elective system extended. His Excellency further added that the rules for the election of Municipal councillors was under consideration and as soon as they had been revised decided upon and brought into force he would ask the various municipalities through the collector to repeat representations made yesterday. He assured them in conclusion, of a sympathetic hearing. It will be rememberence that in the order issued injune 1 last, the Government of Madras declined to consider the questions of increasing the number of elected members of any Municipal Council. And again in thats order issued in October last, they further declined

in this order issued in October last, they further declined to increase the propostion of members now elected to the District Boards. Having expressed themselves so emphatically only recently it remains to be seen what sort of sympathy His Exceller y will find it possible to show to the representations above referred to unless the Government of Madras mean to change their policy there can be no hope for xxxx representations of the kind made at Berhampore yesterday. If the Government of Madras cannot of themselves change, let us hope

at least the decentralisation commission will enable them to d

so.

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### LEADER.

Every Province in India except Madras has sent its representation to the secretary of state regarding the threatened modifications of the Indian Reform proposals as originally outlined by Lord Morley. Madras politicians alone have preserved an attitude of stolid inertness and indifference preserved an attitude of stolid in the matter. The dog-in-the manager poli followed by the promoters of the last Madras Congress has had its inevitable result. It has caused a blight of such political life as there was on this part of the country, our Calcutta correspondent wires that a public meeting is to be held to day in Calcutta to protest against the modifications which Reform Bills has undergon; in the House of Lords. There is no stir whatever in Madras about it. The last congress has set the example of invoking official inspiration and guidance for public men to assemble and speak on matters of public interest.xx The present condition of political agitation in Madras is to the last degree pitiable and it speaks very ill of the stamina of the men in this presidency for earnesthess and sustained ackiomactivity in public work.

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### THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES.

"wox populi\* writes from Berhampore:- "We understand that the Provincial congress Committee meets on the 14th instant to e select the president of the conference. We learn that since the District committees were last addressed by the Reception committee another District Congress Committee has to nominated Dr. Nair as the President of the conference. As the feeling in the Presidency seems to be decidedly strong in favour of Dr. Nair, though he is not known to have given full assert to the convention rules, ax may be applal to our leaders at Madras to gauge the situation and see if it is too late yet to hold a conference on the lines of the Agra conference under the auspices of the Mahajan Sabha. There should not be much difficult in arranging the matter as most of the members are common to the two institutions which are the members are common to the two institutions which are animated by the same zeal for the advancement of the country. It ought to be a matter of indifference as to which organisation is to commerce the conference. So long as a successful session is insured. We trust that in the present impassee caused by the conflict between the convention rules and the will of the people. the voice of the latter will make itself heard in no uncertain terms The United Provinces conference met at Agra on Friday last when it is reported the leading men of several of the districts of the province were present including a number of Mahomedans from Aligarh and lucknow, the latter being of noble families. Babu ganga prasad varma Editor of the "Lucknow advocate" was elected president. The session lasted for 2 days and was a marked success. It will be remembered that it was already announced that the conference would be held under the auspices of the U.P.A.. The reason for this was that the provincial congress committee had not yet been able to establish different districts committees in the provice and was therefore unfortunately not in a position to convene the conference. On the same day on which the Agra conference was held the 2nd Behar provincial conference was to have been hell at Bhagalpore The Indian people of Allahabad states that it learns that Behar

conference also will not be held in accordance with the congress constitution. The holding of the last Bengal Provincial Conference at Pubna will also occur to one's mind in this connection. inconvenience of having closely to adhere to the rules of the congress constitution was obviated in all the above mentioned cases by holding respective conference on the old established lines. The suggestion to do licenise in regard to the ensuing Berhampore conference in this presidenty derives therefore considerable support from there precedents. It is also stated that this year's bengal Provincial conference has been postponed till September and our Allahabad contemporary thinks it unlikely that it will be an the lines laid down by the constitution. In the other provinces of Bombay, the Punjab and the central provinces so far as at present known there are to the no conferences at all this year so then the Madras conference will be doing exactly what the U.P. and Behar conferences have done adready and what the Bengal conference is expected to do in the next few months, if it should accept the bad of the Mahajana Sabha and avoid the trammels of the constitution in the present state of affairs. There was already come a conflict in the Premature attempt to adhere rigidly to the constitution unless xx it is meant further to complicate the situation and frustrate the very purpose of holding the conference. The organisers of the conference would m do well to respect the volume of opinion in this and in the other presidencies and proceed on the lines of hxxxx least resistance.

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#### THE MADRAS HIGH COURT.

A Local Anglo-Indian contemporary states that Sir Relph Benson has been appointed to perform the duties of chief justice Madras High Court during the absence on leave of Sir Charles Arnold white and that Mr. J.H. Balcewell chief Judge, small cause court will officiate as judge of the High Court during the employment of Sir Ralph Benson as chief Justice Mr. C. Krishnan second Judge of the court of small causes will act as chief judge during the employment of Mr. Bakewell on other duty. . . . . . Among the former Mr. M.O. Parthasarathy Lyerngar, District and sessions judge of Godavery, possesses qualifications with which those of Mr. Bakewell cannot compare favourably and which deserved recognition at the a hands of Government when making wif the officiating appointment. . . Mr. Parthasarathy Iyengar's judicial career has throughout been such as to win unstinted approbation and respect from the public and the Government. We can not find any sufficient grounds for the setting aside in this instance of the claims to promotion of so deserving and worthy a Judicial officer possibly the Local Anglo-Indian non-official community will not stomach three Indian judges in a High Court of Seven Judges.

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June 18, 1909.

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THE CONGRESS AND INDIANS IN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

It is supprising how little regard for truth even leading Anglo-Indians journals have when discussiong Indians political question In a leading article on "the congress and the Reforms" published by the Englishman of Calcutta on the 16th instant the opening sentenceruns as foblows: - "The reform scheme as finally elaborated hy Lord Forley and Government of India., would 5 years ago have gone beyond every demand made by the congress party which did not they dream of asking for representation in the Executive Councils. Mere representation in the legislatures was the goal of the party" That the words italicised above are a misrepresentation of the demands of the congress, as it was 5 years ago will be clear from the following facts. At the meeting of the 13th Indians national Congress held at Amrati in 1897, the following Resolutions was adopted: - "That having regard to the wisdom of the Policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesman from England to the exclusion of the services in India; this congress is opinion that it is desirable that the executive dovernment of those provinces should be administered by the Governors with xx councils of 3 members and not of 2 members as at pesent and that one of the 3 councillors shared be other than a member of the Indian civil service" In the course of an able speech in support of this resolution the Hon'ble Mr. N. Subba Row of Madras pointed out that by the enlargement of the Legislative Councils which had sometimes previously taken place, though criticisms are made by the members and are taken nto consideration by the Government in the way in which the Government best thinks proper yet "the spirit of isolation that has been the feature of the British administration in this country still continues and therefore it is the wish object and aim of this congress to fuse at it were both the rulers and the ruled and to make them unlined with One identical spirit in India "Later on in his speech Mr. Suba Now said: "I submit that one of the essential requisties for the proper understanding of the Indian people is that the Executive government should associate with themselves an Indian

who is born and in the country, who understands the real feelings of his fellow countrymen and therefore we say that the Executive Government should consist of not 2 members as at present but should have 3 members that is one more and that one member should not be a member of the indian civil service. At the next or the 14th session of the Indian National Congress which was held in Madras in 1898, the following resolution was passed which expressly makes a demand as regards the appointment of a native of India as a member of the Executive council. It was moved by Mr. V.Krishnaswami Aiyer of Ladras and seconded by professor S.M.Paranjpe of Poona and was in the following terms:-

"That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Hombay statesmen from England to the Exclusion of the services in India this congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the executive Governments of these provinces should be administered by Governors with councils of 3 and not of 2 members at present and that one of the three councillors should be a Native of India".

July 22, 1909.

P) LIC MEETING IN MADRAS.

It is satisfactory to see the Madras Mahajana Sabha showin signs of vitality. It is ordinarily content to let its functions be unsuped by the provincial congress committee. The Mahajana S has convened a public Meeting of the citizens of Madras to be he at the victoria Hall tomorrow at 5-45 P.M. to express then sens of the great loss India has sustained by the death of the argu's of Ripon and to raise a Memorial in his honour. The Honorable Nawab syed Mahomood will preside at the meeting. It is hoped the public meeting well be well attended. Lord Ripon's name is one to conference with in any part of India and if interest and enthusiasm in public affairs is not altogether extinct in Madras, tomorrow's public Meeting should be a success. The most engressing topics in local politics at the present moment are will become the Indian Member of the Executive Council and the eighth judge of the Madras High Court and who are to fill vaccancies which may consequently arise and so on. We do not know why Lord Morley has not yet announced his nominee to thes. appointments with reference to the public Meeting to be he. ? to morrow in honour of Lord Ripon, we have thought it would be us to recall, and publish what was said of that eminent and below vicercy at the time he was about to leave the shores of India in December 1884. We have reprinted in another page the speed delivered at apublic mesting, held in Bombay by the late Hon'b Budrudin Tyabjee the late Hon ble K.T. Telang and now Mr. P.M. Menth eminent on Lord Ripon, the Viceroy. The speeches of the three eminent and representative Indians are well work perusal at the present time,. That of the 3 distinguished mer one was a Mahomedan, anothera parsee and the third a Hindu, shows that nationality in India is not necessarily diverse but shows itself compact and united on great occasions.

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January 3, 1911.

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His Excellency Lord Hardinge opened the first meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council since his assuring charge of the Viceroyalty with a speech framed in an admirable spirit which cannot fail to give wide satisfaction. His Excellency rightly pointed out that the extension of the elective system, the increase in the number of members and the enlargement of their powers lend weight and interest to their deliberations, the result of which depends upon the welfare and happiness of many millions of their fellow subjects. He also rightly emphasised the point that the subjects which are brought before the council being in their nature multifarious and complex, they are bound to provoke disagreement and frank expression of opinion is necessary for mutual understanding and for fully grasping the subjects. His Excellency also expressed his hope that the deliberations of assembly will be carried on in a spirit of mutual concession and that the Hon'ble Members would assist him in maintaining the high standard of dignity and courtesy that has hitherto characterised the proceedings of the Council. The words of the new Vicerey are, we need scarcely add such as to inspire the public with the utmost confidence regarding his discharge of the duties and responsibilities of his high office. The action of the Government in prohibitiny Indian emigration to Natal, which was announced to-day in the Imperial Legislative Council amidst the applause of the members will be warmly appreciated by the public as was expressed by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale.

The Congress Address to the Viceroy

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Text of the Address

Calcutta, Jan.3-- The text of the address to be presented here on the 5th to the Viceroy by the Congress deputation is now published. It begins with an expression of loyalty and an assurance of errnest desire to co-operate with the Government in promoting the welfare of the country.

It then continues as follows: - "We wish to express at the outset our grateful appreciation of the measures of reform carried out in accordance with the gracious declaration by the King-Emperor made on the occasion of the Jubilee of thw Proclamation of 1858, the expansion of the Legislative Council on a wider representative basis giving the Indian people a larger opportunity than before of being associated with the Government in the administration of the country, while the appointment of Indians to the Executive Councils of the Vicerov and of the Local Government and also to the Council of the Secretary of State shows the determination of His Majesty's Government to obliterate the distinction of race in filling some of the highest office of executive responsibility. These measures have done much to bring about a better understanding bet the Government and the people and we venture to express on this occasion our confident hope that the regulations in connection with councils which have evoked criticism will be modified in the light of experience.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity so graciously accorded to us to draw your Excellency's attention to certain broad questions affecting the welfare of the masses of the people. Foremost among these comes the need of education. We rejoice to know how favourably the Government is disposed in this matter and would urge a liberal

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increase in expenditure on all branches of education, elementary, technical and higher education, but specially on the first of these branches as being the first step towards promoting the well-being of the masses.

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The powerty of a large portion of the agricultural population and their inability to withstand the attacks of famine and disease is a constant source of grave anxiet, and in order to prepare/ the day for practical measures for a gradual improvement of their condition.

We trust also that your Excellency will view with favour the proposal to separate Executive and Judicial function of public servants. This reform has long been recommended by the Congress, has had the support of many eminent personages who had held some of the highest judicial and executive offices in India and has been recognised by the Government as calculated to improve the efficiency of the administration of justice.

The Resolutions of the Congress will, as usual, be duly forwarded to your Excellency in council. They deal win many important imperial and some pressing provincial questions which we feel assured will receive Your Excellency careful consideration.

Before concluding, we beg to tender to Your Excellency a most hearty welcome on assuming the highest office to which you have been called. We look forward to a a period of peace, progress and prosperity for India under the guidance of one who was a trusted friend of our belowed King Edward the Peace-Maker, whose loss we shall never cease to deplore.

January 16, 1911.

The Bombay correspondent of the London Times wired on the 29th December:-

"The Allahabad session of the National Congress marks an important stage in the history of the movement. The Lahore session of the Congress might have been descrined as the Asion of the congress meetings. The Allahabad session was largely attended by delegates from Bombay, Madras and Bengal, yet competent observers agree in stating that it was characterized by a marked absence of enthusiasm and by a general chilliness of the atmosphere when the various remedies were proposed.

One sympathetic critic writes that the present system has outlined its usefulness. A small picked body of a 100 persons meeting annually would be far more effective. It also suffers from a plethora of platitudinous old men now past work, whose annual cruptions have ceased to interest or to amuse. Unless a general clearance is effected the congress is doomed to a life of utter inutility.

The real explanation is, I believe, that the councils have absorbed the best elements in the congress movement. The publicists who are genuinely interested and well informed in administrative and economic questions, which command daily increasing attention, and to which the congress is always indifferent, find the sober, argumentative Council Chamber more harmonious and more productive than the declamatory milien of the platform. This tendency is bound to increase. The only subjects which are arousing genuine interest are the <u>Swadeshi</u> movement and the position of the Transvaal Indians. Nevertheless, there is a general appreciation of the studiously moderate tone of the session, and it is agreed that this is fittingly recognised by the Viceroy's decision to receive a deputation

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with the Address. The throny points will be reached when the Hindu and Mahomedan conciliation conference assembles at Allahabad on the 31st instant. If the tendency which is already shown to press for abolition of the communal representation is maintained, the conference will prove abortive.

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#### February . 1 . 1911 .

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The Hindu of 1st February (911 writing on the Bishop of Madras on christian Missions states as follows:-

In the January number of the East and West Dr. White head, the Bishop of Madras writes an article which once agin raises the question of the attitude of the Indian christians towards the national movement in the country. three points in the article which may be drawn attention to. (But we will consider the third point with which we are interested) whether Indian christians should take part in the national movement, the editor of the Hindy writes that the answer is simple. Dr. White head fears that if the Indians christians take part in the political agitation of the country the Indian chruch would become political. This is by no means a necessary result. Nor do we see any harm in the happening of such a contingency. The Indian phristian community must have some opinion as members of the body politic. EditoxEither it should support or oppose the political movement in the country. The best way of weakening the Indian christian community is to isolate it. NoMissionery with any wide out look will advocate a policy of separatism. It must likewise be remaindered that the national movement in India is not concerned with politics alone.

It is also moral, material and social. In effecting the necessary social reforms, such as the elevation of the depressed classes, we should welcome the help and suggestion of the Indian christians. Similiarly there are other fields besides politics where Hindus and christians may and ought to joing hands and work for the public weal of their common motherland.

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F-bruary. 2.1911.

## INDIA AND INDIA OFFICE.

The Hindu of February of 2.1911, writes on India and the India office as follows:-

In discussing in our issue of Teusday last the question as to the exact constitutional relations between the secretary of state and the Government of India and the responsibility of both to the governed we referred to the axion laid down by Mill that while responsibility to the governed is the greatest of all securities for good government responsibility to somebody else not only has no such tendency but is as likely to produce evil as good. We illustrated this by reference to the action of the Secretary of state in the matter of state industries in India and the cotton excise duties, of more direct case of action taken by the Renx Secretary of State prejudicial to the interests of India is his decision regarding the renewal of the South Indian Railway contract in which the opinions of neither the public nor of the Government of India were taken beforehand and their protests

have since remained unheeded. The Times of India rightly aks "what possible justification can there be for removing from the discretion of the Indian authorities such as questions as the financiag of the Bombay central Agricultural Bank or the South Indian railway contract to take as only two instances where Indian opinion was completely ignored? Our contemporary continuing observes that "when a little later Lord Morley says that any pretansions to oust the House of Commons from its part and lot in Indian affairs must lead both logically and actually, to placing the Government of India in a position of absolute irresponsibility to the governed we must join issue with him. Has he so soon

forgotten the councils that are his own handi work?" Though it is true that the responsibility to the House of Commons of the Government of India cannot be said as Lord Morely has stated to mean responsibility to the governed, as the governed are unrepresented in the House of Commons - We think our contemporary is entirely in error in implying that the constitution of the reformed councils has in any way placed the Government of India in a position of responsibility legally or constitutionally to the governed. Neither the composition of the councils with their sectional and special representations nor the powers entrusted to them warrant such a statement. To take the very instance adverted to by our contemporary the S.I.R. contract the Hon'ble Mr. Subba Raw it will be recollected gave notice some days ago of his intention to move a Resolution on the subject with a view to voice the public opinion in India on the subject and to get the Government of India to address the Secretary of state on the matter. The Resolution was in entirely unobjectionable terms but we are surprised indeed to be informed that it has been disallowed on the ground that it is "against public interest". Could any thing be of greater public interest to India than the terms on which its public funds are expended and public credit pledged and large public rights disposed of to private companies in England? We presume that the action has been taken under Hule 7 of the Rules for meaningsolutions which provides apart from specific exceptions provided for in Rule 4 that" the president may disallow any resolution or part of the Resolution without giving any reason where fore than that in his opinion it cannot be moved consistently with the public interest". Under such a rule even the mere power to move the Resolutions in a council in which the Government

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commands a standing majority is placed unreservedly at the merely or discretion of the executive. It is obvious therefore that the Reformed councils are still very far away from having gained any power of criticism or control of the executive which would indicate a sense of the constitutional responsibility on the part of the executive towards the representatives of the governed.

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### February.11.1911.

# "THE INDIAN OPINION" IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Cordes Englishmen in South Africa who had b identifying himself with the cause of Indian there spe on the "The Indian Opinion" in South Africa referred b. to the causes that have led to the present situation in Transvaal and gave a jointed account of the trials and difficulties to which the Indians in South Africa had > subject for years past. Mr. Cordes made the striking servation that the Boer Government was ill treating there because its ultimate object was to break up the Empire there and the most satisfactory method of achiethat purpose was to make the Indians there disloyal to % throne. The Indians however quite understood the sit and were threfore fighting constitutionally for the redress of their grievances. Mr. Cordes observed that Indian who comes out of jail in Transvaal come out a be man and a stronger man, quite a contrast to the subser and sneaky Indian who was afraid of the average Englir Consequent on the struggle in South Affica a spirit of self respect and self reliance had been aroused through Indian population there and great hopes may be entertain the men who were fighting there for the honor of their country. Mr. Cordes made an eloquent appeal to the In better class (not coolies) to go to South Arica and joi them in the struggle there and enable them to win the battle which they had been fighting so well and so heric and at such tremandous self sacrifice for the past so m vears.

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February . 13. 1911.

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## EAST AND WEST.

The growing attention which events and happening in the East have received from the &cidentals has resulted in periodical attempts being made to consider the relations between East and West as they have been or are likely to be. One such attempt is the Rectorial address of Lord Curzon at Glasgow university on the subject of "East and West", which has been reproduced in full elsewhere. The address apart from any intrimise merit must command attention from the personalaity of its author. If wide travell followed by years of administrative experience in the East can make any man an authority Lord Curzon may lay claim to that title. But there are defects in Lord Curzon's temperament which react fatally against the mental balance which distinguishes the judge the as against the advocate, pure and simple Lord Curzon would make a splendid advocate making the best of a bad case and bringing up all those specious peices of special pleading which advocates know how to employ, and he can make a presentable case whether he is defending the partition of Bengal or launching into a single handed defence of the pure and narrow aristocratic principle.

But having heard his case powerfully as he affects for the moment calm reason soon destroys and exposes and hollowness of his pleas. His temperament is always inclined rather to view things from the romantic standpoint and he is always quic to setze the romantic side of any incident. This however hardly compensats for the ignoring of cold realities and many of these defects of temperament and standpoint are revealed in his address on East and West. After an introduction concerning the East in which he gives the romantic side of his nature

full play Lord Curzon proceeds to analyse the results of that epoch making war, the Russo-Japanese war,. These he considers to be three fold in character." In the first place it had been accompanied by an immense addition to the self respect of Asia. Secondly it brought to an immediate and in some cases premature head movements or aspirations. Which were already germinating in many oriental countries and which have taken the unexpected shape of a demand for self Governing or representative institutions. Thirdly it has compelled the west to pause and revise its formuals". There is nothing new in this analysis, though perhaps the effects of the results of the war on the political development of the East have been over estimated. Modesty may have forbidden Lord Curzon to mention one cause which gave impulse to this develop ent in India at any rate viz., his own Viceroyality. Lord Curzon then proceeded to remark on the change which had come over western ideas of the East. A short while back the prevailing conception of the polity of the East was that it was an autocratic and absolute soverignity. Nowhere, however, is this concetpion of the absolute supremacy of the king justified, in any political theory of the East. The conception in fact arose from a study of the Arabian Nights and we can trace many of the ideas in the west concerning the East to hat wholly imaginative, if entertaining work. In India certainly ancient political theory does not justify the conception of an autocracy unlimited by anything except the will of the monarch. What is found in the ancient political theory is an assumption of the divine hereditary might of kings to rule. This is usually confused with absolution but in theory at any rate the ancient king was not an absolute monarch being makked by the necessity of consulting the religious element a as well as his ministers while over the whole community, Kings

as well as commoners was the necessity of following in strict practice the code of Dhrama or Path of duty. The democratic principle was then not unknown though its modern development of representative institutions did not exist and did exercise a real force though its manifestations may not have taken concrete and continuous shape. "The East", says the author of the "conflict of colour" 'is in many was the home of pure democracy the region where the combbler may always magically become the great minister" Lord curzon then remarks "when absolutism is accompanied by any defiance of national spirit or is attended by injustice suffering or national disaster then the East is willing to borrow from the west the methods by which the latter has successfully coped with the same dangers No exception can be taken to this statement except perhaps to this statement except perhaps to remark that these 'methods' might have been brought into stronger contrast with less modern methods. The East never put up with autorracy when it was oppressive or came in conflict with religion, but the steps which it took to remedy affairs usually consisted in the setting up of one ruler for another. Lord Curten Z then proceeds to deal with the colur question and in doing so has made an exceedingly able analysis of the question. Many thinkers have occupied themslves with the question and all have pointed to the recent growth of colour predidice among the white people of the earth. Starting perhaps in America in the southern states, against the negro this prejidice has extended itself all over the world and combined with other causes it has resulted in the setting up of an artificaal bagier which is meant to be permanent behind which mone but the pure white may proceed. This occuring at a time when the East was attaining a somewhat high degree of self consciousness has given an acute feeling of resentment while the growing

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pressure of population menders the existing state of things intolerable "The White Man". Says the author above quoted" although he is only half as numerous as the coloured men is settled on a gross area of land more than twice as extensive as that owned by his coloured brother". This is the great problem of the present day and the problem is not brought nearer solution by the fact that it is complicated by many of these petty annoyances in which the white man seeks to impress his superiority over his coloured brother;

In his appeal for calm consideration of the interests anvolved, Lord Curzon does real service towards the solution of the question. "It seems to me that while there has not hitherto been any deep seated colour prejudice in the East and while the barrier between Western man and Eastern must be otherwise explained there is danger lest such feeling may grow and attain serious proportions. The British with their liberal and huminitarian ideas, should be the leaders in the struggle against any such development.". So far the treatent of the South Africa n question has not given evidence that these "liberal and humanitarian ideas" have yet come into play but we live in hope. Lord Curzon proceeds to prognosticate the future in the relations between East and west. He does not think the East is likely to accept christianity. We expect there will be an cutcry against this suggestion in some quarters but it is becoming more and more a recognised axion. But there is some unction in another dire "It (chris' ianity) has taught the East Phiit may still teach it pity". Surely this apotheosis of absurdity. We have no doub

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religion has the effect referred to a . But to imply as the sentence does that these sentiments are not to any extent effective in the East is to display an amazing ignorance of actualities which is surprising even in Lord Curzon. While the statement will be found to be exaggerated of the East generally of India it is positively untrue. As regards the future, he divided the East into three heads viz., those countries in which European domination appears to be irrevocably fixe-d as Indian and Indo-china, these in which Asiatic Supremacy is assured as China and Japan; these in which relations are likely to be troubled as in the Near East. In any case with the advance in the intercommunication it may has he im --- hat East will bring up ir time with the west in the span of progress. Speaking from the standpoint of the westerner Lord Curzon holds that there is no ground for the "yellow peril" panic. While it is impossible to predict what the future holds for the various parties in the relations between East and west it is a sound proposition that the future will turn leage y on the realisation of economic possibilities in the Espt. It is a question of a more remote future than we need take count of how far there will exist an East and a west in the sense in which they exist to day, in the face of amnivilation of distance which is slowly being accomplished.

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February . 20 . 1911.

# BRITISH DEMOCRACY AND INDINA GOVERNMENT

In the very interesting article on 'British Democracy and Indian Government! which Lord Morley has contributed to the 'Nineteenth century and After and which we reproduced in our last issue, our late Secretary of State for India has taken a bird's eve view of present day Indian problems and has clothed his pregnant thought on the subject with the literary charm and grace which distringush him as an eminent men of letters. The trend of the article shows that he was labouring under a conscious disadvantage regarding his knowledge of Indian affairs of having derived it second hand from books Bespatches, newspapers, a modicum of men and critics with judgements more or less it biassed. When all necessary deductions are made it is mentally invigorating to see the catholic and cultured presentation of the present Indian situation as it has struck one of the greatest British intellects of this or any age in a position of political authority. Lord Morley points out that "overweening pretensions as to the superiority at every point and in all their aspects of any western cigilisation over every Eastern is fundamental error. If we pierce below h the varnish of words, we may now uncover a state of barbarism in the supreme capitals and centres, whether in Europe or in the two great continents of Neoth and South America". At the same time Lord Morley gives expression to the following thought which is not without its own significance in the current Theosophical controversy. "To insist on applying rationalistic general ideas", he says rightly "to vast communities living on mysticism, can be no good to either governors or governed. It is hard for mysticism and

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nationalism to be friends and their interplay is no easy game," As to the difficulties which are encountered by the ordinary lenglishman or English woman not of the Mystic would to comprehedn Indian conditions Lord Morley says Goethe, when at a certain stage in culture re turned his thoughts Eastward found china harren and India' a jumble'. The Scene is distant, names are not easily to distinguish or appreciate, terms are technical the heart that nulses under the brown skin seems impentrable a mysterious veil hangs over the stage actors and drama". These are undoubted hindrances to the real comprehension of the situ ation by a literary statesman who has never paid a flying visit to the vast country whose destinies were under his charge It is however gratifying to read Lord Morley the fastidious critic writing of the most accomplished and highly trained of our Indian fellow subjects as good in every way as the best of men in white Hall" "of the three great historic faiths, christianity Buddishism Islam, Hinduism has reaisted two and only in a small degree accepted one, "and as regards the political genesis of the unrest in India, referring to the Anglo-Indian and Indian view of the matter in clear judicial language and on the whole a more sympathetic tone than was descernible in his utterances in the early part of his career as Indian Secretary of State. We have already referred to the clear principles of the British constitution and of the law which sustains the contention that the Government of India is in direct subordination to the Secretary of state and Beitish Parliament. Though this question has been set at rest by authoritative decisions on various occasion the fact that it crops up now and again is indeed an indication that English Public opinion often goes to sleep and suffers forgetfulness over even vital Indian questions. It is in fact an illustration of the proposition advanced by J.S. Mill that "the Government of a people by itself

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has a meaning and a reality but such a thing as Government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants. But if the good of the governed is the proper business of a Government it is utterly impossible that our people should directly at\_tend to it. The leat convincing part of Lord Morely's article is when he tries to explain away the meaning of this passage on the ground that J.S. Mill, was against the transference of Indian Government from East India company to the crown and of the length of time that has clapsed since Mill wroke the above lines. It seems to us that Lord Morely has succeeded admireably in showwing that the Indian Bureaucracy. the ruling caste has no right whatever to set up its own pretensions for an unchecked exercise of its power as against the Secretary of State and th British parliament. But in the face of the growing intellegence, education and political capacity of the Indian people and in view of the grossly imperfect knowledge of Indian conditions possessed by the Members of the British Parliament mostly engaged in their own affairs Lord Morley has not faced the question as to how the Indian government should continue to be responsible to a seat of authority viz, the British parliament which possesses few elements of intellegent and effective control and continue not to be responsible to the Indian people who are daily getting themselves qualified to exercise that function, to the best advantage. As the Nation rightly puts it in discussing Lord Morley's article: "Lord Morely's stout defence of the value of the Parliamentary criticism makes salutary reading. It is at the best a make shift.

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length of time.

There can be a substitute for the control of the Governor by the governed; of any system which excludes such control one can only say that it is not freedom. Nor is there over and confessed, even in Lord Morley's reforms more than the germ of this control. It provides for criticism. It concedes to the governed no weapon however blunted or unwieldly by which they can enforce their will. The most that can be said of the function of Parliament is that it acts a sort of jury. It can try the Government of India but it is necessarily partial and only half informed. It can not divert itself of the bias of the ruling race and the interests which it is tempted to obey diverge in vital points from these of the governed." It does not require much reflection to be convinced that this reasoning is in entire accordance with facts and is unanswerable. The only legitimate conclusion from it would appear to be that India should be graffned to no distant date a system of self Government on colonial tilnes. For ourselves we think that if the non-official members of the kt Local and Imperial legislative councils work in the discharge of their respective duties with single minded devotion and a collective sense of responsibility they may greatly help to obtain an improved frm form of government for the people within a measurable

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February .23.1911.

#### DR.MILLER ON INDIAN EDUCATION.

of the Several criticism which Mr. Chirol's letters to the Times on "Indian unrest" have called forth perhaps the most interesting to people in this Presidency are these by Rev.Dr.Miller, an a pamphlet entitled "Unrest and Education in India" This veteran educationist brings together in a compact from his views on Indian educational policy and indicates the right lines for the title of the pamphlet is somewhat misledding, for Dr. Miller says nothing whatever about the relation between unrest and education and it may inferentially be supposed that he does not attach any importance to the interested cry, which has unfortunately found a powerful exponent in Mr. Chirol, that the root evil of the present discontent is the system of education that is in vague here. Mr. Chril's criticism's in this respect are as we all know culpably partial and deplorably faulty. He has hazarded a generalisation from extremely bshypothesis and probably that is the reason which has induced Dr. Miller, "in the face of many infirmities", to emerge from his Well earned retirment and put the whole question on the basis of Government versus aided education. Taking his stand on this basis Dr. Miller, wigorously but kindly crilises Mr. Chirol; One might have expected Dr. Miller to enter a protest which he is so well qualified to do on the score of his long experience, in our of Indians who have received english education and defend them against the prejudiced criticism of the Time's correspondent. Dr. Miller has not chosen to do so.

Elevating the controversy to the higher plane of Government versus aided education he passes over as perhaps unworthy of any consideration, the questionof unrest and its relation to education. Few men alive to day have a better right than he to be heard in any discussion that bears on the work of eucation in India. and the criticism which he s\_ets froth in his pamphæet it may be observed in passing are not in the main antagonistic to those of Mr. Chirol but are intended to supplement and correct the opinions of the latter where they are defective. Mr. Chirol's remarks refer particularly to Bengal and are not applicable to the whole country. Few nations are more misleading, says Dr. Miller than the impression that Bengal is typical of the whole of India Dr. Miller enlarges upon this view but it is enough for us to be told by him that Mr. Chirol's knowledge of history of Indian education is "amcomplete" and that his conclusions are based or inaccurate information". This dispose s of Mr. Chirol's claims to be heard as an authority and we are grateful to Dr. Miller for laying base this pompous correspondent. Another misapprehension of Mr. Chirol's is with regard to the position taken up by the Education Commission. Both the education Despatish and Education commission emphasised it will be remembered that Government should utilise private effort as much as possible. The commission early stated that while existing state insititution of higher order should be maintained in complete efficiency whereever they are necessary the improvement and extension of institutions under private management should be the principal fare of the department and that this should be done by a system of grants in aid.

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It is needless to say that this recommendation has been reiterated again and again In actual administration however these definitions of policy have been more or less ignored. And to day we are threatened with a complete reverssal of the existing system, driving out private effort from the field and converting schools and colleges into a portion of the centralised machinery of the state. Fr. Chirol supports this view only in a country under bureaucratic rule can be hear of such a p revolutionaryproposal and as Dr. Miller points out, this proposal to oust the private effort is "equivalent to the removal of the foundations on which the fabric of the Indian education rests". Dr. Miller's opinion should be of peculiar value at this time opinion when the establishment of so called model schools is being seriously considered in every province. Dr. Miller Vigorously stands for private efforts in education and pleads that government should give every fascility for it. It is not however intended that the state should not exercise any control but that the control should not exercise any control but that the control should not be rigid. When state officials resort to methods of reasonable control and not to mere dictation harmony can be secured between them and rpivate managers. Archiel takes an entirely different view. He has no faith in others but the Government officials and he believes that the time has come to increase the number of European professors. Dr. Miller sees no harm in more European professors but insists that they should be men of high character and proper qualifications. He pleads that. Indians whose qualifications and character stand high should be drawn into the service and that their emobements should be better than at present. But at the same time

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he is not for largely increasing the incomes of European professors for the excellant reason" that their being paid at so high a rate would do more to lesson than increase the sympathetic intercourse with Indian students and the Indian Community". That is not te only season. As Dr. Miller most aptly points out there are many purposes to which the small expenditure of public funds on education may be better applied than to that of increasing the salaries of European professors which are already large. The best that should be done is to attract Indians of high accomplishments into the service by provinding them suitable emoluments and never to forget that a first class Indian on a smaller salary is better than a fourth rate European on a costly pay. In all these things Dr. Miller has spoken most frankly and we give below one more illustration of the direct manner in which he writes" There ought to have been less lavish outlay on purely government institutions. There ought to have been more encouragement to the schools, and colleges provided by private effort. These last tought to have been treated not as rivals to be repressed but as agencies to be healthily developed". Dr. Miller is for no changes but for a steadfast adherence to the principles of the great educ tion despatch. He has pleaded well and ably and our thanks are due to him for the very opportune pamphlets he has issued.

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### February . 24.1911.

#### COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS FOR PUBLIC SERVECE.

"The slow but undeniable advance of administrative centralisation has increased the number of offices to give away. The demand for places will always be greater than the supply but both the demand and supply have increased. It is time for Statesman to perceive that the universal and immoderate desire of public offices is the worst of social maladies. It diffuses over the entire body of the nation a venal and a servile humour which is quite compatible even among these who are the best paid, with a spirit of faction and anarchy. It creates a crowd of hungry applicants ready to go all wrigths in order to satisfy their appetite and capable of any beaseness as soon as they are satisfied A nation of place hunters is the last of nations. There is no ignorminy to which it may not be made to submit! M.de. Mountalem best.

One of the most important subjects which came up for discussion and disposal at the last meeting of the local Legislative council and the one which was dealt with as a whele by the council in the least satisfactory manner possible was the resolution proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Raghava Rage that the Government be requested to reserve certain proportion of posts in the public service carrying in a salary of Rs. 100 and upwards for recruitment by open competition.

The matter is one of great general importance. The issue which it raises is not concerned only with the number of individuals who may suceed or fail ir offices of empolment and power in the public is intimately connected with moral tone of

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The question as to the relative metits of momination versus competition in the mode of recruitment for superior offices is of peramount importance to the well being of the country. As the remakrs of the French statesman prefixed to this article show that system which leads to a people remaining or becoming a nation of place hunters deserves the severest condemnation. We all not we think far wrong in saying that since the system of competitive examination was abolished in this Presidency and in consequence of the manner in which some appointments more or less importance in various departments have been made; the moral tone of some men in the Public service and of some in the public life of the country has undergone a steady deterioration. If appointments and promotions are by means of nomination, this must inevitably be the result even if the persons selected are the best in point of merit, which can not invariably be the case. The Hon'ble Mr. Arkinson, he in opposing the Resolution of Mr. Raghava Rao, said that the remarks of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Morley, and others which the latter quoted were not applicable as they could have no reference to the state of things in the Madras Presidency. This argument seems like saying to an advocate in the court of law who cites a previous decision in his favour on a like point that as the parties in the two cases are not the same, the first decision is no authority. Human nature is the same all over the world and on what ground can it be said that the remarks of Mr. Gladstone are in applicable to Madras when he said; "The man who presents himself to have his merits ascertained (in a competative examination) is no hungry applicant. He does not crunge for favours he does not seel his conscience nor ask another

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man to be guilty of that baseness on his behalf. He comes thinking himself qualified in his degree to serve his county and manfully requests that his competency to render such service may be tested by a fair and open investigation where neither fear nor favour nor affection may avail to procure for him a dishonest a-dvantage". The Hon! ble Mr. Atkinson made also the statement that "gossibilities for the exercise of Savouritism in patronage and abuses of thay sort were vary few or practically nil in this country. Through European officers were on friendly terms, with people in this country they were not so familiar or intimate with people as to prove objectionable or undesirable in the exercise of their patronage. Therefore for the purpose of avoiding Fevils of patronage which did not exist h here no competitive examination was needed here. The above remarks are we must say with great respect very far from the actual state of things. They do not in any case represent the general view of the Indian community in the matter. Even when an European high official is not consciously prove to show favouritism or perpetrate a jobbery there are a thousand and one ways in which his ignorance and pryndices regarding the people in the country with whom he is only in distant intercourse, may be and often are turned to sinister purposes by interested persons. The fact that he is a foreigner in the land makes him impartial where no personal or racial influences are concerned but it dos not save him from being an unwary dupe on occasions. Different arguments have been brought forward on different occasions to support the theory of nomination for recruitment to high offices. His Excellency Sir Arthur Lawley seems at one

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time to have been persuaded that some of ethe men who had come out successful in the competitive examination for the provincial service were not satisfactory in point of character and in reply to the address presented by citizens of Madras in November 1906 said "we do not propose at present to revert thereto (competitive examination) but we have before us now a scheme of modified competition which I hope will result in the end which we all desire and that is to secure men of the best quality, both of ability and character to serve their country." This scheme of modified competition has not yet come into being and the result of the last debate in the council shows that it is as far off as ever.

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But His Excellency's view in 1906 must be said to have been substantially in favour of Mr. Raghava Row's proposition though in the present discussion he did not make any pronoucnement but allowed the proposition to be defeated. The hon ble Mr. V.Krishnaswamy Iyer stepped into the discussion only to draw a red herring across the trial viz., to say that the hands of the Local Government are tied in the matter by the Resolution of the Government of India. The Hon'ble member did not express his own views on the merits of the question but they are forcibly set out in his Presidential Address at the Madras Provincial Conference in 190-6 an extract from which appears in another column. Our readers would also learn with much interest that Sir Gabriel Stokes K.C.S.I., late senior member of the Madra Executive Council gave his considered opinion in favour ofa scheme similiar to that advocated in Mr. Raghava Rao's Resolution when giving his evidence in 1907 as a witness before the Decentralisation commission. The question and answer were as follows:- "8930. As regards the present class of Tahsildars can you suggest any method of improving

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that class by a better system of recruitment?

I certainly think I can my idea and a proposal which I actually made, is that the executive service of the Revenue Department should be divided at the grade of the Deputy Tahsildar: that the service above that should be made into a superior service with a lower subordinate clerical service: that the superior service should be recruited by a combination of nomination with competition. For ex you should make a selection committee who would receive applications from anybody who wanted an appointment, who would actually personally interview the applicant ascertain particulars of his family and his connections and everything of that sort whether he was in good health and soon and finally pass him as a candidate then you would pass in that way say 300 men there would be about 60 vaccancies, then you would have a competitive examination amongst the 300 men for 60 vaccancies".

It is regretted that the above mentioned opinions were not brought to the notice of the council at the time of the discussion, as they make a weighty case against Sir Mmrray Hammick and the other opponents to the Resolution on the side of the government. Sir Murray Hammick's opposition to the proposal was — But and out and thorough. He pointed out that the Madras Government opposed the proposal not on the ground that the Government of India were against it and they were bound by their decision but that their own opinion ws against it on the merits. He supported his opposition however on the curiously narrow ground that the system of recruitment even by partial competition would secure the selection of Brahmins that it would lead to a distinction in the service viz., of the Brahmins succeeding

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by competition and the other classes having to be provided for by nomination. It seems to us that this result would by no means necessarily follow. Our Anglo Indian brethern seem to be under bugbers of the Brahmin preponderance.

In this they are doing injustice to the Brahmins Nobody who is thoroughly acquinted with the country will say that the non-Brahmins will always be defeated in an intellectual competition with the Brahmins. It must be admitted that the proportion of these who are intellectually superior will not be the same in the two classes but it should be possible to adjust the relative proportions of these recruited for appointments by suitable rules. It is not necessary for instance to by down that only these who obtain the highest places in an examination should be selected. An average standard of intellectual ability may be tested by an examination and persons not belonging to the Brahmin class may be selected when they fulfill the general test although they may be inferior in rank in the examination to others. It must also be pointed out that for the general intellectual elevation and progress of the classes other than Brahmins the healthy stimulus afforded by competing on equal terms in an examination with the Brahmins is necessary. Under the present system no adequate opportunities are it must be borne in mind offered to these among the non-Brahmins who are superior to men of their own class and can also hold the wown with these of the Brahmin class. Member of the Non-Brahmin as of the Brahmin community have to climb into favour by nomination more than by ment and a steady demoralising process is the result. As Mr. Gladstone observed" It is desirable that the lower ranks of the service should be brought to such a state that you might

in that you have to 30 or flyen regula for which men. The general rule in that you have to be that you should find your able men with in the

service. The fact that you bring in so many persons from

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without greatly retards promotion in the service, and
the general result is I fear, to equalise the good
middling and bad. Under such circimstances it is impossible
that the state of any service should be satisfactory and
it is no reproach to the members of any service so
situated to say that it is unsatisfactory". The circumstances in this Presidency are not in some respects without
parallel to the state of things described above and the result
is that when an Indian Member of the executive council
has to be appointed there are very few in the service whose
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given for Anglo-Indian journals to shout in the service whose
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# £50ruary.28.1911.

#### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

It is with sincere greatification that the Public in India will receive the information that has been published in calcutta that the union government in south Africa intend bringing in a bill which would sweep away the galling distinction now made between Asiatic and other immigrants and set ratests for admission. If this legislation is passed the Government would be redressing only one of the greivances of South African Indians and that in a fashion which may not completely satisfy the demands of the situation. But it may be surmised that this will go a great way in removing the racial bar, the existence of which has so long been a most fruitful source of indignation and protest This glimmering of prudence is undeoubtedly due to the firm, but long called for step taken by the Government of India in announcing their intention to stop indentured immigration altogether from the 1st July next. The whole of South Africa would appear to appreciate the causes that had led to his impasse and if we are to believe the Johannesburg correspondent of our Allahabad Anglo-Indian contemporary". There is no disposition to rail against the Indian authorities. Aparat from the planting interest in Natal and one or two of the Natal papers South Africa is inclined frankly to admit that Government of India is justified in taking action". Out of about 1,30,000 Indians in Natal today as many as 26000 are indentured labourers of whom nearly 1/3 work in tea and sugar estates. The moral effect of the Indian Government's action should prove to be considerable. We have seen how

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the union government have already come to appreciate the justice of Indian agitation and employers of labour in Mal, who would have much to suffer on account of the stoppage of Indian labour might well be expected to be more humane towards their men than they have been. Indian free settlers in Natal who n number nearly 100,000 in number and are subject to cruel impositions like the tax of £3 on every individual man or woman which is levied in order to force them either to reindenture or return to India and have unjust restrictions in respect of obtaining trading licences placed on them have some prospect of their condition being improved a little. Already there is some ground for believing that the planters in Natal are inducing free Indians to re-indenture offering them better terms. This goes to show that to some extent at least employers of labour have been uncomfortably made aware of the fact that their treatment of Indianlabourers has not been altogether of the right kind. The Indian opinion rightly warns free Indians of the dangers that await them if they should allow themselve to sign the contracts.

In the fist place as free men they would be able to get higher wages in view of the great competition for labour that is soon likely to result; in the second place the annual licence fee of £3 is likely to be repealed soon which would enable them to ply their trades such as shopkeepers, hawkers, traders etc. The evident anxiety of the planters may be gauged from the statement made known widely in South Africa and to India in order to introduce as many hundreds of these human chattels as possible into the province before june 30. It is not possible to say how far these selfish efforts will a avail but it is we fancy the duty of these who understand the situation to advise intending immigrants against the misery that awaits them in Natal. It is indeed gratifying to be told that many sirdass have refused to set about this task

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task and that recently one of them informed Mr. Polak after a lecture, that he had been asked to go to India for this purpose but after what he had heard he would refuse to go and advise as many of his fellow Sindars as possible to do likewise. It would appear that apprehending the gravest danger to the sugar industry of Natal the Natal sugar growers Association sent up a telegram to the Minister of the interior requesting the Government to endeavour to extend the period of notice, within which indentured recruiting in India was to cease so as to allow the affected industries sufficient time to prepare for the transition. Several declarations have it is understood been made to the effect that if the indentures were to run only for 5 years more the further cultivation of sugar cane will have to be stopped altogether in 3 years time. Mr. Smiths, stated, has replied that the question has been closed and that the Imperial Government have officially concerned in the policy of the Indian Government. He has also explained the futility of again approaching the government of India on the subject because he says south Africa can never consult to accept indentured labourers from India as permanent settlers in that country. It is said that he has further expressed his opinion that the number of labourers at present in Natal or still to be imported before july will probably prove to be sufficient for immediate requirments of the industries affected would engage the serious and sympathetic considerations of the government. The law which governs indentures in Natal is known to be of a kind which would not at be tolerated for a moment in a civilised country. This aspect of matter was well brought out in a recent case in Natal now under investigation by the protector of Immigrants. It would appear that 10 indentured Indians, employed by a planter near verulam were charged before a Magistrate for being absent from roll call and refusing to do work. They were continued and discharged but in sympathy with their grievances 26 other labouress

struck work and set out to complain, which act was in direct controvention of a provision which laid down that in such cases, they were liable to be punished by fine not exceeding £10 sterling or by imprisonment for any period not exceeding 2 months "whether such complaint" and this is the striking feature of this precious law' shall or shall not be adjudged to be ground less or frivolous and not wit-hstanding that such complaint may be successful". This effcctive prohibition of any complaints that labourers might have to carry to the protector is as is described by the Natal Advertiser enough to damn the whole act. These men were tried and fined 30 Sh. each or to imprisonment for a month with hard labour. It is necessary in view of the inhuman obstacles placed in the way of ventilation of grievances to take case s such as tis and investigate them throughly. The following are stated to be the principal complaints of these 10 labourers which might be taken to give usa fair idea of the general conditions previaling in other estates. (1) that their rations are illegally docked. 2) that they are set impossible tasks. 3) that for failure to perform these or to attend roll call in case of sickness they are illegally fined.. 4) that women newly gisen from child bed are promaturely forced to work on pain of non-payment of wages with or stoppage of rations. 5) that although the employer was ordered a year ago to pro+ vide proper accommodation for his employees he has not done so and that many of the shanties in which they are obliged to hard are uninhabitable, especially in the wet weather.

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THE MAHARAJAH OF GWALLOR ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.

It is very gratifying that enlighened rulers of Progressive Native States should come forward to express their opinions on the present situation of the country. In an article to the Current member of East and West, the Maharajah States the lessons sx he has dwawn from Indian history. It enumerates the causes that have led to the present condition of the country and the steps that should be taken to advance it. His Wighness deplores the want of union and co-operative activity among the people. He regrets the strained relations between Hindus and Muhamadans and calls their differences as quite "unbecoming" and as " a real mosfortune". Both these great communities belong to the same country and have resided with each otheres for centuries. The fact, therefore, that they "do not behave like brothers shows that the ill luck of the country has not n off yet" and the short sighted activities of misguided men who have no "occupation" and who can not forsee "the remote and ultimate consequences of certain acts and events". The Maharajah severely condemns the recent Bukrid distrubances, lays the blame on both Hindus and Muhammadans and exclaims as kkisx His Majesty the Amir that "th God hations is one God and that we all have to go intoxxix His presence to render our accounts". Far more objectionable disappointing and detrimental to the interests of India than the Bakrid disturbances was the feeling evoked by the appointments of Mr. Sinha. "Does not the Word" Indian" asks His Highness " cover all creeds and classes in the country? And as long as the Indian was appointed to the

legal membership was it not sufficiently gratifying for the Indian Community? If any one ventures to answer 'no' I would say that the course which has been upon India's devoted head is still there". "When will these blind ignorant prejudices vanish and these petty differences diappear?" asks the Maharajah. The idea is gathering silent strength in the country, that ill-feeling between these two communities is an effective check to united progress and new before in the history of India has there teen a greater need for a educated outspoken condemnation of it. We are glad that Maharajah Scindia has done it most opportunely and in for uncertain terms.

His Highness mentions a number of important causes for most of the sufferings of our country in the past. Maturally he speaks with some reserve in this connection but indic tes that if there had been sufficent union in the land, the consolidation and assimilation of races and growth of wealth and talen would have been accomplished. To this wanthunion and co-operative and organised activity the Maharajah ascribes the present poor condition of the country and its several afflictions. As for the steps that should be taken to improve the staus of the people and raise them up materially and morally, His Highness advises, as the most important of them all, the adoption of Panchayat system and the Reduction fo expensive litigation. This suggestion is not a new one but it gains added ated and emphasised. Law's delays are weight by being res proverbial and increase in expense is in proportion to the prolongation of the suit. Costlylitigation has proved the ruin of seveal families. An evil of this grave charater should be reduced if not removed and one of the ways of accomplishing

it is the adoption of the Panchayat system. The introduction of the system can not and is not likely to be long delayed and it may be presumed that with it an improvement will be observable in the genral condition of the country. Wide spread of eduction on sounder kime lines is the next remedy which the Maharajah proposes. The Government stand committed to the policy of extendingeducation and the Elementary Education Bill which Mr. Gokhale will introduce in the Viceroy's council to-morrow is an indiction of the popular attitude towards this important question. It is not easy to see what His Highness means by eduction on sounder lines,. The third remedy suggested by him is the adoption of concerted measures for the prevention of famines and epidemics. The Mahraja means that there should be greater co-operation between the people and government in For reasons which are fighting against poverty and di unnecessary to state the people and the officials, do not often see eye to eye, in the redress of real grievances. Combined activity will be possible only when each party imbided with the common intention of advancing the welfare of the country and when both parties are moved alike by identiacl considerations of expedeincy and necessity. That the Mhaharaja should point this out as a remeady to be adopted indic tes that such is not invariably the case at present. The other two remedy he suggests Viz. the avoidance of provoking and offensive language and a frank and straight forward representation of real and not imaginary grievances and the bringing about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled are self evident and 6do not call for any remark. If with the

adoption of these vive remedies the country is to improve, the problem becomes delightfully simple. But these remarks only the fringe of the question and there are meet important reforms which have to be effected—reforms to which His Highness does not allude—but which are bound stisfactorily effected of premier noblemen like His Highness would intellegently observe and study the condition of the country and help towards its betterment.

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APRID 4,1911.

THE BAND OF INDIAN NTIONALITY

In the interesting and suggestive article which Rev- C. F. Andrews has contributed to the Hindustan Review. he has elucidated the real basis of nationality in modern states. as the late Lord Actom has lid down and discussed in his essays and has examined the basis of growth of the Indian Nationality from this point of View. The Commonly accepted therory of nationality assumes the necessity for a common religion, a common racial bond, a common language and literature and traditions as a compact territory to frm a nation. Some of these facots are absent in some cases but some of them have usually been present in most modern nationalities. Later political thought and researches have established the positon that these factors for the political union of individuals as a nation are unimportant as compared with what Lord Acton aptly calls the moral factors making for the growth and development of a nation. In a well known essay by the Right Hon'ble James Bryce, the British Ambassader in U.S. on the "action of centripetal and centrifugal forces on political constitutions', he has discussed with much acuteness and clearness the really small share which such so called common factors could play in the formation of nationalities. After pointing out that the gregarious nature of and is always a constant factor in the making of nations, he classifies the forces which make for national unity under the head of 'Interest and sympathy', The influences coming under common interest are usually the most powerful, such as common political needs and desires, common good and almost always make for the unifiction of the

nations, while the influences which come under the head of sympathy do not always nor necessarily make for union and their importance, Mr. Bryce has pointed out has often been exaggerated. "Community of language " he observes "does not, any more than a common ancestry, make for love and indeed may increase hatred So it may be said that though the want of these elements is usually an obstacle to unity, their presence is no gurantee for its existence. Some what greater value belongs to identity of traditions and to the possessions of the materials for a common pride in past achievements". Lord acton, however goes much further than this. Starting from the position that it is the right of every people to find freedom for their own individuality and self expression, he finds that the physical basis of nationality which makes each race a political Amint is a most inadequate conception for the growth of National life

"Our connexion, he courts, with the race is merely natural or physical whilst our duties to the political nation are ethical. The former is a community of affections and instincts infinitely important and pwerful in savage life but pertaining more to the animal than to the civilised man. The latter is an amount governing by laws, imposing obligations and giving a moral samebans and character to the natural samebans of society. Patriotism is in political life what fath is in religion. The sense of duty which is supplied by race feeling alone is never entirely separated from its selfish and instinctive basis. The love of country like trained loves stands at the same time on a physical and moral foundation. Only as it reaches the latter standard it is made secure".

In this view therefore, oneness of race or religion would often make for stagnation in natinal life and some amount of diversity of races or communities would make for progress. The combination of different nations in a single state.he savs "is as a necessary a condition of civilised life as the combination of men in society. In the state that fusion takes place by which the vigour, the knowledge and the capacity of one portion of mankind may be communicated to another. The very friction and fermant which occurs in the interming ting of races is itself a means and pledge of progress. Viewing the position of things in India in the light of this modern conception of nationality and progress. Ster Andrews rightly points out that the common civilisation which Hinduism has imparted to the land exactly supplies the assistance which christianity supplied to Europe in Middle Ages for the formation of nations and the presence of other elements making for diversity, such as the Mahomedan Conquests and the British Supremacy and the minor varieties of Communal traditions, supply the very means and pledge of progress which Lord Acton has enunciated. Writes Mr. Andrews: - "Hinduism provided during many centruries a common civilisation for India, which has made and still makes the Indian Continent a political unity in spite of a thousand disintegrating forces. On India the problem of a united and inclusive civilisation was attempted. The comparatively easier problem of exclusive nationalities was lift partly on one side. To Hinduism, with its off shoot of early Buddhism belong this great glory, that it was not content with a narrow racial boundary but included the whole contenent in its embrace from the Himalayas to the furthest shores of Ceylon.



There are few more impsing spectacles in history than this silent, peaceful penetration of Hindu Civilisation till the furthest bounds of India were reached. And the effects of this penetration were not transient. It is the Hindu Spirit which has unified the Continent. Even the Muhammadans conquests and British. supremacy have done little more than add touches of light and shade to the background of Hinduism, which has aroused the whole soil of India.

If Lord Acton's theory, therefore is right and a mixture of races under the shelter of a civilisation is a higher ideal than that of exclusive nationality India has, in the Divine Providence which guides the course of history been blessed indeed. She has not been content with a low standard of temporary success; she has strained after that unity of which her philosophy is ever dreaming the passinate pilgrim's quest for the one without a second, which is the note of the Upanishads and the Vedanta, has not been impractical, as has been so often falsely asserted. It has moulded history".

This therefore Mr. Andres considers is the most hopeful side of the situation in India as to the future of our national progress. But he also warns us against certain other factors present in India which in his opinion, form baniers and obstacles in our way and have to be speedly over gone. The first of these he considers to be the unnatural banners of caste nad though Hindus will not be propared to endorse much that he has said on this part of subject, most of them, we hope will agree that the present situation as to our caste abrangements and

deal of reform on rational lines; in the interests of nationality.

The regard to which there is already an awarening in the land, while the last anomaly of the about more mentioned by Rev.

Andrews is the Hindu Mohamadan pro lem. This, he says, is the final problem of Indian nationality more about on than all others. "The problem", he rightly observes, "is even now at an actute stage. History is being made concerning it with amazing rapidity, and with far too little serious thinking. What is needed for a permanent settlement is the sober, careful consideation of ultimate issues". We hope the thoughtful advice given to both these sections of our fellow-country man by this disinterested and sympathetic friend of their national aspirations will be accepted and acted on in spirit as well as in name by them.

April 13, 1911.



## The South African Indian Question

There would appear to be much misconception as regards the Scope and objects of the New Immigration Bill introduced into the Union Parliament of South Africa. The other day it was stated in the British Parliament that in response to suggestions made the South African Ministers had agreed to insert provisions in the Bill for the protection of the wives and children of the domiciled Asiatics Who/withat in South Africa and for fascilitating the entry of domiciled Asiatics who might temporarily leave South Africa. In consenting to do this the Union Government have removed only a few of the many defects with which the Bill abounds. The outstanding problems for the satisfactory solution of which the British Indians are fighting so hard and so bravely are, it is well known, the repeal of the Asiatic Act of 1907, the removal from the immigration laws of any racial bar as such, the admission of a limited number of educated Indians yearly and the redress of manifold grevancies relating to various disabilities imposed on British Indians. The Bill now before the Union Parliament has for its Principal object the restriction of Immigration of these people whom the colonials do not want. This is sought to be done by having one law for the whole of South Africa. This law will be applied to all the immigrants alike, whatever their country of origin and whatever their colour, so that at least in theory and in law there is no racial bar introduced. But in practice however it is the declared intention of the Government to so administer the law as to effectively prevent Asiatics from entering the union. The immigration officer whose powers are very great under the Bill, will so use the education test, which consists in writing out

50 words to dictation in an European language chosen by the officer himself as to make it impossible for any Asiatic to entertain any hope of entering the Union. To meet the demands of the Asiatic population, however this officer will be instructed to admit under this test yearly twelve Asiatics into the Union who will. according to the Despatch of General Botha to Earl Crewe dated 20th December last after such entry, possess permanent residential rights in any province of the Union. Domiciles Asiatics however are to be penned as it were in one particular province of the Union without the right of entering any other. The objections to the Bill are however many. The decision to protect the rights of wives and the children of the domiciled Asiatics and rendering easy the re-entry of these who might temporarily leave South Africa ought to be welcomed, in that they remove two of the objectionable features of the Bill which had created grave apprehensions in the minds of British Indians. But there are various other matters which are clearly pointed out in the union Parliament and in numerous public meetings in All parts of South Africa which had been held in connection with this Bill. The enormous powers giving to the immigration officer, the absence of any provisions, for making it compulsory on the part of the Executive Government to lay before parliament any regulations which might be made under the Bill when it becomes an Act just as in Australia from where this educational test has been taken and for appealing to any higher authority against the arbitrary exercise of authority by the immigration officer are points that have been righted urged against the measure. There is then the restriction of the movement of Asiatics from one Province to another -- a most unjust provision having apparently a political motive behind it. A Petition to the Union Parliament sent by the colonial Bon Indian Association says

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says that the present immigration law of the Cape Province permits the entry into it of Indians born elsewhere in South Africa; while the present Bill remoces that right, prevents intercourse between members of families who may be resident in two provinces and menaces the future of Indian hawkers and traders who now go about from province to province. This liberal and cruel provision needs to be withdrawn. Another most objectionable feature of the Bill is the taking away of the existing ragnts of Indians in Natal and Cape Colony. In his Despatch dated 7th October last addressed to the Union Government Earl Crewe emphatically stated:- "I ought to add that any solution which prejudiced or weakened the present position of the Indians in Cape Colony and Natal would not be acceptable to His Majesty's Government". But the Bill flagrantly goes against this injunction. The Existing Natal immigration laws permit the entry of any Indian who is able to pass the educational test in any European language. A similar provision exists also in the case of Cspe colony where the choice of the language is

In my Despatch No. 226 of Oxtober 7, I pointed out that any solution which prejudiced or weakened the present position of Indiansin the Cape of Good Hope and Natal would not be acceptable to Hia Majesty's Government. Your ministers propose that the rights of entrance and residence in the Union in future should be accorded to say, 12 fresh Asiatics on any one year. It was proposed in respect of the Transavaal only that such rights should be secured to Six Asiatics and I presume larger number is put forward to meet position in the Cape of Good Hope and Natal. Under

with the immigrant. The telegraphic despatch from the colonial office dated 15th February puts the matter in

a clear light.

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the existing laws in these provinces, Asiatics can enter if they pass education test in a European language and from the Natal immigration Report of 1909 it would seem that number less than 30 Indians so entered in that year. The Secretary of State for India points out that by this new Bill, Transwaal policy of practically complete exclusion is being extended all over the Union and it will be difficult to maintain that position of Indians in the Cape of Good Hope and Natal is not being prejudiced.

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No satisfactory answer has been vouchsafed to this criticism and it is a clear case in which the vested rights of the Indians in provinces which have adopted a liberal policy are to be forcibly taken away as a result of the union. There is one other serious defect which promises unfortunately to postpone a satisfactory settlements of the problem mless the Union Government think better of their folly. Orginally it was the expressed intention of the Government to allow the few educated Asiatic immigrants who may be let in under the Bill complete freedom to move about and have residential rights in any province they liked. But General Smuts in order to satisfy the grumblings of the Grange Free State Colony has backed out from his position and has declared his intention to decline to exempt Asiatic immigrants who may come under the new Bill from certain clauses of the Orange Free State Constitution. These clauses require Asiatics to apply for permission to reside and go through most humilating formalities for that purpose. According to that law which is directed against "Arab, Chinamen, Cooly or other Asiatic colouredperson" none of these classes of persons could have fixed registered property in their names and could not carry on commercial business or farming and a series of disgusting formalities have to be gone though before they could be allowed to remain in that State for longer than 2 months. General Smutts by this

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indiscreet move of his, has opened himself for quite justifiable attacks in the same manner as he did in the year 1908. Under the new Bill as proposed to be amended by General Smutts educated Indians have to apply for permission to reside in that State which means, undoubtdly a colour barin the immigration Bill. This clearly indicates, unless better counsels prevail, a continuance of this struggle based as Lord Crewe stated on a sentimental difficulty which is none the less real. It is necessary to bear in mind that this Bill if it is modified in the manner in which the Indians desire, it should be done, will not be putting an end to the complicated question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa. Its effect as Mr. Gandhi points out in a letter the Rand Daily Mail, may put a stop to passive resistence which is really much. Mr. Gandhi sketches the future work of the British Indians as follows after the Bill is passed in an acceptable form: --

"In an age which we fondly believe is an age of progress, there can be no such thing as finality and my contrymen would less than human, if they did not make a/setulys/spassatt/ti/desettes a serious endeavour to deserve, at the hands of the European residents in the Union, better treatment than they have hitherto received. The Education test in the present Bill is not a fraud. Unless you are prepared to give that Name to the whole of the British Constitution. The adoption by General Smuts of the policy enunicated by Lord Crewe is a recognition by him of the ideal of equality. The administration of the measure will be undoubtedly unequal. There is no secret about it. Administrative inequality will be a concession to the prevalent prejudice in South Africa and to human weakness Self-respecting Asiatics are bound to make an honest attempt to remove the prejudice first by removing the causes that have led to the rise of any such prejudice and secondly

by showing that largely it is based on ignorance".

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MAY 1ST, 1911.

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## LORD MINTO ON THATA

Lord Minto in reply to the conferration of the reedom of Edinburgh said, he was thankful for the share he had been able to take in the strggles of the last five years, which saw the inaguration of reforms contributing enormously to the peace of the country and the strength of the British rule. He pointed out the difficulties to be solved in connection with industrial and economic questions, the direction of education and the safeguading of the moral and intellectual training of Indian Youth. It was upon the solution of these questions and the wise acknowledgement of the great political and social movement throughout asis that the stability of rule in India depended.

MAY 4-1911--

His Highness the Maharaja Scinda of Gwalior in speaking on the subject of eduction at a renet public function in his state gave what he considered to be the ultimate and of education and the lines on which it should in future be conducted. "I would merely say", said His Highness, "that I am a confirmed utilitarian in matters of education". He has intelled the institutions to promote that end and they have been organized to train officers for the service of the state. His views on the subject of rural education are praiseworthy. He said, "in regard to rural education, my endeavour is to render our villagers capable of managing their own affairs, efficiently."

but at the same time to impart to them a modicum of useful and indispensable knowledge which will broadern their outlook and make them peaceful, contented and useful members of the community". His Highness would define the object of education in India as being to afford facilities for " a peaceful pursuit of honest avocations, embrasing the development of industries to provide occupation for the masses, accumulation of wealth for the supply of the genral wants of the community and regouirements of the highest culture and knowledge for the good government of the country. The Maharajah characterisation of present day teaching is marked by freshness and candour. He said:- "Teaching at the present day is too mechanical and effete. It neither goes down to the year nor does it inspire the brain. I hope I am not anogating ax to myself the authority which belongs to men of the highest intellect and erudition in saying that the lifelessness of the teaching is illustrated by the fact that the knowledge of the sciences studied in college remains a dead mass in the brain of our graduates. How few of them can applyin practical life the maxims of political economyor the deductions of history. How many of them can import into their reasoning, the quick perception of fallacies which logic is intended to confer? So far from that how often are not the arguments of the "professors of logic" brilliant examples of sophistry and perologism?"

MAY 4TH, 1911.

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## STRIKE OF COOLIES IN SIMLA

There was a strike of coolies this morning and many are leaving for the down country as a protest against the consequency teawhich is being levied this year in addition to the usual job porters' tax. People of the station and visitors are experiencing great difficulty in securing labour and no remedy has yet been proposed to remedy this state of affairs.

MAY STH, 1911.

# MR. GOKHALB'S BILL Press opinion

CALCUTTA: Commenting on Education Bill meeting at Calcutta the Indian Daily News warmly advocates the expression of popular opinion in favour and deplores the present apathy. If the bill is defeated or abandoned all hope for making a forward move towards mass education will disappear for generations. The Bill should be supported in preliminary stages.

The Bengalee publishes an editoria note from an unnamed correspondent regretting that the public meeting should have been held about Mr. Gokhale's Bill, When there are differences of opinion. A split is about the last thing that is desirable. Further more a split in one matter will guide us in the others

and foster spirit of disunion. When in the year of Congress at Calcutta union should be the eatch word. At one time, it was suggested that a Conference should be held among friends.

Why was not this done? Is it too late now?

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MAY 19TH, 1911.

LORD MINTO AT THE CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

Speaking at the central Asian Dinner, Lord Monto said that the dangers which at one time seemed to threaten the British interests on the North West-Frontier had disappeared to a certain extent owing to the Anglo-Russian agreements. Although the Amir, despite Lord Monto's repeated efforts, had refused to ratify the agreement, that agreement had helped to solve the north-west frontier problems. The frontier danger, Lord Monto said, had shifted to the north-east. The advance of China into Tibet and the occupation of Lhassa and the movement towards the Burmese frontier had put an entirely new complexion on matters, Lord Monto referred to the extra-ordinary advance of political thought throughout Asia which could not be ignored. He also urged the necessity for the protection of the idm industries upon the development of which the future of India very largelydepended. He cited the case of Canada which had

bwcome strong by an artifical aid given to the industries. Although Indian did not touch against the territory of a great manufactruing power, it touched against cometition. Without something like Tariff reform, he failed to see how the great industries could be created. He felt so strongly upon this question because he had the welfare of India at heart. The Times commenting on the speech says, that the Lord Monto made a pronouncement on protection of the first importance. A few who were in touch with the recent developments in Indian opinion would question the justice of his view. "Lord Monto's", the journal adds "was well advised in bringing this new responsibility before the attention of kmg his countrymen".

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May 26, 1911.

THE LEADER



The Imperial Conference this year has been introduced with an unprecedented flourish of trimpets and great things are expected to follow from its deliberations. The Conference is now sitting and whether it will imitate the gabled mountain in labour or really evolve something that would be useful to the Empire at large, it is of course impossible to say. In our opinion that fact that the conference meets onece in four years militates greatly against its usefulness except as a spectacular functions. To this end it is impossible not to welcome the suggestion of an Advisory Council for the Empire, though for reasons we shall discuss later, India is bound to receive such suggestions with suspicion and cannot accept them except under certain safeguards. The position of India in the Empire is so unique that it may well task the soundest statesmanship to find a satisfactory position for India in the scheme of Imperial federation, of which the Imperial Adivisory Council, if it materialises would be the first step. Turning to the representation of India at Conference we have a foretaste. We shall be glad in the absence of other alternative that the Parliamentary control of the Indian Government shall be drawn closer. The alternative is the making the Indian Government responsible to the Indian Councils. But these questions are beside the immediate point. The immediate question is the right of India's to take part in the discussion of Imperial affairs. And in this question we cannot but think the Imperial Government have pursued a wofully short sighted policy.

Turning next to the question that are of immediate interest to India at the Conference, these represent two

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burning questions in India. The first is the position of Indians in the Colonies and the Second question of Indian defence. The colonies have yet to recognise that in the British Empire since slavery was abolished, there is no alternative to the civic Britannians and that the invidious distinctions they are seeking to impose on the basis of colour strike at the very root of that Imperialism of which they talk so much. The other question however that of Indian defence requires serious consideration since they have risen of late people in increasing numbers who angue that India ought to have a navy of her own and generally outht to contribute a greater share towards the cost of the defence of the Empire. In alternate appeals to our national pride and our sense of duty to the Empire, they point to the feeling of exhaultation we are going to derive from a navy of our own and a man argue that India ought to do its duty as a part of the Empire. The fallacious nature of such appeals may not be apparent at first blush. Such arguments ignore the rimary fact that India is grouning at present under an enormous burden of military charges. At a time when the enormous growth of expenditure in India has been causing serious alarm and when many important reforms are biding the time when the finance of India are in better condition, it is sought with vicanous righteousness to impose on us further burdens. Under the circumstances a more disastrous step can hardly be taken than the creation of an Indian navy. It has again been suggested that in view of the Anglo-Russian agreement, military expenditure might well be curtailed and the navy developed. Surely a more fatrous proposal can hardly be made. If the military expenditure is too great for our needs at present and in our opinion

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there has never been a time when it has not been too great—then curtail if it by all means. But money is surely not so plentiful with the Indian Government that they would be likely to want a costly toy to play with in the shape of an Indian Navy? The proposal for an Indian navy then reduces itselt to an absurd expression of jingoistic extravagance. We await with interest what the Imperial Conference has to say on this subject which forms a sort of test question as to the ability of that body to justify its name.

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The Leader

May 25, 1911.

# Indians in South Africa.

General satisfaction will be felt throughout the country at the announcement made by Reuter that a satisfactory compromese has been arrived at between Mr. Gandhi and the Union Government on the Asiatic question in South Africa. The settlement according to the what Mr. Gandhi told Reuter's representative, comtemplated the introduction next session of legislation, repealing the Asiatic Act of 1907, and restoring the legal equality, as regards immigration. As a set off to the suspension of passive resistence the Government recognises the right of passive resisters numbering ten, to the entire Transvaal by virtue of their education and reinstrates passive resisters who formerly had rights of residence, the Government also releasing the imprisioned passive resisters immediately and pardoning Mrs. Sodha, Mr. Louis Botha also Interviewed by Renter's representative in London gave details of the agreements settling the Asiatic trouble and said he was greatly gratified thereby. He was sure the Indians would do their part to help the Government to make things as pleasant as possible for them. He fully assured them that Government entertained no hostility towards them, always remembering that they had determined not to admit any more except as provided in the agreement. He hoped the Indians, both in Africa and India would realise the great difficulty Mr. Smutts had in obtaining the concession he had already made. So far, the settlement is only provisional but we hope that past history will not be repeated in respect of this question and that the permanent settlement

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will be as full and satisfactory as the provisional settlement leads us to anticipate. Much will depend upon the exact terms of the agreement in regard to the restriction of immigration of Asiatics into South Africa, how far it will safeguard the interests and rights of the present Asiatic residents in South Africa and relieve Asiatics even of culture and status, and of humilating conditions when entering the Transvaal even temporarily and generally—how far it will maintain the principle of equal rights to equal citizens of the Empire.

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135 H May 29, 1911.

The Leader

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## Indians in Canada.

We have received a copy of the petition addressed by the Indian resident in Canada especially in the province of British Columbia to the Imperial Conference which has just opened its sessions. We are not sure the Conference will consier the petition but whether it considers it or not, there is no doubt of the seriousness of the complaints which the Indians are making. That the Indians in Canada are quite clean, industrious, sober, reliable and law abiding, nobody denies. They are citizens of British Empire and are entitled to all the rights and privileges appertaining thereto. And yet the treatment accorded to the Indians in Canada is most degrading. In the first place the present Dominion Immigration Laws are really humiliating to the people of India. While the Japanese and Chinese can by their treaty rights 20 to Canada, the Indian is prevented from doing so. Since 9th May 1910, the law has been made -- a. very curious law indeed that "the immigrant must come direct from his land of birth or land of citizenship" It is not easy to see what the expression "land of citizenship" means. Ordinarily speaking it should mean that any part of the British Empire can be considered by any British subject as the land of his citizenship, for he can be the citizen of any place he likes. But in Canada the interpretations seems to be otherwise and an Indian can go to Canada direct from India alone and not from any other part of the British Empire. The object of Canada is of course to prevent immigration as much as possible and it is only to compass that and the laws are being interpreted so very narrowly. An Indian

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can go to China or Japan or Germany from anywhere he likes and travel throughout these countries just as he pleases. But he cannot do so similarly in a portion of the British Empire of which he is pround to be a citizen! The Canadian law seems to us to be unreasonable and thoroughly inconsistent with any imperial policy. It is also absurate for nobody can travel to Canada direct from India for the simple reason that there is no direct steam ship communication. The Japanese, the Chinese and even the Negroes can go to Canada from anywhere they like. In their case nox restriction whatever has been placed. In other respects also invidious distinction are being shown. It is enough if a Japanese entering Canada has 50 sh. in his possession but the Indians should have four times that amount. Restrictions of t kind virtually shurtout the Indians from Canada. We hope that the Imperial Conference will see that restrictive rules are relaxed and that at least the same considerations shown to the chinese or the apanese are shown to the Indians.

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May 27, 1911.

The Political situation in India

(From our Correspondent) (Our London Letter)

House of Commons: - May 12,

We are hearing a good deal in these days about the elaborate preparations being made in India for the reception of Their Majesties the King and Queen on the occasion of the Cornation Durbar but very little is said as to the present relations between the Government and the progressive political movement. We hear so little of this movement noweadays that many people may be excused for supposing that a long course of repression has either given it its quietus or driven it underground.

A friend of mine (an Englishman) who occupies a somewhat prominent semi-official position in India but who has always been sympathetically disposed towards the national cause, takes this pessimistic view of the situation. He tells me that repression is rampart in most of the province and very few dare speak their real minds. The Governments of Bombay and the Central Provinces in particular are said to be boycitting all who are not of the most moderate views. There seems now (according to this witness) to be nothing like the Mabeas Corpus Act in India. He mentions instances of men who are stidl kept in prision for long periods awaiting trial. Because these things do not appear in the papers we assume that all is well but my friend takes the view that it is for otherwise. He says that the outlook is gloomy and cannot improve so long as the Government sitts on the safety valve. The Morley reforms brought some relief but they have been. coupled with so much administrative repression that only a very few men in the front rank of the references dare to

Speak out strongly even on perfectly legitimate matters?

Things are not so bright or so changed as the usual
Indian correspondents would make out. They will be all
right but I am afraid there is a very thermy road to
travel in the next few years.

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The writer of these words ought to know what he is saying but I cannot help thinking that he has on this occasion taken an unduly despondent view of the situation. Lord Hardinge has lately given such Emistakable proof of his elemency and sagacity that I cannot believe that he will sanction a permanent reliance upon exceptional measures. The general impression certainly here is that things have mended considerably since Lord Hardinge has been in India and the approaching visit of His Majesty the King Emperor, accompanied by the Secretary of State will carry the work of pacification still further.

Much depends upon the continued freedom of the country from crime. If there should be unhappily, any recrudescence of outrage or attempted outrage the clock would be put back considerably. The situation will also be affacted by indications which may be given of His Majesty's Royal favour towards his Indian subjects. The expectation is cherished in Indian and Pro-Indian circles over here that His Majesty will take advantage of the Durbar to make some announcement which will be received with profound gratitude and enthusiasm by all his subjects in India.

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May 29, 1911.

The Leader

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## Pan Indian Union.

"If the British Government intended to exclude Irishmen from India, I would teach the British Government that it had undertaken a task beyound its capacities. I resolved to unite all India in a rational confederacy of the Indian races and provinces without distinction to impress upon their racial and religious distinction the seal of a patriotic combination and to call into being, the national Co-operation of Indians". O.Donnell's History of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

The opening clause in the first sentence of the above passage refers to "r. O. Donnell's unsuccessful interview with Lord Salisbury in order to secure to Irish candidates for the Indian Civil Service Examination fair opportunities of passing the same in competition with the English candidates from Oxford and Cambridge. Mr. 0'Donnell proceeds to describe in his History of the Irish Parliamentary Party', the steps which he took in conjunction with various Indians in and out of ZAZYZZZZZ England for the formation of "the constitutional association of India" which, eighteen months after its inauguration became the Indian National Congress. Mr. O'Donnell is an Irishman who has devoted a large portion of his time and talents in the British Parliament to the promotion of Indian interests. He had been in close and constant correspondence with many Indians of high and leading in India and England among whom may be mentioned Mr. Ganendra Mohan Tagore and the Hon'ble Krishto Das Pal of Bengal and r. G. Subramania Aiyar of Madras. Mr. O'Donnel worked mainly in filling up the details as regards the proposed organisation through Mr. Mohun Tagore. What I had to do in

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the first place, he writes, was to spread the knowledge of what we proposed, the knowledge of a great organisation which should at the same time lay the basis for an Indian national co-operation and avoid the slightest appearance of menace to the great administration established by England in India. All my co-adjutors of every Indian race were penetrated with the conviction that the British Raj was indispensable to the further development of Indian progress and self-knowledge". The objects of the organisation were stated to be justly that most intellegent and distinguished Indians in all parts of India should form an Indian Constitutional Reform Association, 'secondly there should be Local centres of such Association in the Capitals of the provinces and Presidencies, consisting of the native gentlemen best qualified to bring forward the grievances of their countrymen and thirdly that there should be a central executive council communicating constantly with the local centres and having a central Branch office at the seat of the Imperial legislature. The Indian organs of Public opinion heartily supported the proposal and in the early part of 1883, three preliminary meetings of Indian resident in England were held for the purpose of maturing the scheme. Mr. O'Donnell's view was that England must be the seat of the movement until it had caught firm hold of the Indian centres of association and in order to put it beyond the pale of bureaucratic interference and check. The formal constitution of the constitutional association then took place at Mr. Mohun Tagore's house. As a result of the meeting there was wide interest evoked in the matter in all parts of India. Mr. Krishto Das Pal wrote to Mr. O'Donnell saying, "All India joins in gratitude for the service you have done". Other leaders of Indian opinion esponsed the cause with equal warmth. The sequel is thus described by Mr. O'Donnell:- 24 W 304

"We had several meetings of the Constitutional
Association of India during the twelve months that
followed but the august presence had returned to
palaces and sanctuanes at Lanore, and Benares, Poona and
Satara, Calcutta and Hyderabad. Three thousand, Six
thousand letters every month carried my consels into
every town and townlet, into count House and Durbar hall,
of fifty states and provinces. Within eighteen months
the Constitutional Association of India had become the
Indian National Congress.

There seems no doubt that the facts and incidents mentioned by Mr. O'Donnell in his interesting sketch which occurred twenty eight years ago will be fresh and stimulating information to man, of our readers. In one respect the significance of the meeting which was held so far back as 1883 in London should not be lost sight of. It gives us an important and striking lesson in regard to the off repeated proposal that a session of the National Congress should be held in London. If in a gathering which was held more than a quarter of a century ago in which the germs of the National Congress were laid, there were present no less than 100 Bengalis and Beharees, 60 Bombay Indians, 30 from Upper India and as many from the Central Provinces and Native States, is it vain to hope that at a meeting of the National Congress itself at the present day an equally large and respectable number of Indian deligates would muster to take part in the deliberations of the assembly? The matter is one which deserves to be taken into their earnest consideration by the leaders of Indian opinion with a view of arriving at a practical conclusions at an early date. Its importance cannot be overestimated if the educative

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value of acquainting the British Public with Indian conditions and requirements is adequately realised by our contryman. Therein also lies the means of national consolidation and unity which is the only sure and stable foundation for Indian National progress and self development,.

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June 8, 1911.

### Strike in Hastings Jute Mill

The weavers of Hastings Jute Mill at Rishra near Serampore, numbering about 300 belonging to the sacking department have struck work. It is stated that owing to the insufficient supply of yarn, sacking, weavers are being poorly paid as their wages depend upon the mong of work they do. They appealed to the Manager Mr. H.H. Scott to either supply them with a sufficient quantity of yarn or that they might be allowed a bonus they formery used to get divided amongst themselves proportionately which would enable them to make up for their short wages. To this the manager, it is stated, drd not agree and hence the strike.

The Hon'ble Mr. Archy Birkmyre was of opinion that as strikes in the mill were very frequent there should be total suspension of work for some time. Mr. Schlataccordingly put up a notice at outside of the mill announcing a total lock out untill further orders. The strike commenced on Monday evening and the mill was entirely closed on Tuesday and also on Wednesday. The strikers, however, have not assumed a hostile attitude and everything seems to be quiet. A formal information was sent to the Serampore Police who are taking all possible means to effect a settlement.

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-384 Leader.

June/12. 1911.

#### Taxi Strike in Calcutta

The Calcutta Taxi Cab strike which took place on the 10th still continues. The men are still obdurate and there is not the slightest likelihood of a compromise being effected. The new rules have been introduced and some of them have not taken pleasently by the men who were engaged on the old rule with which they were thoroughly satisfied. One of the main causes of grievances of the chauffeurs is that they are held responsible for all damages done if it is proved to be due to their negligence in a court of justice and the fines inflicted by the Court are deducted from their gumantee fund. They complain that while they are expected to pay fines and other costs due to demarages to the Company to recoup their losses they have nome one to look after their interests. The police is still guarding the Company premises. The Company is expecting a large contingent of chauffeurs from Bombay very soon.

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Gune 14, 1911.

Leader.

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The Indian National Congress.

The "Englishman" Raving.)

The "Englishman" today in the course of a leading article on the Indian National Congress says that "There is no reason for the existence of the Congress. It was first on object of contempt then it came to be tolerated. Then people thought it was a useful body. Then it became a dangerous nuisance. Now it is harmless and unnecessary. How harmless is proved by the fact that the Viceroy is willing to receive a Deputation from it and comments pleasantly on the fact that the Deputation consists of his own Imperial Councillors. Now we have so very strong a conservative as Sir Muncheriee Bhownagree presiding over a dinner to the delegates of the Bengal Congress Committee and gravely assuling then that the Congress was coming to be recognised as an agency which might be utilised as an advisory body to the Government, much better and more effectively through its leaders in the Imperial Legislature Council">

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June 17, 1911.

Our London Letter.

from our Correspondent.

## The Indian Armyl

House of Commons. June 2:- The big army party in this country are very much concerned about the proposed reduction of the Indian forces. When it was announced a week ago that the British establishment in India was to be pruned, an immediate attempt was made to revise the old cry of "Empire in danger". The Times began to whip up opposition to a scheme which had no existence except in the imagination of its own Imperialist Contributors.

Questions were put on the notice paper of the House of Commons. Anxious inquiries were addressed to the Indian Office. Alarmist letters were written to the press. We seemed to be at the beginning of a carefully engineered agitation against a Government which could be guilty of the enormity of sending a few less white troops to India.

Colenel Seely's statement in the House of Commons on Wednesday showed that a reduction of the British Army in India was never contemplated outside the Times office and the military clubs. There are plenty of people in this country who would have welcomed such a proposal. If the Anglo-Russian agreement is worth the paper it is written on it would be easy enough, without impairing the Security of India, to reduce the British forces there by 10,000 men. What object is there in maintaining under present conditions an army which was considered ample when our relations with Russia were of very deliberate character and when it was not inconceivable that we might have to fall an invasion in the North West?.

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However no such proposal is on foot so we need not waste time in discussing it. It seems to many of us that the case for a reduction of the white troops is stronger than the case for the reduction of the native army, but since we cannot have the former we should welcome any well considered scheme for lessening the cost of the latter. The view of the Government is understood to be that the expense of maintaining certain Indian units is out of proportion to the efficiency which they have displayed and the intention is so to readjust matters as to curtail some of the unprofitable expenditure now incurred, without in any way diminishing the fighting value of the army. The figures as to strength will appear less on paper, but the real capacity of the army to do the work for which it exists will suffer no diministion.

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June 19, 1911.

No 1870

## The Leader.

The benefits conferred on India" says the Rangoon Times, "by British rule have been and continue to be immense. But these benefits have been marred, at least in recent years by a tendency to subordinate. Indian Industrial interests to those of England for this question of India's Industrial future is to be the real touchstone of our work in the East. We are approaching the parting of ways. The time is coming when we must decide whether we are really sincere in our protestation of benevolence towards the countless millions of our fellow subjects in the Peninsula; or whether our Administration, high minded beneficient, almost noble as it is, is based upon hypocrisy, upon selfishness masquerading as altruism. Lord Minto did not make this meaning of the industrial problem clear; he did not point the moral of his warning. It is this that the new a age of industrial rivalry, in wheh India might play a great part is to prove the test of our disinterestedness and incidently, must decide the continuance or cessation of our Empire".

June 20, 1911.

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## Situation in India

The Times discussing the verdict of the Dacca assessors, the murder of Mr. Ashe, the Howrah and Khulna cases asks the reasons for all this muddle. The journal says that the first is unquestionably a weakness and inefficiency of the Bengal High Court, the second is the hostility between the courts and the police, the Time is the evident determination of the Indian Government to have the country suitably white washed by the end of the year. This times says is a most dangerous and unwise course. No amount of excellent intention, and praiseworthy desire to accomplish political window dressing can take the place of various determination to rule with furthers and repress political crime.

The Daily news says that the Dacca acquirttal marks the end of a policy which the Government of Benal have been pursuing with results most disastrous to British plestige. Two events of grave import the paper says, emerges from the trials firstly that Government has been abminably served by the police and the law officers Secondly that vast sums of public money have been wasted in precautions which beisde being futile, appear to support suspicion of vindictives.

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June 21, 1911.



## The "Times" on Indian Unrest.

Calcutta--June 21:- Referring to the Time's comment about the Calcutta High Court, the Bengalle says'- The Times is an expostle of reaction of an advocate of repressive Government in India. It has always been a consistent enemy of progressive aspirations in all parts of the British Empire. It ridiculed Irish ideas about freedom and sought to ruin Indiand's greatest leader by publication of letters which have been found to be forgeries. That such a paper with such traditions should condemn the High Court and the concilliatory policy of Lord Hardinge need surprise no one. Contrary to all ideas of journalistic fairness and propriety it discusses the verdict of the assessors in the Dacca case which is still pending and is thus guilty and contempt of Court.

The Indian Daily News observes:- We were of course looking for it. The Times was bound to indite a ferocious article on things in general and nothing in particular on receipt of the news of the Tinnevelly assassination. Surveying the Indian situation from the lofty watch tower of printing house square the Times sees fit to write across the map of India in the blackest of Printer's ink the work "muddle". With its usual perspicuity the Times attributes this middle to an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances. It has thus been reserved for the great journal to discover what has completely escaped the notice of most of us; deletedbenighted folk living within its jurisdiction that unquestionably the great muddle is due above all things to the weakness and inefficiency of the Calcutta High Court. It is a discovery of such momentous consequence to us that the judgment is paralysed for a

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moment and imagination fails to comprehend full import of it

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The Englishman in its leader today criticises the comments of the London Daily News. It says:- Nothing could illustrate more forcibly the levity and ignorance with which the Indian affairs are discussed in the Home Press than the comments of the London Daily News on the Dacca conspiracy case. In as much as the case is still subjudice, these comments are a serious breach of good taste and discretion which invariably characterise the English Press in its discussion of legal proceedings. The Daily news is either wilfully biassed or so deplorably ignorant that in public interests and especially in the interests of law and order in this country it ought to restrain its desire to discuss Indian affairs until it has gathered some elementary knowledge of what it is writing about. What our contemporary has done is to accept the finding of the assessors in the Dacca case as an acquital and upon this premature if not false supposition it has founded an attack upon the police and law officers characterised let a degree of vindictiveness that we owed hardly have thought possible in a newspaper boasting of English association.

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July 11, 1911.

The Leader.

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## "East and West in India".

We reprint elsewhere, from the Hindustan Review, the thoughtful and interesting paper which the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has sent to be read at the Universal Races Congress which it begins its sittings this week in London. Mr. Gokhale has attempted to discuss from the Indian standpoint the main object of the Congress viz. "the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the west and t these of the East, between so called white and so called coloured peoples with a view to encouraging between them a suller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation". As usual Mr. Gokhale goes to the root of the problem and finds it really political in character. In an admirable summary of the forces at work, he has traced the steps by which the relations between Englishman and India have progressed and has arrived at the just conclusions that the strained relations -- which the recent reforms have done something to alleviate -between Englishman and Indians in India are connected with the political relations which now subsist between the two communities. He, therefore has rated at is proper worth the inadequate attempts to improve the social relationships between them by means of parties and gatherings.

He writes:- "Apart from the fact that such free intercourse, unless it is restricted to individuals on either side, who are anxious to see each other's good points and are tolerant to each other's weaknesses, may produce difficulties of its own, I am firmly persuaded that as long as the conclousness of political inequality continues to be behind such intercourse, it cannot carry us far. I have no doubt that there are Englishmen in India who put away from them all thought

of such inequality in their dealings with Indians and there are also Indians who are not influenced by this consideration in the relations with Englishmen. But when this admission is made, the fact remains that as things are today the numblest Englishman in the country goes about with the prestige of the whole Empire behind him, where as the proudest and most distinguished Indian cannot shake off from himself a certain sense that he belongs to a subject race. The soul of social friendship is mutual appreciation and respect which ordinarily is not found to co-exist with a consciousness of inequality.

Mr. Gokhale therefore lays down that the question how to promote", the most friendly feelings; between the East and West in India resolves itself largely into now England may assist India's political advancement". Mr. Gokhale then urges that the political evolution to which Indian reformers look forward is representative Government on a democratic basis and that if England wants to play her noble part in this mysterious and wonderful drama, her resolve to help forward our advance in this path must be firm and inevocable" I think the time has come2, he rightly observes, " when a definite pronouncement on this subject should be made by the highest authority entitled to speak in the name of England and the British Government in India should keep such pronouncement in view in all its actions". This inequivocal declarations, then, on England's part of her resolve tohelp forward the growth of representative institutions in India and a determination to stand by this policy in spite of all temptations or difficulties is, as Mr. Gokhale says, the first requisite of improved relations on an enduring basis. The second requisite, he points out, is that the Indians should be enabled "to feel that the Government under which they live, whatever its personnel is largely and in an

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ever increasing measure national in spirit and sentiment and in its devotion to the moral and material interests of the country". The last requisite which Mr. Gokhale refers to is the extreme necessity of bearing Lord Morley's advice to Englishman going to India against bad manners which would in this country amounts to a crime '. The whole paper of Mr. Gokhale is pervaded by that optimism and that belief in a great destiny for the people of this land which has always characterised his public utterances and his public activities.

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August 5, 1911.

### India and the Empire

## Sir K.G. Gupta's Lecture.

Lecturing at the crystal palace yesterday afternoon Sir Krishna Gupta said that Indians were a sensitive pemple, proud and tenacious of past achievements. The colonies he said would do well to remember that a denial

to Indians of the ordinary rights of citizenship would not in any way lessen the difficulties of ruling the Empire.

Eir Krishna addressed that while there is a growing consciousness in India of the inevitable drawbacks of alien rule there is also a widespread conviction that the national salvation can be obstained under the fastering care and guidance of Britain.

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The best minds among AM Indians eagerly gaze towards that goal bringing her on a level with the self-governing colonies so that she make take her place in the Empire not as a mere dependency but an terms of equality and co-ordination.

August 7, 1911.

## The Transvaal Indians:

## The Question of Polygamy:

Judge Sir T. Wessels dealing with the application of a Mahommedan woman decided that nobody could bring into Transvaal more than one wife. The Indians have protested to General Smuts pointing out that poligamy was a recognised institution in India and trusting that the former practice would be continued despite the judges' decision.

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August 7, 1911.

#### Recent Bukrid Riots.



#### A memorial for official Enquiry.

The Vaistrya Sabha of Calcutta, a representative
Association of the Marwari Community has submitted
memorial to Leut.Governor of Bengal in regard recent
Bakrid-riots in Buna Bazaar. The Sabha instituted an
inquiry into the circumstances connected with the riots
and took the evidence of over 100 people. The Sabha
places the results before Leut. Governor with the
suggestion that His Honour may be pleased to order an
official inquiry into the matter and specially into the
conduct of the police on the occasion, the memorial submits.
The one result of the inquiry instituted by the Sabha has
been to show that the police arrangements of the city
during the occasion of the recent riots were inadequate
and unsatisfacotyr.

And the police were not only powerless to quell the disturbances where they brokeout but they did not take preventive measures which they might have taken and which were suggested to them and what is worse they refused to lend assistance to those who actually sought their services.

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August 12, 1911.

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## The Hon'ble B.N. Basu.

## And Interview

Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Basu arrived this morning by the Steamer Caledonia and left by the Nagpur "ail en-route for Calcutta. At the Bunder he was met by a number of Bengalee gentlemen who cheered and garlanded him.

Interviewed by the Associated Press representative Mr. Basu, said, he found the attitude of Englishmen in England, official and others, sympathetic towards India. The higher officials in India office seemed to him sincerely anxious to further the progress of India both on educational and political lines. Lord Morley's reforms are regarded by prominent politicans as only the beginning of a great change in the methods of Indian Administration. India has many friends in England. If only a few prominent Indians visit England every year and instruct the British public, much progress may be secured. When as to the probability of a modification of the partition of Bengal, Mr. Basu was extremely reticent,. He said the controversies and interest evinced on the last Indian Budget in Parliament were sure signes of hopeful future for India.

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August 14, 1911.





Mr. Montagu's Budget Speech.

Mr. Edwin Montagu's speech in introducing the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on the 26th ultimo, the full text of which we published in our last issue might not have reached a high level of oratorical effort, for we are told that the under Secretary was closely tothered to his manuscript. The most important portion of his observation related to the political future of India and the necessary economic, Social and political conditions which bear upon it. Mr. Montague repudiated the suggestion that Lord Morley's reforms were imposed from above by a philosphic Secretary of State and rightly maintained that they were the just and legitimate satisfaction of the demands of a rapidly changing and progressing people which Lord Morley's statemenship was able to see in their true proportions and provide for. The immediate needs of the peoples of India to which the attention of her leaders and educated classes have to be directed at present, tie, in Mr. Mongatu's opinion, in the direction of industrial and economic development and of reforms in the social structure of the Hindu Community and the Social relations of the various classes in India to each other. He had a good many observations to make an many topics connected with them to which we hope to refer subsequently. But it is sufficient here to note from Under Secretary's statement that the old notions as the oriental minds and oriental forms of Government which still larger in the back of the minds of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy in India has been once for all discarded by the British Parliament. 2The opinion", he said, "most familiarly, but not orginally, stated by Mr. Kipling that the "East is East and the West is West and never the two shall meet" is contradicted by the fact that India

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is now rapidly passing through with our aid, in a

compressed form, our own social and industrial history. similar in its advantages and in its evils. Dhe has, however, still a very long way to go if she desires to acquire as an outcome of her conditions the same political institutions and she cannot and ought not to acquire them in any other way". Mr. Montague in his own words, has in fact. "pointed out a long path for us and asked the minority in India to bring along it by education in the widest sense, by organisation and by precept, all these was would be good citizens of this country. And when at interpals this well ordered throng show to us that they have made social and political advance to another stage and demand from us, in the name of responsibility we have accepted, that they should be allowed still further to share that responsibility with us, I hope we shall be ready to answer with knowledge and with prudence. In this labour all parties and all interested wherever they may be may rest assured of the sympathy and assistance of the Government". All this and similar observations of the Under Secretary are fine but

deliciously Vague.

They are also not in keeping with other observations as to the relations between Parliament and India. If the Indian people have to go a very long way to acquire the same political institutions as England or other Western Countries we cannot think that it is hardly time for parliament to withdraw its vigilance and control over the administration in India which Mr. Montague implies in his discussion of the relation between them. Parliament has been apathetic and irrangent enough in all conscience in regard to Indian affairs, as Mr. Montague too well demonstrated in his speech and as the vascant front opposition benches showed and as a call for a count indicated in the course of the debate. If the House of Commons has to perform for India as Mr. Montague said, the functions proper to an elected assembly in the self-governing country,

the fact that it is unable so to do owing to ignorance and apathy, due to the heavy domestic and imperial burdens it has already to bear; it is good ground, no doubt, as Mr. Montague rightly said for its being delegated to the people of this country gradually little by little. But unless this delegation of popular control over the administration is effectual and serves its purpose. It is neither right nor just for the House of Commons to relax its control. Mr. Montagues observed:- "You have given India that rule of law which is so peculiarly British and cherished by Britons. You have given elected councils for deliberative and legislative purposes, you have admitted Indians to high administrative and judicial office. And in so far as you do these things, you derogate from your own direct powers. You bestow upon the people of India a portion of your functions; you must therefore try to cease to exercise these functions a devote yourselves solely to the exercise of the duties that you have definitely retained for your own. Permit me to say that I see signs that this mest important point is not always sufficiently realised.

There are then these two problems always before this House. The one is how much of your powers of control to delegate to the people of India, the other is now most wisely to exercise the powers of control that you retain. It isnot only that the powers that you have delegated are no use to those on whom you have bestowed them unless they are entrusted with them unhampered, it is not only that the more you have delegated powers of control the more important are such powers as you retain, demanding more and more study and thought. You must also remember the position of British official in India. You cannot allow him to be crushed beneath a responsibility to Indian opinion now becoming articulate and organised to which he has now to



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justify himself in open debate, added to an untrainished responsibility to British Public opinion, unwilling, a fact, to surrender the function that it has professed though its parliament to delegate. Let the Indian A conficual workout his position in the new order of things where justification by worke and in council must take the place of justification by reputation. I have every confidence in the result.

Many of the statements of the fact made here are subject to important reservations and therefore affect adversely the conclusions which the under Secretary apparently suggests. The rule of law in India, so peculiarly British and cherished by Britons is somewhat seriously modified by the existence of the Deportation Laws, the Press Act and the Crimes Acts. The powers deliberative and legislative which have been given to the Council and the appointment of Indians to the/ a few high offices fall for short of what Mr. Montague describes as "bestowing on the people of India a portion of the functions" of the douse of Commons. Neither the present composition of constitution of these councils nor the new powers granted to them to discuss administrative matters, nor even the presence of an Indian Member in the Executive Councils of the Government, have made or could make any near approach to the functions which Parliament ought to exercise or which in its default, according to Mr. Montague himself an elected assembly in a self-governing colony should do for its people. The suggestions therefore that Parliament should cease to exercise the functions of criticism and control over Indian administratio details assumes that these functions have been effectively delegated into the hands of the people. This has not been the result of the Reform Scheme and until this has come about, it is out of the question to speak of parliament relaxing its vigilance



and watchBulness over Indian affairs. To do so would be to make the Government in India irresponsible and autocratic. In this matter we are afraid, Mr. Mongague has shown a disposition to deviate from the sound statesmanship and political wisdom of his late chief, Lord Morley, to which in the earlier portion of his speech he showed so much deference. Lord Morley has so cearly dealth with this issue in his article in the Nineteenth century and After that it is unnecessary further to reiterate here the supreme necessity for retaining undiminished, until our Councils in India become fully representative and selfgoverning, the supreme authority of Parliament over every part of the Indian administration. Mr. Montague of course tries to make much of the double and sometimes conflicting responsibility which would ensure if Indian officials are called regularly to account hereafter by the House of Commons. This again assumes that they are at present in a position of constitutional responsibility to the Indian people. We fancy the Indian beuracracy would be the first to repudiate any such responsibility to the people as represented in the councils and though they would be happy to be rid of the responsibility to Parliament, of the continual interference of Members of the Commons by means of questions and motions, they would be far from willing to render themselves responsible to the Indian Council until law and constitutional usuage establish them in due course. The truth is, as Mr. Wedgwoon begged the Under Secretary to remember in the course of the debate "the bureaucracy inIndia, the members of council here and there, were by nature instinct and education series and that the only way in which they could hope to get any liberation for India was for him to keep his end up and check the beuracracy". The necessity for this has by no means diminished with the expansion of legislative coucils and especially

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as the beauracracy and the pro counsels in India seem to no haste to adjust themselves to the broad and sympathetic principles of Government and political progress with which Mr. Montagu's speech was aminated.

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August 14, 1911.

### The Hon'ble B.N. Basu.

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## Another Interview:

Calcutta: August 14:- The Honourable Mr. Bhupendra Nath .
Basu who arrived here yesterday from England, was introduced by a Press correspondent.

Referring to activities in England in regard to India's political progress, Mr. Basu said, it would be a very good thing if the leaders of public opinion in England could be kept correctly informed of the State of Indian affairs. The English Press as a whole were not well informed on Indian affairs. He said:—"I think there is a desire to deal justly with India and a very wide spread feeling that everything is not going on in India as it ought to be, What I tried to make the leading. public men understand was that in justice India's demand for greater freedom in administration should be granted".

Referring to the position of Indian students in England, Mr. Basu said:- "Students complain that they are not of treated with sufficient consideration in universities.

There is at present a restriction with regard to their admission so far as members are concerned. Our students somehow or other under an impression that there is more of espionage that advice in the activities of the Advisory Committee, I think the Committee should be constituted and its proceedings so conducted that there should not be the least suspicion of espionage of students".

September 14, 1911.

The position of Indians in the Malay Peninsula in general and and the federated Malaya states in particular is not less + nksome than what obtains in other parts of the Empire and the disabilities are more severely felt as the Indian communities there have not yet exhibited any powers of combination. Indians and Ceylonese are not given any representation in the Federal Concil and we are ###/#### told that they are greatly discontented over the fact that Hindu holidays are not recognised by the authorities, though christian, Chinese an Mohammadan festivals are recognised for this purpose. It would appear that the reply of Mr. Marcourt to a question in parliament by Mr. Ingleby as to whether Government would grant Indians just as they have done to the Chinese / representative in the Federal Council has been received with great dissatisfaction. Mr. Marcourt replied in an emphatic negative. On being further told that there were 172,000 Indians in the Federated Malay States who have brought a considerable sum of money into the country, Mr. Marcourt made the gracious answer. "There is a large number of coolies in the Federated Malay States. If the Hon'ble Member would like further information on the subject, willbe communicated with me privately?" Indians in the States are not, it should be remembered, all coolies and they come next to Malays and Chinese in point of population. The real power in the states, autocratic on its nature is really vested in English officials who are supported by Legislative Councils on which they have a majority of supporters. The four States of Perak, Selangar. the Negri Sembilam and Pahang, formed into a federation in 1895, are each nominally under a sultan who is assisted by a State Council composed of Native Chiefs and one or two

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representatives of Chinese. The predominating factor is of course, the Fresident and the real everyday administration is carried on by the members of the Civil Service who are of course Europeans. The Resident-General holds a periodical Council on which the Sultans and Such others as the officer may choose have seats. The Resident General controls the various Residents, while he himself is constitutionally responsible to the Governor of the Straits settlements in his capacity as High Commissioner for the federation. The Government which is reputed to be very efficient has thus no recognised means of eliciting the wants of the people, the Sultans and other dignitaries being completely satisfied with the fixed amounts they receive from the Government, the principal source of their income being the export duty on him. The Chinese are themselves fighting for their rights and the insults heaped on them by the Europeans there have only served to increase their discontent. The recent attempt to take away the Municipal franchise of the people in Penag has been resented by the Chinese who are organising a strong opposition to it. Nor do the Malays appear to be quite satisfied with the efficient rule. It is not disputed that the country has advanced in material civilisation and the credit for this is due to the enterprise of English administrators and capitalists. "But, says an authority" it is not clear that the ultimate welfare of the natives has been promoted for the Chinese immigrants are now about as numerous as the Malays who may be doomed to disappear before the influx of the more efficient rall.

September 27, 1911.

#### The Indian Police.



## Mr. Montagues Statement ...

The Times publishes a column along letter from Mr.

Mongatu to a correspondent embodying a statement of the
policy of the Government with reference to the Indian Police
which Mr. Montagu explains he had intended to make at the
adjournment of Parliament but was prevented owing to the
strikes.

Mr. Montagu pays a warm tribute to the Police who he says, perform their duty with great bravery and energy in difficult circumstances unknown in England. No praise could possibly be too nigh for the conduct of the members of the force dealing with the amarchical conspiracy of recent years at the risk of their lives, until a ballet in a side shreet ended an numble but heroic career.

Mr. Montagu rebuts the charges of frequent torture and points out that the average convictions for tonture in six years is nine, a a record of which many Europeans forces might be proud. He admits, however, the danger of the tendency to rely on confessions, which involves temptations to exercise pressure.

Mr. Montagu enumerates the measures that are being taken by the Government of India to prevent abuse of the confession system and declares that there is a maximum of precaution beyond which it is impossible to go without crippling the force and sapping its espirit-de-corps on which they rely for the preservation of peace. Mr. Montagu is of opinion that the new rules for enquiries X into charges against the police will be reggnded as adequate. The Daily News hairs the letter from Mr. Montagu published by the Times as a notable victory, vindicating in a striking manner these who have been pressing a new attitude towards police malpractices on the Indian office.

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India under Lord Curzon.

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# A Review by Lord Milner.

The Times publishes a long review of Mr. Lorat Fraser's book by Lord Milner was describes the book as much more than an account of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty because the author ranges widely and boldly over the whole field of Indian Politics.

While generously praising Lord Curzon's work in India, Lord Milner says that now Mr. Fraser has made him realise the full extent of his activities, he doubts whether he did not attempt too much. Granted that all his undertakings were sometimes passed forward with too war and zeal. Lord Milner continues: "Lord Curzon cannot escape the defects of his qualities. The tendency to overwork and over-elaborate is the besetting sin of his ardent temperament, combined with immense intellectual resources. The same defect is visible in his excessive copiousness and over emphasis in speech and writing".

Lord Milner quotes the famous confidential minute on the Partition of Bengal as an Example; "These minor defects, nowever" he says, "are small by the side of imposing monument of Lord Curzon's completed work, which will stand long after the fiction and hubbub that accompanied its erection are forgotten".

If the splendour of the first five years of Viceroyality are somewhat demmed by the bitter controvessies marking the close, those controvessies are now dead, when ample deductions are made for what may have been ill-judged or only of temporary importance, enough remains to Lord Curzon's credit to place him in the first rank of the men who made and maintained the Empire.

October 14, 1911.

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## The Indian National Congress.

The "Indian" writing the notes "Behind the Indian Veil" in the Times of India writes as follows about the Indian National Congress:-

The Indian National Congress came into being and was long regarded as a representative assembly agitating for political rights on behalf of the whole Indian nation. Every fair minded man must admit that it has done some useful work. But the way in which it has been doing its work lends justification to the remark which certain Congressmen have public1t/ made, that its annual session is a grand tamasha. Its inttial work of bringing together people from different provinces and belonging to different creeds and professions and of inspiring them with the idea of a common destiny and common efforts has been done. But as at present constituted and running through the traditional grooves, the Congress has clearly become a superfluous luxury. The cartload of stereotyped resolutions which are rushed thrugh during a couple of oppressively busy days, the Congress winded and howlow declamations thundered by a few orators and the nervous and ignorance betraying speeches made by novices, typical of a school debating club, have now cost all their novelty and interest practical, useful work systematically done throughout the twelve months of the year which will really educate the public opinion and promote the well being of the masses whom the congress delegates are supported to present is needed. That is what the British institutions of which the Indian assembly is a sorry copy, have been doin . But in India we have talk and nothing but talk in year and out. For the tons of talk annually poared from the Congress platform, we have not a fraction of an ounce of substantial work done.

And yet the Congress aspires to be a parliament and its delegates so many Member of Parliament's!

So far as substantial, practical work is concerned, the new congress organisation has in no way improved matters. We have a number of district committees but their members are roused to a sense of their existence once a year which they meet to elect delegates. They are confortably & / k/// somnolent all the year round and where they exist, exist only on paper. The interest evinced by the majority of educated people in the congress is most languid. No attempt is made to enlighten the masses on the questions of the day and to train them to public life. Many do not like such silent and unexciting t lough most valuable activity. Agriculture and industries are suffering for want of mass enlightenment. The Congress Committees and other political organisations which are rarely met with in the mofussil and the so called leaders consider this as no work of theirs. Government must do everything for them and their only duty is to offer criticism, unsympathetic and destructive. If this is politics and political agitation, if this is the preparation for more privileges and representative institutions. India must wait till the Greek Icelands before the aspirations of her patriots are realised. They see the progress of British democracy and envy the freedom and self-government enjoyed by the people of the west but they do not perceive the presistent labour, the self-sacrified the public spirit and the untiring energy which the freed m has cost. The various political and social organisations working on in a spirit of religious duty from year's and to year's end, their patience and patriotism, their public spirit and single mindedness are every way worthy of emulation in this country. More military of English life and institutions is thavailing.

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October 17, 1911.

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General News.

from our CCorrespondent.

The "Lucknow Advocate writes:- Not content with
the unjustifiable and innuman treatment which the white
colonists in South africa have been meting out to the
Indian Settlers in that part of the British Empire,
the colonial authorities have imposed extremely heavy
duties on certain articles such as cardamum, coriander,
Tamarind, Tarmeric, etc. used almost exclusively by
Indians. The cost price of these articles varies from
\$\frac{1}{2}\$ d. to 3 d. per 1b. Thus we find that Tamarind, which
costs \$\frac{1}{2}\$ d. per 1b in India has \$2\frac{1}{2}\$ d. added as duty and
it is retailed to the consumer at \$4\frac{1}{2}\$ d per 1b. Dhal
which is a prominent item of the Indian's food costs 6 s
per 82 lb. in India and the duty on this amount is
2 \$2 9 d.

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October 20, 1911.

### Indians in South Africa.

#### A meeting in London.

There was a meeting of Indians in London vesterday Sir Mancherjee Bownagree presiding to bid farewell to Mr. Polak who is returning to India,

Mr. Polak said he expected that legal effect would be given to the South African Settlement next year. There would be fights in the immediate future he said to prevent Indians in the Transvaal from being driven to locations and to secure the repeal of the Natal three pounds political tax which he described as a tax on the liberty of the people and on the chastity of the pople women whom it drove into the streets.

November 6, 1911.

## India in the Exes of a Professor

Professor Edward Armitage of Rawdon college, Leeds, is a thinker who comes a good deal of weight in \*pp the progressive circles in yarkshire. A few years ago he travelled in India and on frequent occasions since he has given the result of his inquiries and observations to northern audiences, having apparently kept himself informed as to the progress of events since he was there.

One of his lectures was given to an audience of young Liberals in Broadform on Tuesday evening. you will see from the following summary that the professor is capable of taking two views of the situation which on the fall of it, do not exactly narmonise. However, let the two professors speak for themselves, albeit by the same tongue.

In the first part of his address Mr. Armitage denied that there was an occasion for alarm about India much less for Panic. Unrest there was no new thing. It existed centuries before the British occupation. The present unrest was an unrest in the minds of the younger and more intellegent generation of Indians and was part of the passion for Oriental revival which was deeply affecting one Eastern Country after another.

There was no secret about this for these who took the troube to took into it. The thoughts in the minds of educated Indians were the thoughts which ruled in their sacred literature, which had been for a long time in our possession. Broadly speaking those thoughts amounted in India to a repudiation of all the changing, transient particulars of this material plane and a longing for something that they spoke of as an eternal and immutable reality which lay behind all else. We had to realise that the details and particulars of daily life as we knew it were strimmed by the Hindu as essentially illusory and hurtful to the higher instincts of the soul.

Thus for the sympathetic professor, speaking from his

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own knowledge and experience. He fall back in the second part of his speech upon other sources of information and what follows reads like a re-hash of the valentine childhan purloopny thus:-

It was not all India that was disaffected towards this country. The disaffected were mainly confined to the great cities of the "central states of Bengal and Punjab" and even in these cities the disaffected were either lawyers, journalists or schoolmasters. They were Brahmans belonging to that extraordinary spiritual aristocracy of which there was no equal in any part of the world.

The professor next assumed the role of the prophet. If Britain withdrew its strong hand from India, he said, the Mahomedans would be at the throad of the Brahmins, and the Maharattas and Randow would join in the fray. The broad justification for English rule in India was that it stood for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The cry for an Indian revival was the cry for the revival of Hinduism, the reimposition of an irrevocable caste law, child marriage, guttee and so on.

The duty of England, he concluded, in these circumstances, was to pursue her own way, regardless of the prolix
Resolutions of the Indian National Congress. The way had been no evil way. If it was brought as a charge that we had governed India according to English Conceptions we must admit it, but we had made these conceptions as worthy and noble as we knew how we must just go on learning by the lessons of experience and above all go on giving India western education to reconcile her to life and to deliver her from the dark shadows into which her philosophy had brought her.

This curious admixture of praise and eviticism is to be attributed to a confused reading of the facts and to accrtain amount of religious prejudice which gets the better of human sympathy. And unhappily no effective antidote is given to this kind of talk.

( November 15, 1911.

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## Elementary Education in India

Lecturing before the East India association, Sir Rowland Wilson said that the advocates of compulsory free education assumed that whatever the civilised nations of the west did must be night. The mere fact that this was one of the legislative fashions of to-day was insufficient proof that it was a good fashion even for the west, still less that it was suitable for transplantation to India. The difficulties of the system encountered in England would in some respects be more acute in India. He begged Indians who appealed to western experience on this matter to consider carefully the dark as well as the bright side of this experience.

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November 21, 1911.

The Press and the Durbar.



#### Press Comments.

Calcutta: November 21.

The announcement made by Mr. Latiff that no fares will be issued to the guests in the Indian Press Camp by the Cornation Durbar Committee is being commented on by the Indian Press here.

The Bengalee says! - We are at a loss to understand why this distinction should be made between the representatives of the press of other classes of guests. The decision not to issue free fares to the Press, moreover, marks a departure from precedents. There have been two more Durbars held at Delhi under the British Rule. On both occasions the representatives of the Press were treated on a footing of equality with other classes of guests. Such a departure from what has so long been regarded as an established practice cannot fail to create an unfortunate impression.

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November 27, 1911.

The Education of Masses

Mr. Gokhale's Speech

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Bombay--November 25:

The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale presided this evening at the meeting conened by the Society for Promoting the Education of the masses in connection with their annual prize distribution ceremony.

He said in the course of speech that national progress was clessly bound with the education of the masses. It was a pity that in this country 94% of the people were unable to read and write and what was worse, they were sink in darkness, ignorance and superstition. It was a monstrous injustice that attempts were not made for the removaling illiteracy from the land. "As long as the masses are in this deplorable state, so long we fail to attain national progress. There are some people who contend that if at all education is to be given them, it should be a superior kind of education". He warned the audience against that misleading statement. He said, "give any education to the people instead of giving no education at all2.

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December 5, 1911.



In the Manchester Guardian of last Wednesday there was published a notable resume of the opinion entertmined by Mr. S.P. Sinha was formerly a member of the Government of India.

On such questions as the partition of Bengal, torture by the police, the encouragement of Indian industries and the operation of the Excise duties, there is not much to distinguish him from the general run of Congress man. Even in connection with such matters as the recent prosecution of Mr. Bipinchandra Pal and the interpretation placed by the Grown Prosecutor of Madras upon the word "Swaraj" the Exlegal Member takes a more liberal view than might have been expected.

'Neither does Mr. Sinha subscribe to the usual official view that the visits of members of Parliament to India are only to be sneered at. These visits are in his opinion, entirely for the benefit of both England and India. Those who find fault with them, be said, fail to realise that the more attention is drawn to Indian affairs in England the more careful the officials in India are likely to be.

Mr. Sinha would not say unequivocally that he was in favour of self government for India. He thought the phrase was too vague. But he declared himself decidedly in favour of an advance in that direction—in co-operation and collaboration (as he put it) with the British Government.

He refused to believe that the Government was reluctant to foster the capacity for self government amongst the people of India. "There are these who says things are moving too fast there are others who complain that they are not moving fast enough. But the movement is there--slowly but surely and steadily tending towards self government and its attainement will be England's Crown of glory."

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December 13. 1911.

LEADEF

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#### The Great Durbar

There can be no doubt that the amulment of the partition of Bengal which #His Majesty included among his announcements at the conclusion of the Durbar will go for towards fulfiling His Majesty's desire that "these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of our beloved people". But it is not so easy to speak in the same terms about the announcement of the change of the Capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. The matter is one of grave importance and bristles with momentous issues. The financial considerations and the large and excessive loss of money involved in the transplantation and the fact that Delhi is not te Seat of a High Court or a university are factors to be considered, while the influence of the public press is likely to be lessened and the Government to become less accessible to public opinion in Delni. It would have been desirable if such an important measure had been placed before the public before the final decision was taken. The Despatches of both the Viceroy and Secretary of State extracts from which have been wired to us, have no doubt bestowed and sympathetic and thoughtful consideration to the question involved but the matter is one of larger importante for the whole of this country, opinion even in Delhi is in a state of glux while the Indian press camp is said to unanimously disapprove of it. The cornation concession which were announced by Lord Hardinge making a grant of Rs. 50 Lakhs to education giving some nigher military honours and appointments to Indians and others are no doubt significant of the Royal desire to grant concessions to the subjects but they are not, we think, sufficiently important or impressive to strike the popular imagination and to materially affect for the better

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interests of masses of His Majesty's Loyal subjects. The ruling thought, however in the minds of the people is the personality of the Sovereign, a monarch who is imbued with the most sincere desire to advance their welfare, to respect a give effect to their opinions and to secure their rights and privileges and they pray for his long life and the peace and prosperity of his dominions.

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December 13, 1911.

#### The Transfer of the Imperial Capital:



#### How the Announcement was Received.

The announcement made by the King Emperor here today regarding the transfer of the Imperial Capital to Delhi and consequent revision of the administrative arrangements for Bengal and the neighbouring provinces has produced a tremendous sensation.

The Punjabee and Rajpet Princes in the Durbars enclesure hardly know how to coAntain their delight at the news that an ancient capital so near to them is to become the Headquarters of the Imperial Government.

The Mohamedan element is specially jubilant at AX the restoration, which the arrangement implies of one of the most famous cities of their faith. They attach weight also to the fact that Government of India have been twice compelled within past decade to select Delhi for the Royal coronation celebrations as proof that it is the natural centre of the country.

Amongst the Behares here also the proposal is most popular, as it means the raising of Patna to be the Headquarters of the Local Government.

Bombay and Madras representatives also favour the arrangements as being likely to result in the Government of India being less under the influence of a single province.

In Bengal and Eastern Bengal camps other views are predominant.

The Indian Press camp is almost unanimous against the measure.

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It is recognised however that the effect of the change will be to give Bengal a larger share of independence that has hitherto been possible since in the past the Government of India have overshadowed the provincial authorities and finding themselves held responsible for local affairs have tended contenually to be induced into intereference with matters which ought to properly be left to the Bengal Lent Governor and his legislature council on which the non-official element has a majority to settle for themselves.

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December 15, 1911.

LEADER

# The Despatches and the Partition

We publish elsewhere the full text of the Despatches between the Secretary of State and the Governor General in Council on the momentous announcement which His Majesty made at the close of the Durbar. It will be seem therefoom that, though from the point of view of the unique occasion which offered itself the announcement of the transference of the capital of Indian Empire from Calcutta to Delhi naturally took precedence over the other administrative announcements and the latter were seem to emerge as a consequence of such transference -- the necessity for the amulment of Partition of Bengal was at any rate felt by Lord Hardinge and his council to be equally important and might have as well led to the suggestion of the change of the Imperial capital as a consequence of such necessity. Lord Hardinge's Despatch in fact describes the most important and urgent subject at the very outset as, embracing two questions of great political moment, which are in our opinion, indisolubly linked together" and it then proceeds to discuss the necessity for the change of Capital from Calcutta and the desirability of Delhi as the new seat of Imperial Government -- a suggestion which by its historic traditions necessarily appeals powerfully to Hindus and Mohammedans alike. But the importance which Lord Hardinge Government has attached to the amulment of the partition of Bengal is hardly veiled by their declaration that the Key stone of their inter-dependent proposals is the change to Delni and according as it is accepted or not on proposals must stand or fall". For nowhere could be found a more just and sover and # through condemnation of that measure than in Lord Hardinge's clearly worded Despatch. When we find also that the change to Belhi is also advocated owing to the "further special

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considerations arising out of the present political situation in Bengal and Eastern Bengal which in our opinion renders such a measure peculiarly opportune at such a moment". It is clear that the unjustice of the partition has been rightly foremost in the mind of Lord Hardinge. But it is coupled with an anxiety "not to expose ourselves to a charge of bad faith", and at the same time to "satisfy the legitimate aspirat ons of the Bangalis", to "duly safeguard the interests of the Mohammodens of Eastern Bengal, and generally concilliate Mohamedan sentiment, " and also to "base the settlement upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency so as to negative any presumption that it has been exacted by clamour or agitation". Similarly it is stated that the opposition of Bengalis to the change from Calcutta is to be reconciled by other features of the scheme which are specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment. It is gratifying to find that in spite of the assertions of the Anglo-Indian press that Bengal has become reconciled to the partit on notwithstanding noisy agitators, Lord Hardinge/s should have discerned and realised the truth. Says the Despatch at the outset: - "Various circumstances have forced upon us the conviction that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has no dount benefited greatly by the partion and the Mahomedans of the province who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented, but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a pre-ponderating influence in public affairs is as strong as every though somewhat less

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"The opposition to the partition of Bengal was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds but as we shall show later in discussing the proposed modifications of the partition, since the enlargement of the legislative councils and especially of the representative element in their, the grevance of Bengalis has become much more real and tangible and is likely to increase instead of to diminish. Everyone with any true desire for peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement, if it is in any way possible to do so".

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Lord Hardinge's Government have enlarged on the evils which the unwise and fateful policy of Lord Curzon brought upon this country with a cleanness cogenay and sympathy with popular feeling not often found in administrative documents. That overburdened province of Bengal needed some re-arrangement is admitted. But Lord Curzon's Scheme, though it specially favoured Mahomedans who were under a disadvantage under the old regime was one which naturally provoked the deepest resentment of the Bengalis. As the Despatch proceeds to say:-

"As we have already pointed out it was deeply resented by the Bengalis. No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis and in saying this we by no means wish to under rate the importance which should be attached to sentiment, even if it be exaggerated. It is nowever no honger a matter of mere sentiment but rather since the enlargement of the legislative councils one of undeniable reality. In pre-reform scheme days the non-official element in these councils was small. The representation of the people now has been carried a long step forward and in the Legislative Councils of both the provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal, the Bengalis find themselves in a memority, being out numbered in the one by

the Beharis and Ooriyas and in the other by the Mahomedan of the Eastern Bengal and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves antitled by reason of their numbers, wealth and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time as the representative character of the Legislative Council increases and with it the influence when which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is therefore too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become

more and more actuate ....

"It has frequently been alleged in the press that the partition is the root cause of all the recent troubles in India. The growth of political unrest in other parts of the country notably in the Deccan before the partition of Bengal took place disprove that assertion and we need not ascribe to the Partition evils which have not obviously flowed from it. It is certain however that it is Amportant in part at any rate responsible for the growing estrangement which has now unfortunately assumed a very serious character in many parts of the country between Mahomedans and Hindus. We are not without hope that a modification of partiton which we now propose with in some degree at any rate alleviate this most regrettable antagonism. For the reasons we have already indicated we feel bound to admit that the Bengalis are labouring under a sense of real injustice, which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay. The Durbar of December nest affords a unique occasion for rectifying what is regarded by the Bengalis as a grevious wrong".

But Lord Mardinge's Government have held that the simple recession of the partition and a reversion to the status qu-ante, are manifestly impossible both ompolitical

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and administrative grounds and the three administrative changes now decided upon for immediate execution have been made to have upon the removal of the capital to Delhi which is itself suggested and supported in the Despatch on its won own merits. We have already in our previous issues referred to the historical and administrative circumstances which have now finally brought about the decision to make Bengal a presidency Government with a Governor appointed from Home and a council and we are glad to find that the Viceroy's Despatch emphasises the advantages of Council Government as thus constituted and adopts the same as the most satisfactory way of administering Bengal. On the merits of the proposal of the removal to Delhi of the Imperial Capital, we have now in the Despatch some idea of financial cost there of being estimated at 4 million sterling and this is proposed to be raised by a gold loan i.e. in Lodon.

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December, 26, 1911,

LEADER

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# The Calcutta Congress.

The Session of the Indian National Congress which has commenced ins sittings to day at Calcutta is one of memerable interest and importance. It meets at a time when the illustrious Sovereign of a wold wide dominion and has monsort are gracing the country with their presence amidst the universal rejoicings of the people. An added significance to the Congress this year is the fact that it meets soon after the coronation Durbar which has witnessed one of the grandest sights and events that it was given to man to hehold, testifying to the affection and deep sympathy of the Sovereign towards his people of all racest creeds and of the fervent loyalty and attachment of the latter towards their Emperor. A third circumstance which makes the meeting of the Congress at Calcutta of happy augusy is the fact that by the gracious and Royal act of the ammulment of the partition of Bengal, the aims and objects have been vindicated of the Congress movement which is an embodiment of the means and methods of lawful agitation.) At the commencement of the day's proceeding the Hon'ble Mr. Baupendranath Basu, Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered his welcome address and his eloquent utterance is one eminently worthy of the occasion. As was meet to the occasion, the Hon'ble Mr. Basu commenced his speech after greeting the delegates present by offering a loyal welcome in regard to the forthcoming visit to Calcutta of their Imperial Majesties, the King and Queen Emperor, and Crewe, the Secretary of State. The terms in which Mr. Basu deals with the Royal proclamations as regards the partition of Bengal and the transfer of Capital from Calcutta to Delhi would naturally attract great attention

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as coming from a Bengali gentlement who is competent to speak on behalf of a large section of his fellow citizens. It would be observed that while the annulment of the partition is acclaimed as on act of Supreme righteousness, the transfer of Capital to Delhi Ed viewed with feelings the reverse of joyful. Mr. Basu's observat ons on the nature and utility of the Congress work are, we think of much value, although some of them may savour of counsels of perfection. The ideal of what, in his opinion, a Congress should strive to achieve is one worthy of deep consideration by all thoughtful Indians. It must not be overlooked however, that it is one not easy of being reached under the existing Congress organisation and it remains to be seen how far the active spirits in the present Congress succeed in making it truly "national".

The delivery of the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee was followed by the proposal and formal election of Mr. Bishau Narayan Das as the President of the Congress. He has been identified with the Congress movement for the last 24 years and it is stated "the maintenance of the British connection with India is the first article of his political creed" and his faith in the ultimate victory of the cause of Indian nationalism though the instruction mentality of British democracy has never wavered". Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar's Presidential address is a thoughtful, well informed and waighty utterance on the most important political problems of the day. His analysis of our present political situation evinces a thorough acquaintance with and a deep study of the existing conditions. The frank and unvarnished statements of Mr. Dar's address would, we are sure, appeal to the instincts of the B British Public and of the eminent personages now in India in whom is confided in no small degree the shaping of the destines of the people of this country. The President's observations are apt and just on the attitude of the bureaucracy and some sections of the Anglo-Indian community and the mnactment of the Press act and the seditious Meetings Act. The most

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important and instructive portion of his address is that relating to the Regulations framed under Lord Morley's Indian Councils Act. It is a comprehensive and carefully considered exposition of the defects which deface the present electoral system and is well worth consideration by the authorities concerned as well as by these among our people, publicists and others who have no opinion and their own and who are generally content to take their opinions secondhand from the sources inspired by official optimism. The Presidents' remarks on the position of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils are also worth attention. He points out that the so called majority is an illusory one for all practical purposes. "Take for instance the U.P. Council, which at present consists of 46 members -- 20 elected, 6 nominated and the rest official members. Now who are these 6 nominated members!. Three are Indian Chiefs, who seldom attend council meetings, how can we blame them for this, for really they have little interest in the ordinary legislation of British Insia, though they may always be depended upon to support the Government. One is a landed magnate who does not know English, one is an Englishman representing Indigo planter's interest and one a Hindu banker also innocent of English. These 6 members are as good as the official members in the council and by their conduct have thoroughly justified their claims to be considered among the immoveable adherents of the official view of public questions. What is true of the U.P. Council, is far more time of the Punjab Council and more or less true of every other council in India". Mr. Bishan Naray Dar has also made some thoughtful and forcible observations on communal representation and the separatist policy which finds favour in some quarters. In his concluding observations the President rightly laid stress on the value of earnest and sustained agitation". Our agitation, in order to be effective must be national not sectarian, persistent, not spasmodic, directed by intellegence and wisdom and not impulsive and rackless. Enthusiasm

is good and idealism is good and even crying for the moon is sometimes good and I for one sympathise with these who are called visionaries and dreamers for I know that in every active and reforming part body, there is always an extreme wing that is not without its uses in great human movements. I know that moderation sometimes means indifference and cautions timidity and I hold India needs bold and enthusiastic characters!

No thoughtful man can fail to perceive that unity and sustained efforts are the means by which Indians can ascend in the scale of nations.

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December 27. 1911.

A LEAD

in South There is wide spread expectation throughout India that tge gracious visit of His Imperial Majesty to India -- would in no small degree conduce to bring home to the colonials the undisputed fact of the large place which India occupies in the heart of His Majesty and thus influence them to treat Indians as they deserve to be and to relax the rigour of the seendalous campaign against them. These anticipations however are based on the assumption that the colonials have as high a sense of respect for the Imperial Government and concern for these elementary rights of man as is ordinarily supposed. It has been shown by their doings that their ruling passion is selfishness and unless the impossible happens -by the Imperial Government forcing the hands of the selfgoverning colonies -- it is more than human to suppose that the wolf will tie with the lamb. People who have first hand knowledge of passing events in South Africa do not anticipate any such easy termination of the outstanding questions; on the contrary they would appear to contemplate a recrudescence of the passive resistance struggle, unlesx indeed the South Africans, out of dread for the movement, see their way to do the right by Indians or they are compelled to do so by the Imperial Government when Lord Lamington moved for papers in regard to the questions of Indians in South Africa the other day, Lord Ebum of on behalf of the Government stated that the Union Government had undertaken early next year to introduce legislation which he was sure, would be considered satisfactory. There is we should think, urgent necessity for the Imperial Government to be told that if the racial bar is not completely removed and if the existing rights of Indians in Natal and Cape Colony are attempted to be taken away by any general. legislation, the passive resistance struggle which has been in abeyance since the provisional settlement in May last,

would have to be revived in all its strength. Mr. M.S.L. Polak in the course of an article in the current Indian Review puts the matter clearly. He says that the coming legislation may take the form either of a law affecting the Transvaal alone tending to regularise the position there ar a general enartment affecting the whole Union". In the latter case " says Mr. Polak, Wthere is more than a suspicion that the Government will seek to compensate themselves for defeat in the Transavaal by an endeavours to deprive Natal and Cape Indians of existing immigration rights and privileges or that the prohibitory clause as to the organge River Free State will be reenacted, thus imposing a new Social bar that will be felt throughout the whole union and bring about a revival of passive resistance probably on a greater scale than ever. True General Smuts is under written obligations to remove entirely the racial bar but his hands may be forced by his more reactionary supporters". There is another matter which has been giving anxiety to the Indian population and which wen if other grievances are redressed, promises to breed a good deal of ill-feeling. The attempts of the Transvaal Government to compel the Indians to live and trade in locations had so long received short shrift, mainly owing to the judgement of the Supreme Court. The laws are there unfortunately owing to the lamentable in-ability of the Imperial Government to withhold its assent, when they were passed in 1908., but it is very likely that persistent efforts will shortly be made to enforce them. If this should happen, South Africa writes Mr. Polam, "will be the scene of another and perhaps still more, embittered passive resistance struggle! The State of affairs in Natal would appear to be as unsatisfactory as every. Imitated by the action of the Government of India and feeling the pinch which the scarcaty of labour has brought on, the Natal planters are doing what they could to tighten the bonds that already /hamper

the activities of British Indians there. The £3--tax-- a standing monument to the disgraceful attitude of the Natal Government is still there and is being rigorously imposed on all ex-indentured males of 16 years upwards and females 13 years upwards. The infuriated planters are thus enabled to compel the coolies whose indentures have expired to re-indenture again, because it is an admitted fact that only 4% of these people could afford to be free and may the £3 tax. This is a distinct breach of the promise of the late Natal Government not to impose the tax on reindentured Indians. We understand there has been several cases in which reindentured and ex-indentured Indians have been demanded the tax and it is deplorable that even the imperial Government should treat the matter the tightly. For, Mr. Marcourt, in reply to a question on the subject, affirmed that the legislation had been passed with the full knowledge and consent of the Indian and Imperial Governments and that the union Government was not prepared to repeal the law. We are tempted to refer in this connection to the dignified protest of the Natal Mercury against this so called answer. It writes in strong language:-"It is a tax that every right minded man and woman in South Africa must condemn as immoral and flagrantly unjust. The refusal of the Union Government to consider its repeal and the manner in which they are now interpreting the law are actions unworthy of a christian Government and would be denounced as vile if they were perpetrated by some heathen community, but the attitude of the union Government is no excuse for the callous indifference that is being shown in the matter by the Liberal Government which comprises so many advocates of peace and humanity, yet has not a single world of protest to make against conduct that no words can sufficiently condemn". The woes of Indians do not stop here.

The Europeans merchants do not hesitate to avail themselves of every opportunity to put an end to Indian trading, by inducing the authorities to refuse the renewal of licences and the grant of new licences. Undignified appeals are made to the white people to stand up resolutely for the preservation of the towns as white man's towns. A resolution passed by a public meeting called by the Mayor at Boksburg in the Transvael reads that the towns of the colony "are the objects of an organised, determined movement designed to frustrate the constitutional measures in force for preserving the standards of living and ideals of European Communities".

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January 16 1912.

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# OUR LONDON LETTER. FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF PRESS TOWARDS CONGRESS.

The commants of the British press on this year's Congress have been very meagre. The papers are so full of the royal progress that they have not much attention to give to an assembly which stands for the progress of liberal ideas of Government and the development of representative institutions Moreover the last few weeks have witnessed such a definite advance in the acceptance of congress principles that the reactionary journals are at a loss to discuss the present situation with any statisfaction to themselves.

From the two or three journals which have noticed the meetings in calcutta I call the following extracts:--

The standard sweers at the Congress for having departed on this occasion from what it falsely alleges to be the vailed or unspoken antipathy to British Rule which has not infrequently been the dominant vote of former gatherings . It pays the congress leaders the compliment of suggesting that they are astute enough not to dwell on the short comings of the British rule when the supreme ruler of the state is visiting his Indian dominions. The system of automomous administration foreshadowed in the now famous despatch of the Government of India is not much to the taste of the standard and it tries to find comfort in the reflection that this is not what Indian nationalists are aiming at. The India of their vision says the Tory organ as a dominion which will be an an equality with Canada the Australian commonwealth and south Africa bearing equal burdens and enjoying equal rights. This is of course from the Tory point of view an impossible proposition.

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A LIBERAL VIEW.

Dealing with the frequent assertion that the congress is neither national nor representative the Dail news remarks that there is something noteworthy in an organisation which can bring together an audience of 7000 educated Indians with a thousand delegates from every part of the country. It draws attention to the fact that the president welcomed the transfer of the Government to Delhi and it commends to the notice of these who so persistently maintain that one part of India cares nothing for the questions which agitate another part the warm reference made by "r. Bishen Narayan Date to the creation of the new Bengal Presidency.

The correspondent of the Daily Telegraph says that Mr. Bhupendranath Basu expressed the sitter disappointment of the Bengali race at calcutta's degradation from her pride of place and the suggestion is made that in this as in other matters the interests of the different provinces of India are irreconcillable. As the daily news points out the changes announced by th king at Delhi cannot be carried out with the mutual adjustment of interests but no good purpose is served by making it appear that provincial claims are arrevocably opposed.

The Morning Fost is alarmed at the measure of recognition which congress aspirations have obtained in the
Imperial amnouncements. The acceptance by the Government of
the principle of autonomy will have, we are told a weakening
influence upon the British hold on the Indian provinces.

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rices two principles of native provided provinces are the affairs of its privvinces are the affair of our gover and from the provincial administration the central gove draws its sap and its life. If we cut it the roots we can the tree."

The Globe has made the interesting discovery that Delhi is in the united Proivnces and to this it attributes Pandit Bishen Narayan Dar's enlogy of the decision to change the capital" Congresswallahs from these parts and also from Bombay are naturally delegated at the change of site which bring the administration centre of India nearer to their own countries." Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's preference for calcutta is ascribes to that tribal or local feeling which will always, be the obstable to a united Indian nationalism.

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January 17 1912.

#### AGAKHAN ON INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

His Highness the Agakhan replying to an address presented to him by the Sindh Mahomedan Association said that as regards the treatment of Indians in South Africa in which there was much cause for resentment whe felt it his duty to warn them that to a large extent the treatment was the result of their own fault owing to the backwardness of the majority of Indians in social and intellectual progress greater efforts were needed for material self improvement and education. It was not merely sufficient to send a boy to the school that would give only point will education. Englishman and social progress was needed.

In the course of his reply Hig Highness also referred to the need for natural unity between the Hindus and Mussalmans of India.

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January 20. 1912.

#### OLD INDIAN RECORDS.

The Reverend Walter K. Firminger on Thursday read a paper before the Indian Section of the society of Arts on old district records in general. The reverend gentlemen said the records afforded conclusive arguments against the veied popularised by Lord Macaulay and Mr. Kepling that untill 1772 the English had scarcely administered the District and that settlement in Calcutta was merely fortultous. The records he said showed that the growth of rural administration was the real secret of British expansion in Calcutta.

January. 27. 1912.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN INDIA. PHRODORE MORISON'S LECTURE.

Sir Theodore Morison in an address before the London Chamber of Commerce on Thursday said. India was on the eve of an industrial reviution, the first effect of which would be to open great pos ibilities of business to British financial and manufacturing houses. Once the industrial revolution was started there was no reason to doubt that Indians would raise the capital required in London but he asked would they invest the proceeds of these loans in orders for English manufacturerers? He was convinced that the Indian would place his orders in the country where he had his industrial training. They were not taking care that future capt ins of Indian industry would receive that training here. On the country they were closing their workshaps to them and campelling them against their will to get apprentice ships abroad. This was most of unwise. He hoped that the chamber would recognise the danger of driving them abroad.

Sir Edwin Burls said the difficulty concerning a admission of Indian students to factories lay not with the masters but with the workman who refused to work with Indians and who forced them out. Stems ought to be taken to meet this trade union spirit and secure Indian students proper fascilities.

Sir J; D. Rees said there was not a trade union in the world which could compare with the caste to which Indian students belonged. It was impossible to compete with them in their industries on even terms. British work man realised that the real facts in the situation was the

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ultimate clash of east and west.

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February 2 1912.

### INDIA AND HOME RULE.

Before the East India Association yesterday Mr. J.B. Pennington read a paper on "Home Bule for India" an bahalf of the vetran historian. Mr. Henry Keene. While regarding the recent reforms as marking a transitory stage which was obviously intended to prepare for Home rule Mr. Pennington said the British nation would be false alige to honour and expediencey if it gives full power to races which had not established their claim to confidence.

Sir J.D.Rees who presided said tit was futile to think of Home Rule for India since the country could not support an adequate navy.

The extremist saklatwala was cleered by many young Indians present when he rose to speak. Mr. Sessodia, editor of the Rajput however, was missed by them when he said that there might be defects in the British Government but they shald appeal to their generosity. Home Rule being impossible while they were divided in language and sentiment. He for MMXX ex., would greatly dislike any Indian rule but that of a Rajput.

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February 7 2912.

SIR JOHN HEWETT'S OPINION ON INDIA'S FUTURE.

Sir John Hewett, the Leut. Governor of the United Province has complete faith in India's future, as a great commercial country. His time of policy is to guide India away from political and religious mornings so dangerous to per peace so barren of material results and to direct her mind to the development of her enormous resources. No man has done more to re veal the possibilities of industrial activity. He sees regarding Indian unrest, the folly of measures which are merely repressive while he stands as family for law, and order as any man in India he leads the way to that material prosperity which alone can do away with disorder and the vague unrest of the idealers and the dreamers. He is of opinion that it was possible to exaggerate this matter of Indian unrest, although he sees that certain influences may yet bring it to a dangerous head. But it is his fixed opinion that we can never lose India and that mutiny on any hazardous scale is quite impossible We are perfectly prepared for every possible emergency and while we see that these preparations are never relaxed our business is to push on in the direction of national prosperity. India cannot be purely agricultural country. She must develop industries. first.

In his book of etiqueette, he holds as the principle of his Government namely that without sympathy, knowledge of India is impossible while with symapthy the overnment of India is one of thebest and most interesting and endlessly possible delights of human employments.

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"I want rich man to come out to India" said Sir ohn Hewett, as many of them as possible to build factories to develop industries and to lead to the way in the scientific evolution of te country. But they must be man of sympathy to use a word horribly mis understood they must be gentleman. The people of India respond more quickly to genuine sympathy nd real kindness than any other people in the world but it must be the sympathy and kindness of strong honourable and self respecting men. not simply sentimentalism and the mere flatter of the professional politician. With the right breed of Englishmen in India, the Country will become one of the greatest and most prosperous in the whole world and the secret is sympathy and common sense.

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February 8. 1912.

## His Excellency Sir George Clarke's lecture on Education

At the college of science in Ahmadabad His Excellency Sir George clarke made an important speech exponinging the views on education. He said that "The attempt to give an Indian student in four years a smattering to too many subjects and a mastery of more has palpably failed. My own view after more them four years of careful observation for which a governor has exceptional fascilities is th t higher education is certainly not fulfilling the present requirements and that the progress of India, industrially and administratively is being retarded by the poverty of the intellectual equipment provided by the university. I do not in the least doubt the capacity of Indians of which I know excellent examples but the output of the universities is too largely composed of glenderly educated young men whose intellects have not been fully awakened who have not learned thoroughness who have no idea of prosecuting their studies further and who sometimes cherish an exaggerated estimate of this acquirement."

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February 15 1912.

#### A strike in Railway workshops.

Lahore February 14. The workman of North western Railway Loco workships Lahore numbering four to five thousands struck work since yesterday.

They leed a mass meeting this afternoon in the maidan near the Fort. Their main grievances as stated by them are difficulties about leave and increase of pay conatant fines non-compensation for injuries or deaths in performance of duty, no time allowed for religions observances, such as namaz and inconvenencies in connection with latrine and water supply and accommodation. They have been given no share in the coronation. Bonus of half a month's pay. It was announced at the meeting that the manager of the Railway had asked the strikers to attend the workships sin on the 15th and represent the grievances formally. It was decided to if the grievances be not redressed.

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February 17. 1912.

Leader.



Mr. J.A. Spender Editor of the westminister of Gazette writing in his journal about his impression of India during his recent visit says:--

"To the traveller in India the surprising thing is not that there should be unrest but that there should ever be any rest. Where he realises the vast number of inhabitants. their differences in race, creed and language the high degree of intellegence and subtlety of mind with which large numbers of their are endowed he wonders only how it is possible to find governing formulas to suit them all. India may impress him as can it strike him as a crude or barbarous country which could be easily governed by force. Evidences meet him everywhere of art orginality and refinentent. He will see more beautiful faces in a mornings walk in an Indian Bazzar than in any Ruropean city and he will be charmed to the grace and courtesy of the common folk. It may surprise Englishmen to bear it, but many Indians seriously express the opinion that the Indian is mentally the superior of the Englishman while freely conceding that the latter is the more effective and the more practical. However this may be one does get the impression in India that to rule these eople permanently must be an intellectual effort of high order for which no police however vigilant and no army however strong can in the long run be a substitute."

Except in Bengal Mr. Spender holds that the more important movements among the Hindus in the near future are likely to take a religious and philosophical rather than a strictly political form.

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"Numerous socieites and chief among them the arya Samaj are at work with the professed and I beleive, quite sincere purpose of purifying Hinduism and mitigating the, divisions of caste. In all parts of India sages and preachers are making their appearance who find a ready hearing for a simple doctrine not for removed from that of the sermon on the Mount. The Government Of India, is worried about these much as was worried about about john the Baptist. It suspects them of being prachers of sedition under the guie of religion it acents danger in any movement which threatens to change what it has assumed to be unalterable in the native character a And yet I find a general agreement among careful observers that a real revivalist spirit is at work which if rightly handled should be a great aid to good Government.

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February 21 1912.

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### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ININDIA.

#### A LECTURE.

Lecturing before the East India Association on Monday Mr. S.S.Thorburn ex-financial commissioner for punjab urged that in the diffusion of education preference, should be given to agriculturists seeing how long their interests had been subordinated to those of the urban population. As the Bill stood he said the rural population would have bear most of the cost of Mr. Gokhale's proposals for compulsory education. Local option should only be granted if 90% of the total cost were borne by localities electing for compulsion. Mr. Theburn advocated a system of peasant scholarships.

Lord Reay presiding said there were growing indications of the growth of unity of educated Hindus and Mohammedans on the subject. It would be wisest to proceed tentatively and experimentally for if they proceeded on abstract a and too general lines they might create a reaction and dislike of education by the Indian people.

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March. 5 1912.

LEADER.
INDENTURED LABOUR.

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The Hon'ble Mr. G.K. Gokahale moved at the meeting of the Imperial legislative Council yesterday a Resolution recommending that the Government of India should now take the necessary steps to prohibit the recruitment of Indian 1 laboureres under contract of indenture whether for employment at home or in any British colony. The attitude that the Government took up will surely be received by the public with considerable surprise and indignation., and little value will be attached to the success which has attended the Government's opposition when it is known that as many as twenty two members vital for the Resolution and thirty three against the majority anxisting mostly of officils. The system of indenture, miscalled a contract by which India coolies are now spirited away by unscrupulous agents very often by false hopes and promises and assigned by the operation of an unnatural law, to a master whom they have never known as mere chattles is at present in force in British guiana Trinidad Jamica, Surinam in the west Indies, Fiji in Australia and in certain districts of upper Assam Valley and in a small way in the straits settlements. It may be remembered that the Government of India on the advice of Imperial legislative Council have prohibited indentured immigration to Natal and Mauritius, mainly as a measure of retaliation and it has been decided to discontinue the system in Assam from july 1913. The suggestion of Mr. Gokhale was therefore for an extension of the principle the justice and humanity of which the Government have never denied and have practically decided to apply in the case of

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Assam. The Assam labour Act which was passed in 1901 during Lord Curzon's administration was passed to satisfy the interested elamour of platens who overcrowded the tea industry and made it less paying than it was previously these outrageous piece of legislation made arrests without warrants compled with imprisonment for even the most insignificant breaches of miles legal. Its passage through the council was remarkable for the noble protests against such legislation raised by Sir Henry Cotton then an official and chief commissioner for assam. Even the supporters of the measure could not but admit that it went against the fundamental principles of juris prudence. Lord Curzon to hose special pleading the existence of the Act was due himself stated: -- "Do not imagine for a movement that we are enamoured of the system of Penal contracts. It is an arbitrary system an abnormal system and sooner or later it will disappear.. . . . These are great privileges and great advantages and in return for then the least that the Government candemned is that the coolie who is not a shrewd or independent persuage but is often an almost unknowing partner to the contract should not suffer from his ignorance or his timidity but should be accorded a protection corresponding to the stringency of the conditions by which he is bound." It is this legislation which the Government have wisely and not a moment too soon resolved to sepeal and it was the recognition of the same principle as regards certain colonies which Mr. Gokhale so eloquently and powerfully yet so unsuccessfully pleaded for yesterday. In the same long winded and feeble defence which the Hon'ble Mr. Clarke set up on behalf of the Government evils so graphically described by the Mover were in so many words admitted. In answer to the statement made that the coolie2160 -21

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are not faid told the penal provisions which are not mentioned in the contract which they sign Mr. Clarke observed that he proposed to have an inquiry made regarding it and conceded there was great force in the argument. Mr. Clarke them nauated at some length the safeguards provided in that there was much in seeing that all of them were observed by the officers concerned. He sought the support of the sanderson committee who had in reality only supported the system of indenture nominally for saying that emigrants under the indenture were practically freeman and were all looked. after. As against this system we have one made by the late lamented Sir Charles Dilka in a paper which he contributed to the inter-racial congress on Indentured and forced labour. "Lord Sanderson's committee" he wrote nominally reporting in favour of the continuance of existing indentured Indian Emigration laid stress upon condition without which it might easily became oppressive. We are to insist on but seem in Trimidad at least unable to obtain a staff determined to take seriously the duty for which they are appointed as to take seriously the duty for which they are appointed as to Protectors of immigrants. This was again admitted as by F. Clarke who frankly stated that the question of protectors meeded looking into. As regards the dereliction of duty by Magistrates and the large number of prosecutions, Mr. Clarke could not but say that they were subjects which were important and he added that the whole matter was being discussed with the Secretary of state. It may look strange that after having thus practically agreed with the several arguments advanced on behalf of the Resolution the Government should have assumed the attitude they did. The reason for it however was explained in as unambigious a language as possible. "The Government of India said Mr. Clarke "had no special interest in the colonies but at the same time the colonies were part of the British Empire and they were not desirous to harm and put an end to a system which was beneficial to them unless very good cause was shown for so doing." The fact is that this policy of bowing to the colonies at the expense of Indians had long been persisted in as if the vested intersts of the colonials were all that did matter. It was hoped that this policy had received short shrift when the Government of India recently exercised their power, strengthened by the unanimous prayer of Indians, of putting a stop to inde tured emigration to Natal and Mauritus. We cannot but protest against the policy so wholly at vanance. With the wishes of the people and so glaringly partial that the system outrageous inqutous and unnatural should not be abolished because as Mr. Clarke empressed in the colonies would suffer. It is no wonder that Mr. Clarke's superficial and unsympathetic treatment of a subject on which Indian opinion of all shades had declared itself so unmistakably

the All India Muslim League having only the previous day urged on the Government the necessity for doing away with the system provoked the remark from the Hon'ble Mr. Malik Omar Hyat Khan that when cent percent of the Mm population were agreed on this matter the Government should be on the peoples side or else they wont be their government. Mr. Gokhale told the council when the discussion was brought to a close that non-official Members would bring forward the Resolution over and over again till the system was abolished the evils

"There were the many features of the system and when in addition they remembered

of which he described as follows: --

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"There were the main features of the system and when in addition they remembered that the victims of the system were generally simple ignorant illeterate resourceless were general y simple ignorant illeterate people belonging to the poorest classes of this country and that they were induced to for into the contract or rather entraped into doing so by the inscrupulous representations of the constances willy professional res tiers who were paid so much a head of for the labour they supplied and whose interests in the persosn recruited ended with handing then over to Emigration Agents and receiving their money they would not hesitate to regard the system as monstrous sytem iniquitous in itself based on fraud and maintained by force. Nor could they demur to the statement that a system so wholly oppowed to modern sentiments of justice and humanity was a grave blot on the civilisation of any country that tolerated it.

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March 7 1912.

LEADER. 208

We publish in another Column the text of very interesting speech delivered by the "on'ble Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial legislative council on "r. Bhupendra Nath Basu's Resolution on Police administration in India. Mr. Gokhale's observation on the operations of the criminal intellegence department will be read with much interest. Mr. Gokhale has referred to one noteworthy incidents connected with himself in the following terms:--

"Again Sir the reports submitted by these men are secret. Nobody knows what is contained in these reports and everybody's good name is at the mercy of these people. know of a report which was once submitted against me and for which there was absolutely no foundation. I came to know about it simply through the courtesy of the political secretary to the Bombay Government who happened to entertain a kindly feeling for me. I have made a speech at a mofussil place in the Bombay Presidency. Sometime after I happened to meet this officer at a party and he asked me to go and see him the next day in his office. He then asked me what things I had been saying and he put the report into my hands. I was amazed to read it. and I told him that I had never said any of the things and he never took the report seriously. Now sir this officer discredited the report because he know me personally there are ten a hundred a thousand men whom they do not know and a ainst whom reports are daily submitted and reports on which officials very often act."

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Our readers will recollect that in this presidency it was upon evidence of this nature regarding alleged sedit ous speaches made, Chidambaram Pillai and others were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

March 22 1912.

#### STRIKE IN A MILL.

Three thousand men employed at the Bengal Cotton Mills Garden Reach went on strike yesterday, owing to a Tamadar dragging one of the spinners joined the yard by his heard. They said that the Jamadar had outraged their religious feelings and threatened to kill him. The Police had to be called out to quell the riot and the mole threw bricks at them. The disturbances soon substince then the offending Jamadar has been discharged strikers have not returned yet to the work.

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