

India in England.

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INDIA IN ENGLAND

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"Liberty I clasped in my arms and the influence of her smile
and embrace revived my life like the sun and the west
wind."—*Charlotte Brontë.*



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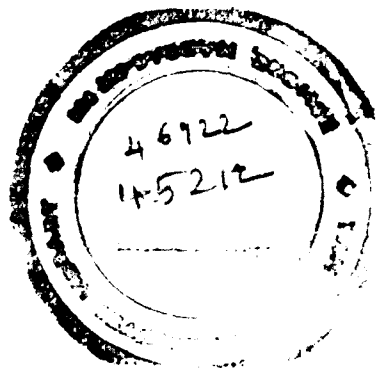
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT ...	I
2. MONTAGU REFORMS	
I. The Spirit of India ...	35
II. The Price India Pays ...	39
III. Not Washington ...	47
IV. Indian Women as Citizens ...	53
V. The Basis of Constitutionalism ...	58
VI. Trustees and Trimmers ...	66
VII. The Betrayal ...	75
VIII. The Congress Deputation ...	82
IX. The Voice of India ...	87
3. THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY	
X. The Reign of Terror ...	97
XI. The Month of Opening ...	105
XII. The Findings of the Hunter Report .	112
XIII. Mr. Montagu's Via Media ...	125
XIV. The Congress Report ...	133
XV. The Jallianwala Cycle ...	143
XVI. India's Next Step ...	150
XVII. Loyalty's Recompense ...	159

XVIII.	Democracy and the Remedy of Misgovernment	...	...	166
XIX.	Martial Law in the House of Commons	...	...	175
XX.	The Amritsar Massacre	...	...	184
4.	THE KHILAFAT QUESTION			
XXI.	Auction of Minds	...	...	195
XXII.	The Co-existence of Incompatibles	...	...	204
XXIII.	Get on with the War	...	...	213
5.	MISCELLANEOUS			
XXIV.	India and Gold	...	...	219
XXV.	Government by Propaganda	...	...	224
XXVI.	Labour Difficulties in India	...	...	231
XXVII.	The Leader Gone	...	...	239
	Index	...	...	247

1. RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT





INDIA IN ENGLAND

I

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

ALL journalism is of its very nature so ephemeral and evanescent that it is with considerable diffidence that this reprint of some of the leading articles from "*India*" is offered to the indulgence of the Indian public. The only justification for such a course is the fact that these articles do form a rough record—very impressionistic, it is true—of a vitally important period in India's history. It was the writer's lot to be editor of the organ of the Indian National Congress during the period of tense human drama that fell between the arrival of the greatest Indian delegation ever sent to England (1919) and those significant days that saw the passing of Mr. Tilak and the birth of Non-Co-operation at the Nagpur Congress of 1920. The looms of Fate were weaving the tragic tissue of

the Punjab Tragedy and all its sequences in India ; in Britain there was brought to the birth, after much travail, the Government of India Act of 1919. History was being made very rapidly in those days.

We are still too near it all to appraise it in proper perspective ; nevertheless one thing is certain. Between the promise of a Constitution to India in August 1917 and the decisions taken at Nagpur, was forged one of the most momentous chains of episodes a country could possibly endure. To use with all reverence the symbolism of the Christian religion, if the August pronouncement was as the Nativity of Liberty and the Punjab Tragedy the Crucifixion, the deeply purifying movement of Non-Co-operation was as the Resurrection into a new life for India. The pity of it all is that everything could have been so different ! A more generous constitution, no Rowlattism, and no O'Dwyerism and Dyerism, and the world's history might have run differently. Other grievances, such as the iniquitous treatment of Indians in British Colonies, or the disastrous manoeuvrings of the Currency Commission are grievous enough, but could be susceptible to wise and tactful remedies. But when one thinks of such awful happenings as the Crawling

Order, the mind only re-echoes Shakespeare's despairing plaint :

"Canst thou minister to a mind diseased
Or pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow ?"

At the moment of writing these lines a new Viceroy, who is both an able and a good man, is entering upon the arduous duties of one of the greatest positions in the world. The republication of these articles at such a moment may be taken by some as a needless exacerbation and revival of old sorrows. So perhaps it may be stated that I have consented to the idea from very different motives. If any words of mine here-in-after show to Indians that sympathy and comradeship triumph over differences of race and distance and that one woman at least suffered when India suffered, that would, I think, not further embitter race feeling, but tend to bridge it over. One sympathiser however would be a very minute offering. But thousands of Britons felt just the same about Amritsar and even if they were not able to register their political protest at an election that was because circumstances withheld it from their power. There has not been much real liberty regained in post-war England so far, or we should not be daily hearing of such awful events in Ireland. I do not say these

things by way of making India patient, but as an explanation, or if the word be preferred, an apology. Many difficulties beset the path of England due to the complications of our imperial inheritances and our post-war world problems. England moves always with lumbering delay, particularly the England of high idealism and spiritual efforts. Her soul lies apparently dormant for decades at a time, and then a Hampden, a Burke, or a Shaftesbury arouses that soul from slumber. Let but the cause be just, and in the end it must be a victorious one!

If ever there was a political cause which claimed by its intrinsic merits the whole-hearted devotion of every decent and honest man and woman, that cause is the Liberation of India. Its magnitude is the secret of its greatness of appeal. Three hundred and fifty million people are deprived of the choice of their destiny. The inherent justice of India's claim is the rock foundation of its spiritual appeal.

Doubtless many reasons of expediency are to be found to prop up the present system. India's claim is right. India has no armed force wherewith to defend herself. India is divided by race, caste and creed. The imperial trade system might suffer

if British domination ceased. The Indian Civil Service might no longer offer lucrative careers to our young Scots...and so on. But to any mind with a sense of proportion, all these specious pleas are so much dust on the balance. It is *India's* business to unify her races, modify her caste system and reconcile her creeds. No unifications, modifications or reconciliations imposed from without can ever have spiritual force or sanction, and hence will be always inherently valueless. Nor does the amount achieved in these directions in a century and a half by Great Britain inspire any particular belief that much more success would be attained in an aeon and a half—especially when the very divisions are quoted as a reason for alien imperialism; such imperialism cannot be expected to destroy its own ostensible *raison d'être*. The argument that India cannot defend herself in armed conflict comes oddly from the lips of the race that summoned 1,457,000 Indians to her aid in the last War! If Indians are good enough to defend West Europe, they will be good enough to defend India.

As to Trade, Civil Service and other arguments based upon materialism, they answer themselves. They are brigand's reasons for brigandage, and nothing more, when applied to the system, even

though the vast majority of the I.C.S. indisputably have much to their personal credit as individual administrators. If the issue is to be defined (however unfairly) as Freedom versus Efficiency, there will always be those who will say that Freedom is in an infinitely higher category than Efficiency. "Let my People go Free!" is the Divine Command all down the ages. Some years ago an English Archbishop was much misunderstood for having the courage to say in reference to temperance legislation of too compulsory a character: "Rather England free, than England sober!" Maligned at first, he was eventually understood and supported. Freedom is higher than any amount of sobriety, expediency, comfort, worldly respect or efficiency. These things in themselves are all laudable, but all are as nothing if they are to be a substitute for freedom. No woman can be grateful at the expense of her honour and no nation at the expense of her liberty, said Edmund Burke.

The long-continued servitude of India to Britain is due to three causes. Wrong
Some British Misconceptions. ideas dominate English conceptions of India's position. Wrong motives of gainful rule dominate the actions of the ruling few who determine what ideas shall pervade the mentality of

the British-ruled many. And finally, India's own supineness for so long has been her undoing.

To begin at the beginning, it has never suited the conquering class of Great Britain that the many should know the real truth about India. They have always controlled popular education, and in this, as in other historical connections, the School, the Press, the Pulpit and the Historian have diligently fed the popular mind with masses of lies, distortions, and suppressed truth. India is governed by Britain in a noble effort to save India from herself—and so on!

If I might interject a personal word here, distasteful as it is to me in writing upon a topic so infinitely greater than one's own relatively minute personality and experience, I would say that I do not speak from idle rhetoric but from hard experience. My own conception of India's case came to me entirely from laborious historical delving when studying for an Honours History degree of London University; and from the study of India's connection with Great Britain, I emerged permanently saddened by the amount of duplicity from intellectuals which Governments can apparently almost invariably command. The acquisition of India is written about by nearly all historians as something

glorious, wonderful and beautiful on the part of England and as something beneficent and helpful to India. Many historians rise into almost lyrical and religious rapture on the subject and seem to have humbugged themselves into a genuine belief that it was all a part of the Divine Purpose controlling the Universe. This point of view entirely permeates our popular text-books and school courses. I suppose that a teacher who taught to the contrary in a British State School would soon be dismissed. The tragic thing is that very few would ever want, simply because the Indian side of the case is not available for them, to realise what they are doing. Personally I am not an anti-imperialist in the sense of hating the British Empire as such. I see no harm whatever in the colonisation of all but empty areas like Canada and Australia and much good in a voluntary federation on just terms of the free parts of the Empire. But the imperialism based on force and fraud is not distinguished from legitimate expansion in the imperialism disseminated through and by the School, the Press, the Pulpit and the Historian. That is the Quadruple Alliance of India's enemies.

Some years ago when I was in the dual position

of being the Senior History Mistress of a school where nearly a thousand girls were taught and was also lecturer in methods of teaching History to the post graduate honours students of the local university, I found I was in the grip of this Quadruple Alliance of cobweb softness but of the strength of steel.

Nominally in control I realised that I was expected in every way by lectures, by choice of text-books and of subjects, to foster the prevailing overshadowing Upas tree. The position offered wonderful opportunities as a life work, but I resigned it and have never been regretful. Up to the time of my departure I never came across a solitary text-book which one could honestly put into a child's innocent hands telling the real truth about our acquisition of India, Burma, and the Crown Colonies. The best one can procure—yet only as far as stressing our paternal responsibilities mere amiable Pharoahs!—never to the point of teaching the sacred truths of liberty at all costs. Sometimes I have wished that the teaching of "history" could be stopped altogether in our schools, until more respect for the Truth be shown. It is not only India which suffers at the hands of our "historians." Our relations with Ireland, France and Scotland

are far from being told in terms of world-truth. Thus, the child's mind, having been distorted in school, the Pulpit, and Press, becomes an easy target in the adult, and Mr. Rudyard Kipling's sales reach figures no doubt very gratifying to himself!

Is it possible for these misconceptions to be uprooted and replaced by the truth?

Can We Defeat
this Quadruple
Alliance?

Bad as the case is, I say unhesitatingly: "Yes, it is." It always has been possible, it always is possible, and it always will be possible for Truth to prevail, if her advocates are sufficiently energetic, determined and resourceful.

True, India has not yet adequately placed her case before the World, nor even before the British peoples in the Empire. Perhaps in conjunction with that statement one should briefly recapitulate the means India has so far used, and place upon record their measure of success or failure. "It is no mere idle research into futilities. An adequate scrutiny of all India's resources and weapons was never more necessary than now; for a determination to be free *at all costs* implies at least a consideration of *all methods*. The present mind of India turns with abhorrence from methods of hatred, violence

and anarchy. Moreover, however sacred the cause, an armed revolution is the most hideous of all methods of achieving freedom. It leaves in its train a legacy of mutual hate which is a very bad entity for the whole world. To mankind as a whole we owe respect and duty; so it is a moral obligation to explore every possible avenue of peace, of persuasion, and of reason and logic, lightly rejecting nothing. Even if a peaceful method has yielded no apparent result, we must try it many times and each time with increasing efficiency before we rashly proclaim it a failure. "The fault, dear Brutus, lies not in our stars but in ourselves that we are underlings" only too often. Twenty-nine abortive attempts preceded the English Reform Bill of 1832. Long years of intensest agitation preceded the Abolition of Slavery, the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the Enfranchisement of Woman. Energy and tenacity are the twin secrets of success in political movements.

The people of India have made considerable efforts to place their cause before the British public. The core of this effort has always been a body known as the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, which developed out of an agency ably conducted by the

India's Representation in England.

late Mr. Digby into a Committee at first British, latterly Indian and British, and finally (in effective attendance) mainly Indian. It was always subsidised by the Congress but in its earlier and more genuinely British days it was of independent standing and advisory to the Congress in India. As a result of the late Mr. Tilak's visit, criticisms, comments and policy, its status was changed from independence to an ancillary and executive character, a change which, beneficial in some ways, occasioned the resignation of much of what was highly valuable in its British membership, though not of all. The five years' suspension of interchange of visits caused by the War had caused a certain inevitable disjointedness in action between India and England. The onrush of Nationalism like a mighty flood in India had barely been realised in the exhausting immediate post-Armistice days in London; whilst India had no means of knowing how difficult it had been even to sustain in a rather suspended condition any "Home Rule" organisation in London in the teeth of the hotly Jingo feeling which reaches its climax in time of any war. What London had found to require in extraordinary circumstances—real devotion, real strength of character and enormous tact—

seemed to India an apathetic slackness and mere waste of money. I have always understood both sides in the matter, and at the risk of seeming thoroughly Irish, can say I am on both sides in the matter—simply because one saw the difficulties of either. But had the Indian delegation which landed in the Spring of 1919 been able to come just a short three months earlier, and had there been a series of detailed mutual explanations as to work done and undone on both sides, had the mutual difficulties been gone into far more fully and patiently, the delegates would have seen much to thank, praise and understand, whilst the British Committee on its part would have apprehended *as a whole* the rapider motion essential in post-war days, and would, one believes, have retained its full and effective personnel. The change of status involving the resignations of such valuable members as Mr. Swinney and Lord Clwydd turned out eventually to be more a matter of language than of substance, and effected nothing very memorable really, save a much greater predominance upon the Committee of some of the Indians long resident in London. The sphere of action of London Indians would perhaps have been more appropriate and helpful to their country in such bodies as the Indian

Association, than upon a body whose purpose was denoted by its name to be the *British Committee of the Congress*, and which certainly derived its weight in its earlier days from the fact that Parliament and political bodies understood its pronouncements to mean the opinion of representative *British* public men of advanced opinions in regard to India. In proportion as the public became aware that the British element was numerically less and less, so did that public opinion inevitably regard the work of the Committee as something emanating from Indian mentality. There was obviously a certain gain in this, but there was also a definite loss. Of course, the position with regard to Indian delegates just arriving from India was entirely different. They came in full touch with the latest Indian developments and were necessarily and properly a most important asset to the Committee's deliberations.

What really happened was that although the funeral was delayed for a year the new Constitution of the Committee in effect killed the old *British Committee*—a body which, after all, had had a long and honourable record of devoted and altruistic service to India from the highest and most disinterested motives. Indefatigable stalwarts of proved devotion such as Dr. Clark and Dr.

Rutherford continued to stand by the Committee until the change in the balance of power resulted in their non-election to office and shortly afterwards, the Congress adoption of Non Co-operation logically involved the extinction of the Committee by Congress itself. Its dissolution was the sequence of a very natural feeling that appeals to the British were vain, undignified, and inconsistent with Non-Co-operation, a feeling shared by myself, subject to the reservations later stated herein.

Taken on the whole it is probably true to say that the British Committee failed to arouse enthusiasm for Indian Home Rule—even allowing for the enormous difficulties occasioned by the War. Many reasons leap to the mind.

In the first place, it never had anything like enough money to conduct a sustained propaganda. It was always understaffed, and to all but the last was staffed entirely by non-Indians—not from policy, but because, the Congress never sent over suitable Indians to fill positions. The least that a successful propaganda needs for a given cause in Great Britain is £10,000 a year, and even that means stinting and great economy. The great party organisations here, of course, spend enormously

more. Of course the War had an almost paralyzing effect upon all democratic agencies for the four years of its duration, and from this the British Committee could not possibly be immune.

In the second place, there was always a certain lack of dash, push, and go about the British Committee. Its members were venerable gentlemen of much the same type—enthusiasts, altruists and thinkers. A few more *doers* (such as Dr. Clark always was) would have wonderfully affected matters. There was no youthfulness of outlook upon the Committee save for Commander Kenworthy. Worst of all, there were no women, although the merest tyro in British politics knows that when it comes to spade work to be done, every organisation in Britain relies upon the keenness and conscientious detail works of its women members. There was also a lack of modern business methods and application of up-to-date methods of propaganda. I never remember a hall being full at any meeting organised by the British Committee alone, no matter what they spent on advertisement. Useless to plead that the Indian cause does not attract audiences, for, at a meeting organised by the Women's Freedom League to ventilate women's anger at the Punjab occurrences,

one of the largest halls in London was absolutely packed, and to my knowledge the W.F.L. spent just half of what the Committee had spent a few weeks before to organise its Punjab Protest Meeting. It is not a case of *cause* but of *method*. The British Committee never engaged someone definitely who had a wide knowledge of all parties and movements and how to expend on propaganda to best advantage to be solely an *organiser*. This is a field quite apart from Secretarial duties and never comfortably combines with them.

Moreover, in its latest phase, there was a distinct drift over towards the Labour Party. To nearly all the Indians I know, this seems an obvious advantage. Postponing for the moment discussion on this point, one may urge that it involved a certain disjunction from other parties and the general public, and undoubtedly brought the defects of its qualities with it. To me the cause of Indian Self-Government has always seemed far too important to be entrusted to any one Party. It needs the help of all, no matter what their views on party British questions.

Nevertheless, whatever the failings of the British Committee, its good work, of a quiet, steady, even constant flow, was very valuable; and it would be

most short-sighted to overlook or undervalue it. Many of its results, although not obvious nor showy, are still here waiting for India to garner and to use.

The main feature of the British Committee's work was the publication of the newspaper "*India*", a threepenny political weekly. It was successively edited by a series of most able men, such as Sir Gordon Hewart, (the present Attorney-General), Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe and my friend and predecessor Mr. H. S. L. Polak. It fell to my lot to edit the paper during the most stormy period ever witnessed by modern Indian politics, and perhaps a few observations may have some slight interest, especially as the Congress organ seemed very properly a source of perpetual comment in the Indian Press.

In the first place, I should like to place upon record once and for all, that I was always of the opinion prior to, during, and since my tenure of the editorship that it was of paramount advisability that the chief editorship of the paper should be in suitable *Indian* hands (with possibly English assistance, the editorship being too heavy for one editor.) Please mark the word "suitable". There

were many self-appointed candidates for this bed of thorns whose suitability was apparent chiefly to themselves! An Indian organ edited by a non-Indian was obviously not completely satisfactory. An English mind alternates between moderating and out-running the current Indian political flow of opinion. If my predecessors were criticised for moderation, I was often in hot water for being too advanced.

But 1919-1920 was a time to subordinate mere private opinions to a clear call of duty. The latter half of this book—reprints of some of the articles from "*India*"—is the only type of answer possible to commentators and critics. Of the shortcomings of my tenure I was always very conscious, the only asset I could comfort myself upon being a certain conviction that, as far as in me lay, I would never let the people of India down in the Congress organ in any way no matter at what risk. The position was always very difficult and after the departure of my valued colleague, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in November 1919, I was entirely alone until August 1920 doing about three people's work with no assistance. Hence many defects.

As to the policy of the paper, its chief feature was unremitting attack upon the Secretary of State

for India. Not upon Mr. Montagu, as critics urged. Mr. Montagu is a highly estimable gentleman and, I believe, as great a lover of India as I am. But the Secretary of State for India is the person to whom all political enquiry, comment, praise and blame for Indian affairs is properly directed in this country, except in so far as one places it upon the Prime Minister or upon the collective responsibility of the Cabinet. It is a mere scattering of force to waste ten words upon any private member in Lords or Commons House. Lord Sydenham, Col. Yate, Mr. Welby and all their colleagues had long rest and mere oblivion in my day, so far as "India" was concerned. Why? *Because not one of them was Secretary of State for India.* There is nothing at all original in such a policy, and in the long run, it never fails. Napoleon believed in concentrating his forces and ramming in at the enemy's strongest point. The Women's Movement—after all the only *successful* British political agitation of any magnitude of the last twenty years followed exactly the same strategy. Nothing can possibly please a Cabinet Minister more than to see anybody and everybody getting the blame for the errors of his Department save himself, and acting as a convenient screen;

moveover, any wise politician provides diffused subjects for attack, as Macchiavelli pointed out five hundred years ago. Disraeli made his career by attacking the strongest on the other side, and one could multiply instances *ad lib*. If I have one bone to pick with the Indian Press, much as one can admire it in other respects, it is the way in which fire is scattered—the iniquities of the Viceroy and of some Deputy local tin god being all described in parallel emphasis and language. *Fight hard, but concentrate upon the highest.* The personal goodwill of any Viceroy or Secretary of State is all very well, but to count it or consider it overmuch is not politics but the art of wooing. Woo public opinion if one likes, but not Cabinet Ministers. You can move their weight only by the power you apply at your end of the lever, not by standing in the middle distance and admiring their noble qualities amid the surrounding scenery. They like that, naturally; but let Ministers' mirrors furnish their admirers.

So much for policy. Obviously the line taken was the one which was the most distasteful to those in high places, and this confirmed one's belief in its rightness. At any rate "India" achieved the distinction of attack in the House of

Lords by an ex-Viceroy for its unyieldingness, during the historic debate on the Government of India Bill.

As to the influence of "*India*", its circulation although never large was always influential, and many a question in Parliament or line of attack of India's friends was suggested by it.

Nevertheless, "*India*" was far from being a complete journalistic success, and never reached far enough nor wide enough. The directorate never managed to achieve upon the business side more than very moderate success. In particular the advertisement department was never so run as to help the financial aspect of matters. All the characteristics which militated against the British Committee itself came into full play upon the newspaper directorate. Nevertheless some most valuable political suggestions were made by individual directors. But a forward business policy would have saved the Congress much of the cost of the paper and would have vastly extended its influence by increasing the circulation, especially if the price had been reduced.

Any revival of any Congress organ at any subsequent time should be accompanied by a most searching consideration into this most vital aspect

of the success of any paper, viz. the business side. Neglect of it would be fatal and inexcusable when there has been previous experience. Needless to say the paper "*India*" was starved of paid contributions through lack of money, for the provision of good copy on a voluntary basis is almost impossible in these days of high pressure "*India's*" production was a sort of hebdomadal miracle! I shall always be grateful to all those kind contributors whose entire voluntary help was as never-failing as devoted.

If the Congress should ever revive a Press organ, it should be upon very different lines—brighter and more expensive journalism might be immensely helpful to the cause of India. It was quite obvious that the adoption of Non-Co-operation involved at least a temporary cessation of the Congress organ and of anything else which might be construed as an "appeal" to Britain. But need such policy of abandonment of education of great Britain be permanent? There are other courses besides appeals.

Non-Co-operation, as I understand it, is a magnificent gesture. If, in the teeth of all the niggardliness with which governmental Britain met India's demand for

The Nature of
Non-Co-operation.

justice, India had tamely taken the inadequate Reforms and the insolently inept outcome of the Hunter Committee's Report, then, one would have felt that servitude was her due, for her servility would have been its very mattress. But India, having surveyed the conditions, stood haughtily aloof from the gifts. This method is so different from all those that England has adopted to attain her liberty that it is well nigh impossible for Western minds to grasp the Indian attitude. It is comparable to the case of a woman who, not proffered the full marital dignity of being a wife, prefers cloistered virginity, howsoever sterile, to becoming a mere mistress. All or nothing is the spirit of it.

Enormous powers of self-abnegation are demanded from the Complete Non-Co-operationist. Hence it is the method, in its full perfection, for the few. That need arouse no despondency, for it is the few who will lead on the many, as they always have done and always will do. It is enough in a national cause that the many understand and learn the lessons which the nobility of the few will teach them for the goal to be reached. Non-Co-operation as a winning policy has no need to base itself upon numbers. Bulk is not its basis. Nor is time of its

essence. My Indian friends, if I may say so, seem to me too fond of assigning periods for political endeavour and results. The old cry of Dominion Home Rule "in fifteen years" was a thoroughly misleading slogan for use in England, making British friends think they had nothing urgent to do for India for fifteen years! Similarly "Swaraj in one year" does not appeal to me as a battlecry. The thing is to determine to get it and to put out the greatest, finest, and most constant efforts, leaving the exact moments for events to the Great Disposer of all things. Prophecy is very dangerous in politics!

If Non-Co-operation will have advanced India's freedom by even one day, that will be sufficient justification for it. Disappointment as to exact predictions of dates are too likely to lead to the despair which is the mother of violence to be at all to my liking. And at the moment that Non Co-operators resort to violence, should anything so horrible ever occur, they will have killed not only Non-Co-operation, but one of the most beautiful and spiritual manifestations of political genius the world has ever seen. That would be both a crime and a blunder.

What may happen to Non-Co-operation?

The Future of
Non-Co-operation?

It may decline into violence as its enemies openly prophesy and hope. It may fade away into insignificance. That is its peril, because it offers a hard road.

It may prevail, until India stands almost entirely aloof from her governmental system.

Assuming the latter event, one must consider the outcome. The ultimate result must be the obtaining of a free constitution—for the moment I assume this to be *within* the British Empire and not the other alternative. At that juncture arises the need, not for appeals to the British, but for education and explanation so that they may comprehend what is being asked of them. Practical steps must be taken so that they visualise India's demands clearly. If Mahatma Gandhi is Utopian in his methods, perhaps I too in relatively humble degree, may be forgiven for my dream which is of an enlightened Britain willingly and consciously giving full freedom to India as to her sister commonwealth.

This mutual understanding will involve the
The Revival of
Communications. revival of means of communications between the Indian and British peoples. The ideal methods would be in my view :

(a) The issue of a weekly paper produced from India, at least fifty thousand copies being circulated

here each week. India must educate Britain, and I believe a paper sent over from India—assuming it to be good—would be of enormous value. A London organ has its value, but one produced from the heart of things would be enormously more fresh, vital and stimulating.

(b) A Press Service should be organised from India, especially to all progressive organs in Britain. The Congress organisation in India should cable over its authoritative news to Fleet Street.

(c) Prominent British public men and women should be organised into a body capable of leading and moulding British opinion so as to advance India's just claims. But it is essential that such a body should authoritatively voice, not a mixed opinion, but the most forward *British* opinion. It should be self-supporting financially if it is to earn the highest respect and stand above all suspicion of manipulation. A mixed Indian and British Committee has certain advantages, but it would always be regarded as being too malleable to Indian pressure, especially if not financially independent. A true British Committee could be advisory of and assistant to but not dominant towards Indian Congress delegates. Another mixed Committee would, I fear, merely revive the old muddle

of speaking clearly neither for England nor for India.

(d) There should be a Congress Embassy in Britain, entirely Indian in personnel. Men of the highest type should come and be prepared to form themselves (at any rate, temporarily) in the mould of English public life for their country's sake. Effectiveness and not effect should be the watch-word. Each member should use his gifts in the most suitable way. In the past we have seen the disastrous effects of trying to use mere industrious legal draftsmen as orators, negotiators, and so on. It is folly. Some can impress public bodies, others can write articles for the general press, some can negotiate, some can address meetings, others can organise, etc. But no one man ever combines all these gifts.

All these things are necessary, and each has its value. It is understood that the only link for the present is to be an information bureau. It is earnestly to be hoped that this will be of some use, but if it is intended merely to reach the Labour movement, it is unlikely to make much difference. Labour's essential principles commit it to support India; the only difficulty with the Labour Party is not to convert it, but to keep it up to the mark in

practice. The experience of the Woman's Suffrage Movement was that the Labour Party were always most generous in their promises, but that in their organisations and in Parliament they were too absorbed in their own concerns to be of much practical value.

It is the unconvinced and apathetic (whether of any party or of none) who ought to be awakened. The political Nonconformist, for instance, has to be shown, not only a new point of view about Turkey and the Khilafat, but the essential oneness of the historic origin of his dissent with the attitude of the non-co-operating Indian of to-day, and hence of his spiritual kinship. Both have abandoned and left an Establishment! The educational profession has to be reached so that the teaching in the schools can be rectified. The Woman's Movement, the most likely converts of all, has to be informed. The majority of $8\frac{1}{2}$ million women's votes are to be had for India at the price of a little enlightenment. Many religious bodies could also be reached on the ethical side.

All this will be very costly. But how much more costly are the alternatives! And what are they? Recourse to force—
The Cost. barred both by the principles of Non-Co-operation

and by expediency. A permanent half servitude and a half-starved and emasculated India! The snapped links must be reforged in a better way, for the other alternatives would cost too dear in blood, in treasure and in the moral degradation of War. It is a case of

"Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

In conclusion, planning these words as I do upon the second anniversary of Jallianwalla, may I say that its memory abides with one in permanence and that I bow my head in sorrowful sympathy with afflicted India? But its full meaning was never brought home to the people of England in general as it ought to have been. If the Government of India Bill—in embryo—was enough to bring over fifty of India's ablest public workers, how many more should the vindication of her honour have sent to Britain? I realise all the difficulties, but I yet feel that had the ambassadors whose coming was announced in 1920 actually come, there might have been a very different outcome of it all. There was a wave of democratic, generous sympathy for India such as never flowed before and yet there were no Indians here to focus and guide that warm enthusiasm into permanent channels. A most glorious opportunity was missed. The greater the

Non-Co-operation between democratic India and the Government of India, the greater should be the Co-operation between India and the British peoples. They, thank God, have no quarrel—nothing but an immense need to know and serve each other more and more as the years go by. That Non-Co-operation should lead on to the noblest international relation of Co-operation is the hope which will sustain every lover of Britain and of India.

2. THE MONTAGU REFORMS

I

THE SPIRIT OF INDIA

WHAT is the true measure of greatness of soul? Is it the cautious programme of doing unto others as you would they should do unto you, or is it to do for others far more than they would do to you? In the philosophy of the Founder of Christianity, as the tragedy of life deepened and death drew nearer and nearer, the Code of Life and Law broadened and strengthened into absolute selflessness; forgiveness unto seventy times seven was taught, and not only taught but, at the supreme moment of crucifixion, practised.

It is rare that either persons or nations attain to such spiritual heights. Plucking the beam out of one's own eyes before extracting the mote from others' is almost unprecedented in history. Once again, however, has the East revealed to the West that she is the deathless home of spirituality, and, in a resolution of the Indian National Congress, India has laid bare to the world her nobility of

soul. Resolution V. of the last Congress will ring down the ages when our bickering and fussily nervous statesmen will, with their words and points, have long been forgotten.

This Congress, while fully recognising the grave provocation that led to a sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemns the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujerat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to person and property during the month of April last.

Is there another nation in the world that, after Amritsar, could have arisen to such loftily serene heights? Is there a nation on the globe's surface that will not be forced by this uplifting example into a spiritual examination of its inner self and a re-valuation of its own morality? Only a people at the same time extraordinarily humble (in the finest sense of the word) and extraordinarily proud could have so trampled on baseness and extracted from it the fragrant purification and balm for her own wounds that India has done. She has made an infinitely noble gesture of sacrificial and generous penitence before the bar of the world. And the world has to respond to it.

The first response is due from the people of Great Britain. The words quoted are a spiritual

challenge to every good man and woman here. The deeply-injured Indians, who have suffered a thousand times more than did the Anglo-Indians, have yet sense enough of justice to regret and to condemn whatever of wrong-doing in them led to the brutal retaliations for which we, as a governing nation, are ultimately responsible. How can we meet this beautiful soul of the true India?

Does it not shame us into confessing how, from the very bottom of our hearts, we too regret and condemn all that happened from our side? Will not the sunshine of a mutual forgiveness reconcile all that has parted two nations that seem to have been made for mutual love, and melt all mistrust? The sacred memories of bloodshed in grim and gloomy Flanders ought for ever to have welded our hearts and minds in one harmonious whole. These things can still be if England resolves that her sun of chivalry has not yet set and that, come what may, she will do justice to India—that rather than let the cries of her foster-daughter remain unavailing echoes she will disown the wicked offspring of her own blood. Deep calls unto deep in this transcendent disavowal of India. It is for us now to set our house in order and to show that our repentance is piercing, truthful, and

self-slaying of the evil within us. The responsible culprits who have betrayed our honour must be tried and justly sentenced. The concealers of the truth, from the highest to the lowest, must be dragged into the day and punished.

Finally, India must be made as free as human wit and will can make her. No delays, no compromises, no half-loaves. Flanders, Mesopotamia, and Amritsar have bought her citizenship in no mean Empire at no mean price.

Every resolution passed at the Congress will repay deep and careful study. That this one has been singled out for especial emphasis is no mark of any lesser importance in the rest. But it is this which puts us upon our honour. If by justice and firm dealing with our minions we do not vindicate that honour, the old England which we knew and loved, wherein our pride was centred, will have died. The England of Sir Philip Sydney, of Howard, of Elizabeth Fry, of Wilberforce, will have passed away. Let us hope that the contrary will be shortly proven, and the tarnish scoured from the shield.

"There lives a soul of goodness in things evil
Would men observingly distil it out."

The glory is to India in this resolution. The task is to Great Britain.—*February 14, 1921.*

II

THE PRICE INDIA PAYS *

WHATEVER criticisms may have to be brought against the India Office and the present Secretary of State for India, for one achievement notable credit is their due. Mr. Montagu has issued Blue Books and White Papers in such unparalleled profusion that it is much to be hoped that the pedestal of the statue to be erected by his admirers in India will be modelled in the similitude of a pile of such refreshing productions, just as Venus rises from the waves or Clytie from the sunflower.

Cmd. Paper 595, otherwise an Explanatory Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India, *alias* East India: Accounts and Estimates 1919-1920, is a further effort in this line. It is not light reading in any sense of the word. In penetrating its jungles the sunlight of optimism and hope nearly vanishes.

The Indian Budget for 1919 to 1920 is presented upon page 4, the burden of taxation upon page 7, expenditure upon Military Services upon page 20, and upon Civil Departments upon page 21. There are 32 pages of statistics and more or less lucid

* The 1921 Budget has supplied its own commentary upon the contentions advanced in this article.

explanations in this Command Paper, all of great value and importance, but for the moment comment is more particularly directed to the pages cited above. The Net Revenue of the 1919-20 Budget is estimated at £87,968,200 and the Total Net Expenditure at £87,299,600. So far so good, especially if the 'surplus' be realised and not developed by the cruelty of the to-be-accomplished fact into a large net deficit some six million pounds lower, than the Budget Estimate, as was the sad case in 1918-1919.

The next statement to be noticed is the size of the Army Estimates. The world has been made safe for militarism, and the Indian Budget acknowledges this dismal fact by Military Service Estimates amounting to £41,195,000, a decrease of only some 2.7 millions upon last year's costs, and well on the way to nearly double the amount shown in the 1917-18 accounts! In short, the expenditure upon militarism is to absorb five-elevenths of the revenue! Presumably the suggestion will meet with not too cordial a welcome, but the meaning of the tables on page 4 would absolutely jump to the eye and mind if the items under expenditure could have plainly indicated by each one of them what fraction they represent first of the total revenue, and second of the total expenditure. The average publicist is a

busy person, and it is a nuisance to have to work out all these little sums which etch so mordantly the golden era about to dawn.

On page 20 the details of the Army Estimates are given. One could say much upon them if space permitted. It costs India £911,700 to pay the British War Office for British Forces in India, but India is to receive for the services of her troops in the "Colonies"—which term, we presume, really means Palestine, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Constantinople—only £238,500. If this low estimate means that Indian soldiers serving overseas are soon to be returned, so much the better. One hopes that it does.

The Civil Departments Estimates set out upon page 21 are a glaring commentary upon that one hundred and fifty years of beneficent British administration so much extolled by Imperialists. Education, the one hope of India as of all other countries, gathers up the crumbs that fall from the militarist table to the tune of £4,564,100. If one adds the expenditure upon Law Courts and Jails to that of Police and then performs a neat little sum by comparing it with the education grant, the proportion is as 100 is to 45—i.e., to bring up good citizens is less than half as important as to provide

the punitive machinery of society against the bad ones, and not an eighth as important as to provide an Indian army to —.

Yes, to do what? That is the whole point. According to Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking on February 23, "if anything happens in the Middle East,.....reinforcements will have to be sent from Home or from India. . . the discussion of these matters is proceeding between the War Office and the India Office." We wish it were proceeding between the British and the Indian peoples, with Mr. Winston Churchill and his like forced to listen. At another point in his illuminating address the Minister for War stated that before the war 9,000 Indian soldiers were serving out of India, "and we have now and we propose to keep during the greater part of the financial year 109,000 Indian soldiers." Mark well that contrast. Other treasures from this mine were the sentences: "We have to keep, through the military needs of the situation, 9,000 white and 14,000 Indian troops at and around Constantinople. . . . We have to keep 6,000 white and 20,000 Indian troops in Egypt. . . . on account of the unrest in the country. . . . We have to keep a certain force, not of great dimensions—a brigade or so—in

I. W. Persia, arising out of the situation created by the war and the policy of the State towards that country."

All this really amounts to the God-forsaken Forward" policy which has been the joint curse of Britain and of India ever since the hunt for a scientific frontier" began in the days of Disraeli and Lytton. What Mr. Romesh C. Dutt wrote in 1897 is truer to-day even than when he penned it, hence it will not be amiss to quote it here. "The civil administration of the country has been starved to find ways and means for the military expenditure. It should be understood that this great increase in the military expenditure is not due to wars in India, for there have been no real wars in India during forty years, but to expeditions and defence works outside the limits of India. Conquests in the East as far as the frontiers of China and the dominions of France, conquests in the north in the wild and mountainous regions of Chitral, and the extension of the frontier line in the west into Afghanistan and Beluchistan have been made and are maintained from the resources of India. . . . The old and peaceful provinces of India are made to pay for these costly possessions outside the limit of India. A hope was

held out to the people of India, and a pledge was given in the Queen's gracious Proclamation of 1858, that the cost of military expeditions outside the limits of India would not be charged to Indian revenues. Trans-frontier expeditions and conquests could not be undertaken out of Indian revenues under this pledge. The difficulty is got over by comprehending Burma and Chitral, Afghanistan and Beluchistan, under the name of '*India*'. Is not this paltering with the people of India in a double sense, keeping the words of promise to our ear and breaking it to our hope?"

The writer would be even more shocked to realise that '*India*' now extends to the Taurus mountains, to the Nile, and to Constantinople. The "scientific frontier" of India appears now to be the Mediterranean Sea, except that in the case of Egypt we might set our minds at rest once and for all by extending it to the West as far as the Atlantic Ocean, for obviously the Moors might some time come East to attack the sacred Suez Canal.

If this seem the language of crazy exaggeration, one need simply refer the doubter to the pre-war state of affairs, or even to the days of the early war-declarations. We are not fighting for a foot of new territory. Nevertheless, we wake up from a

dream and find ourselves with the bulk of the German colonies, islands in the Pacific, and a vast proportion of the Middle East. The Middle East has been the winding-sheet of more than one Empire. It is the cradle of religions and the tomb of conquerors. Well may we shudder, even our most imperialist organs of opinion having their tremors, at the ominous burden we are undertaking. As a barrier against invasions of India it is a case of execution as a cure for headache. The best defence a country can have is a sane foreign policy and a strong Army well within its own borders. Where did Old Russia beat Napoleon? At Moscow, not 'at Riga. Where did Scotland win her independence? At Bannockburn, not in the Isle of Wight. If insolent frontier tribesmen penetrate the North-West, let them come in often enough and far enough to be completely exterminated.

Such a policy is particularly to be recommended to the present Government of India, for its handling of the recent frontier wars has been as futile as ambitious, as costly as inept. Whatever Simla can do, it does not seem able to achieve military glory except on such fields as Jallianwala Bagh and Lahore. As to Bolshevism, that is merely the old

Russian Bear bogey with a shaggier coat. If Moslem India is set at rest with a reasonable Turkish settlement, if the Montagu Act is quickly widened into something like a measure of Home Rule, and if the Army Estimates are reduced so that they no longer stand in the proportion of seventy-nine times the expenditure upon Scientific (and Miscellaneous) Departments, the peace, prosperity, and loyalty of India could safely look after themselves.—*March 10, 1920.*

III

NOT WASHINGTON

"WHAT is truth?" said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer. So Bacon assures us at the opening of one of his essays. If Pilate had tarried sufficiently long upon this earth to have attended the sessions of the Joint Select Committee upon the Government of India Bill he might have found one answer to his question in words something like the following:—Truth is that which sometimes appears all the more deadly for being casually and accidentally revealed.

An almost fortuitous demonstration of this fell from the lips of Lord Southborough in an obiter dictum which may in time gather to itself nearly as much fame as certain other political catchwords, such as, "No bishop, no king"; "thorough"; "Wait and see"; and our latest phrase, "Dilly-Dally." Lord Southborough's illuminating comment upon all the high-sounding professions of Mr. Montagu was the artless explanation, "You see we are not putting into operation the Washington or South African Constitution in India." This ingenuous admission puts the whole thing in a nutshell. The Washington, or, more correctly, the

United States Constitution, and the South African Constitution are each in their not dissimilar ways a noble monument to the constructive genius of mankind applied to political science. The circumstances of their birth were also strangely parallel. The United States, after long and arduous travail, herself hammered out her scheme of self-government at the close of a successful rebellion against Great Britain. South Africa's Constitution was a gift to her from Great Britain at the close of a rebellious war in which the Transvaal had shown herself no mean adversary. It was a gift of generosity tempered largely by prudence. Those disposed may well speculate what might have happened from 1914 to 1918 had South Africa been held down by a military occupation as a merely conquered dependency. Such thoughts have the tendency to arouse in the mind the old, old question as to the morality of rebellion and the wisdom of revolt. Is it justifiable to gain liberty by the sword, to take Heaven by violence? Why do rebellions in some cases, such as the Scottish War of Independence, or as in the ones Lord Southborough has by implication cited, lead straight to freedom, and in others, such as Ireland's 1798 and 1916, simply make the situation

worse and darken counsel? Probably, if a dozen different historians and philosophers were asked this question there would be a dozen different replies. From one point of view the answer would seem to be that the insurgent country should be so sufficiently the match for the dominant as to create a perpetually impossible situation even if the conqueror repeated his subjugations time after time. His victories should never be more than Pyrrhic ones, whilst his defeats should be Waterloos. From this point of view alone, common sense, if nothing else, demonstrates that India's way to Liberty does not lie along the melancholy path of war whether marked by such happenings as Lexington, Spion Kop, or Vinegar Hill. Freedom ought to be hers by the inalienable rights of human dignity, by methods of reason, by honour, and by mutual respect. If one could conceive such an utterly devastating spectacle as India forcibly withdrawing from the connection with Great Britain the saddest thought of all would be the state of affairs and the train of events which must have been precedent to such a severance.

But it is certainly permissible to ask the reason why India should not receive a Washington or South African constitution. The sapient will some of

them reply that they do not admit her fitness for it. Those who do not care to advance this plea are logically driven back upon the unfortunate position that loyalty and service are less useful in securing a genuine constitution than is open rebellion.

The first argument is barely worth rebuttal. The whole world is asking in these democratic days whether any individual or nation has the right to judge of another's fitness for self-government. America at any rate does not think herself qualified to withhold autonomy from the Philippines on any such plea, and has recently granted them all free institutions. Can it seriously be contended that Indians, civilised down the centuries as they understand civilisation, are to be considered as lower in the scale of ability than the Philipinos, of whom the Americans gave the world such scarifying descriptions a bare score of years ago? The second argument would be as damaging as ungrateful. It is not the serious and considered state policy of this Imperial Commonwealth to place success in rebellion as a better claim to self-determination than are the claims of reason, tradition, and co-operation. No one is base enough to suppose that India made her gallant and magnificent effort in the war with her gaze fixed upon what benefits to herself

might come of it. Her devotion was not the price of her liberty—but it should be both a cause and the measure of it.

A little tentative reform in the direction of Indian Home Rule is not a bad thing. But a free constitution planned on a trustful and a noble scale would be a far better policy. One might seek in vain for any mandate from the constituencies of Great Britain for a niggardly, grudging, diarchical, and artificial Indian constitution. A timid Parliament underrates its own powers to do justice whilst its Ministers all but ignore the demands of the Indian National Congress. It would be difficult to conceive of any political task more solemn than devising a new scheme of government for over three hundred million people. It is just in the spirit of Washington that such a task could be fulfilled. However, we have Lord Southborough's melancholy assurance for it, that whatever the constitution will be, it is at all events "Not Washington."—*August 1, 1920.*

IV

INDIAN WOMEN AS CITIZENS *

THERE was a time in the struggle for the enfranchisement of British women when one prominent anti-feminist used to wind up all his lugubrious prophecies with the dark menace: Remember the bee.

The precise application of this cryptic exordium was, one believes, never distinctly pointed out; it may have had reference to the elimination of sex in the person of the worker bee, or to the slaying of the male by Queen Bee in her aerial nuptial flight. But whatever the coming of Woman Suffrage may have done, the destruction of the male is not one of its marks. That function is too efficiently provided for in human society by the institution of war. Nevertheless the injunction quoted can be applied to the reply made by Secretary of State for India to the recent deputation asking for the enfranchisement of women. The bee is chiefly

The action of the new Legislative Councils in India has confirmed the predictions of this article. How Mr. Montagu, after excluding the women of India from the benefits of his Act, can have anything to say against Non-Co-operation is impossible for a logical mind to see. Mr. Montagu was the first Non-Co-operator on a grand scale.

remembered by the ordinary person for two things: its honey and its sting.

The reply contained both. The honey, needless to remark, lay in the kind and encouraging words uttered by Mr. Montagu about Woman Suffrage for India. It was of vital importance; it had a bearing on the issue of influencing old social customs at present prevailing among some classes of women in India; throughout his political career he had been an advocate of Woman Suffrage in Great Britain; and so on. The sting was pungent and painful. He regarded the question as one of vital importance, because, *if not at the present time, certainly after the first statutory Commission of Enquiry it would be a question which Indian men would be in a position to decide for themselves.*

If these words do not clearly indicate a purpose of the Joint Select Committee to recommend delay it is difficult to imagine what they do mean. At any rate, they safeguard the whole position far more than the pleasant words make any definite promises. The sting is much more in evidence than the honey!

It is very necessary at this stage sharply to remind the Joint Select Committee that this kind of thing will not do. As far as the present House

of Commons is concerned, it holds office as much upon the votes of the women of this country as upon those of the men, for it is a notorious fact that last December the women voted very heavily. They put the present Government into power upon the "blank cheque" programme of reconstruction of Mr. Lloyd George. If Mr. Lloyd George's nominee to the Secretaryship of State for India does not write "Woman Suffrage" upon the particular cheque known as the Government of India Bill the men and women of Great Britain will be fully entitled to mark it "Return to drawer" when it comes to be presented for payment. In plain language, if Mr. Montagu does not carry out in the Government of India Bill some part of that principle to which he owes his own place in Parliament he may count upon the determined, vigorous, and straight political opposition of organised British women and their societies when next he courts the suffrages of the electors. The shades of night already begin to fall upon the present Government, and its exit is probably not far distant. But were it destined to endure its full legal term of five years its end would have to come some day, and at that time the record of the Government as a whole and of each Ministers will

be carefully, dispassionately, but relentlessly scrutinised in its relation to the interests of women. What has become of the former anti-suffrage stalwarts now? The decent seclusion of the House of Lords entombs some such as the former Mr. Harcourt; others, like Mr. Asquith, are the disconsolate Peris viewing Paradise only from the gate. But for some very wonderful conversions of a deathbed nature, the slaughter of these unholy innocents last December would have been even more Herodian than it was. Apart from all prudential reflections which Mr. Montagu may entertain upon his personal career, there is the serious consideration that since the Representation of the People Act of 1918 he has no shadow of a right nor has his Government any authorisation whatsoever to embark upon political ventures which inflict sex disabilities upon women within this Empire; and this general consideration quite transcends in importance the personal one.

The opposition foreshadowed by women may already be visualised in the espousal of the Indian women's cause by one great women's organisation, the Women's Freedom League, which formally demands the inclusion of votes for Indian women in the Bill. British women take the deepest interest in

their Indian sisters, and know quite enough about men politicians of their own country to realise how gladly they would seize upon such points as the *Purdah* difficulty to evade the real issue. If it comes to *Purdah*, there are women within this country quite comparable to *Purdah* women. We refer to the numerous large communities of Roman Catholic and Anglican nuns. The fact that they have no individual property and therefore pay no individual taxes probably debars them even from being on the register, whilst it is an inferential certainty that even if they had votes, those nuns, who are strictly cloistered, would not be allowed to go out and use them. But no British politician has ever yet had the temerity to suggest that the seclusion of such women was any argument against the enfranchisement of the rest. Insincere, trivial, and humbugging as the average anti-suffrage arguments were, they never descended to that lowest depth. Hence no politician, either on the Joint Select Committee or out of it, need imagine that British woman will for one moment admit any validity in the *Purdah* argument. No cat licking itself near a pile of feathers could be more serenely demure than Lord Southborough's Franchise Committee sparing the *Purdah* woman

from a vote, just because it suits their own fancies. Unfortunately, they are just as easily to be detected! "You know," said Mr. Pecksniff with a tear in his eye and an upward glance, "how I have always put my own interests before those of my children"—"I mean," he hastily corrected himself, "my children's before my own."

It is most sinister that this *purdah* difficulty is allowed to come into play when it is a question of a privilege to be conferred. The Southborough Franchise Committee openly admits that machinery and expediency are the only obstacles that stand between Indian women and the vote. Indian men oppose none. Lord Southborough, who quoted his quondam stewardship at a Woman Suffrage Ball as evidence of his proclivities, allowed the recommendation of Woman Suffrage in India entirely to break down on the point of practical difficulties in machinery. We would remind him that the Indian Franchise Ball will be a poor festivity if all the women of India are to be wallflowers until a Statutory Commission looks into their claims to have a turn, this year, next year, some time, never!

Grave problems lie in front of India. Many such as housing, temperance, and the hideous poverty problem as a whole, cannot conceivably be solved by

Indian men alone, however zealous and willing they may be. Meantime there are also special and darker problems awaiting their women's solution. What, for instance, of the unhappy Indian women helots of the Fiji Islands, sent out to "serve" the Indian labourers there in the proportion of one woman to seven men? The women of Australia have been nobly bestirring themselves on their behalf, and will no doubt soon end this hideousness. But is the Indian women to be content that only other women are to have political power to act and she herself sit by helpless whilst her Indian sisters are wronged? And is India herself the only country to be free from those social problems which are receiving the world-wide attention of women each in their own land?

It is clear that the time to enfranchise Indian women is here and now. Whether the machinery be simple as a ballad or as complicated as a symphony, human intelligence can devise it. The thing must be done.--*August 15, 1919.*

V

THE BASIS OF CONSTITUTIONALISM

IN the celebrated speech upon "Conciliation with America" which Burke delivered in 1775, he said, "England is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom." If he were to-day speaking upon conciliation with India, he might apply the statement with renewed intensity and applicability. The degradation of British liberty has usually been contemporaneous with the nadir of Great Britain's regard for the liberties of those nations associated with her in the Imperial Commonwealth. That solemn idiot, George III, did his despicable bust to undermine British liberties before embarking upon the inglorious struggle with the American colonists. To-day this country is still throttled with her Defence of the Realm Act, whilst simultaneously India is promised deliverance from her own similar legislation only to fall into the grip of Rowlattism.

It is, then, no mere academic passion for logical neatness which has made the Indian National Congress place in the forefront of its demands a Declaration of Rights. It is bitter need, not a mere historical exercise or a slavish imitation of

Continental models. The charter India demands might be roughly summarised as: equality of all before the law; no punishment without open trial; licence to bear arms; a free Press; and equalisation between Briton and Indian as far as corporal punishment is concerned.

It seems remarkable that such mild constitutional guarantees need to be asked for at all, and if we had any criticism to offer upon them it would be astonishment at that mildness. If India be disposed to take warning from England, we would earnestly direct her attention to the fact that it is one thing to embody such demands in charters and constitutions, but that the wit of legalists has barely yet devised means whereby such provisions may be enforced and permanently maintained.

The whole history of the liberties of the individual in this country has been a story of a struggle to place upon record rights which were always understood to be inherited under Common Law. The great English constitutional enactments, from the Charter of Henry I onwards, always recognised the pre-existence of rights they confirmed. The major struggle, varying in form from financial bargaining to Civil War, has always been to get the rights carried out in fact. Abstract

declarations are pleasant enough things, but it has been the experience of the English people, bitterly purchased by centuries of strife, that the statutes most worth having have been those which imposed definite limitations upon the Executive's power to infringe them. Declarations of Rights lie scattered upon Continental Constitutions as thick as leaves in Vallambrosa; but few people are ignorant enough to suppose that has made any very extraordinary difference to Executives desiring to have their own way in "preserving order" in troubled times. And it is precisely in such times that the guarantees, if valid, would be wanted. When prosperity and peace lull the land, there is little likelihood of political restlessness, and the guarantees seem as glacially immovable as the icefields of the Antarctic. When trouble comes, they are found to be about as permanent as ice in an oven.

There are a few sound methods of preserving liberties once recognised and obtained. By far the best is the education of all and sundry in the elements of their liberty. Our ancestors clearly recognised this and tried to make provision for it by dispersing charters to every cathedral school in the land and by formally enacting that

such great statutes as the Confirmation of the Charters and *De Tallagio non Concedendo* should be read before the people two times by the year, and that "all archbishops and bishops shall pronounce the sentence of great excommunication against all those that by word, deed, or counsel do contrary to the foresaid charters, or that in any point break or undo them.....and that the said curses be twice a year denounced and published by the prelates aforesaid.....and if the same prelates or any of them be remiss in the denunciation of the said sentences, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for the time being, as is fitting, shall compel and distrain them to make that denunciation in form aforesaid." (Confirmation of the Charters, 1297.)

This wholesome law was widely disobeyed even by John Hampden's time. But if Section 65 of the Government of India Act, forbidding the Indian Legislature to contravene any part of the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom, has any legal validity whatsoever, we would suggest that it would be a charming revival of constitutional right and practice to see the Archbishops of Canterbury and York solemnly cursing Sir Michæl O'Dwyer and the Governor of Bombay (to say nothing of a few recent British Cabinets and Home

Secretaries) for their infringements of the principles of Magna Carta. The film rights of such a scene alone ought to be worth something.

But bishops having proved to be such hardened and reckless law-breakers, it is to general education one must turn. It is comforting to reflect that two countries at least do perform their plain duty in teaching the elements of their respective constitutions to scholars in primary schools—France and the United States. In the British Isles an elementary scholar who could recite by heart even the four fundamental clauses of Magna Carta would be worth going miles to hear. Perhaps a dozen members of an average House of Commons (apart from lawyers) might be possible starters in such a contest, but we doubt it. The Defence of the Realm Act was evidently passed by a set of men contemptuously and invincibly ignorant of their country's dear-bought liberties.

An inverse process seems to be taking place in India. There being presumably no liberties to be taught, the Rowlatt Legislation appears to the official mind to be a suitable mental food, according to the letter of Mr. C. F. Andrews, which was published in '*India*' of August 22, 1919. May we say politely that the Rowlatt Legislation is not

quite a model course in civics? Nevertheless, even this gallant adventure in constitutionalism (or its negation) is more than is attempted in some schools here, where the writer has found flourishing in full vigour such ideas as that Adam Bede and the Venerable Bede were one and the same person, and that Columbus was a relative of Columba.

Indians do well to insist upon the transfer of the whole of the subject of education to their direction, and we would urge with all emphasis that, whatever be *not* taught, the elements of personal freedom should form a part of the curriculum of every school, however elementary, and be an irreducible minimum in those adult village schools whose establishment Sir Michael Sadler so well urged as a concomitant of the franchise and the reforms.

We have already mentioned the other specific for the preservation of liberty: definite laws imposing definite penalties on judges or other officials infringing upon civil liberties. The Habeas Corpus Acts, although not yet perfect, are good types of what is meant. A remedy for the wronged person and a punishment for the wrongdoer (official, judicial, or otherwise) are alike necessary, official human nature being the sorry thing it is beneath every sky.

The last and most glorious necessity is a succession of men or women who will realise freedom in the soul and be prepared to suffer to gain and retain it. There is, fortunately, every reason to conclude from India's past and present roll of heroes that this boon will continue to be hers. But a widespread diffusion of constitutional information and definite remedial laws may prevent much suffering and breaking-up of their noble lives, so it is well to strive to achieve these things. For India, as for every other country, one of the prices of liberty will be eternal vigilance. It is urgently necessary to obtain the inclusion of a Declaration of Rights in the Government of India Bill. Recent events have proved it beyond all question. It is a thousand times more necessary that, when obtained, it must be guarded as the heart's blood of the new Indian Constitution, *August 29, 1919.*

VI

TRUSTEES AND TRIMMERS

WHILE the world lasts there will always be two types of workers in the political field. The one type has fixed principles and steers his course by them. The other is the Trimmer. The most that can be said for the latter was put at its best in the book bearing that name as title by Viscount Halifax, whose own life furnished so complete an example of the political ruin in which the Trimmer's career ultimately dissolves. The worst lives for ever in Dryden's immortal lines upon the veering Shaftesbury, who

Restless, unfixed in principles or place,
Unpleased in power, impatient in disgrace,
Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,

Was everything by starts and nothing long.

No doubt the man who is guided by fixed principles may have the defects of his qualities and the disadvantages of his relative immovability. But friend and foe must admit that stability, endurance and loyal trusteeship are gains so great that one can afford to pay this price to secure them.

One is moved to these reflections by a perusal of various comments furnished as news to the Indian

Press which have been passed upon the official delegates of the Indian National Congress, and which centre chiefly upon its two spokesmen before the Joint Select Committee.

To cite these comments in detail and to trace their authorship would be a task as wearying to the reader as distasteful to the writer, but it is no unfair summary of them to say that they are ill-natured emanations from the Moderate camp, and their obvious intention is to discount in advance of their return the work done by the Congress Delegates in this country. That conclusion is all the more inevitable in that the Moderates describe each others' work and performances in the most glowing way, and in almost the same breath as that in which they disparage the Congress Delegation. No witnesses made such good impressions upon the Joint Select Committee as the Moderates. They themselves say so! For mutual admiration exuberantly expressed one need only turn to the pages of the various Moderate organs, wherein each takes up the wondrous tales of the others' statesmanship, and miraculously delicate powers of negotiation. We much regret that independent testimony in the principal organs of the English Press to this effect has hitherto escaped our notice. It is indeed

strange that all this wonderful work for India has caused so little sensation in quarters outside the charmed circle.

If there is a palm longer and greener than all other palms bestowed upon the witnesses heard by Lord Selborne's Committee it is one proffered by the Hon. Srinivasa Satri to the Hon. Surendranath Banerjea. By some method of divination not divulged to the mere reader, Mr. Satri knows how excellent was the effect produced in the minds of the Committee members by his leader's evidence. Let us turn then to some of the passages in that evidence. We make the acknowledgment that we have before us only the unrevised copy, but as we were present, and our memory tallies with the copy we are using, we trust our readers will acquaint us of any intentional distortion or misrepresentation. In his replies to Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P., (numbers 1108 to 1117), Mr. Banerjea stated that the Moderate Party had "several" associations; was only of yesterday's growth as against the thirty-three years' growth of the Congress; if the Government would find reasonable measures the saner section of the community would be with them, *i.e.*, the Moderates. "But at present," resumed Mr. Spoor, "the Moderates could not claim to represent a very considerable

body of opinion." "Considerable! If you use that word I would say yes. It may not be a considerable body of political manhood. Take, for example, Bengal. I think the great body of the thinking population of Bengal is Moderate." Questioned on the chief points of difference between the National Congress and his own party Mr. Banerjea replied that it was difficult for him to say; perhaps with regard to details there was not much difference of opinion, but the outlook was different. They (the Moderates) had from the outset supported the scheme as a definite stage and as marking a definite and substantial stage of a responsible Government. Some would-be leaders of the National Congress had regarded the scheme as disappointing, unacceptable, and unworthy of the British public, etc., unless and until certain fundamental changes were introduced which, in the Moderates' opinion, would have transformed the scheme out of shape. But now they (*i.e.*, the would-be leaders) were coming round to their (*i.e.*, the Moderate) views. The Congress was coming round to approximation to his views. He did not support a time limit in their (the Congress) way. Their time limit, as he understood it, was that after five years this must be done. They

did not put it that way. They said there must be progressive stages, and after five years there should be an enquiry and then, as a result of that enquiry, there should be a further advance. But they did not say a fixed five years, and within those five years, they must be given so and so. They based it upon qualification. That, he thought, was an essential point of view." "Was it correct that in December, 1913, when the Congress was held, he (Mr. Banerjea) had moved a Resolution asking for a statutory time limit?" asked Mr. Spoor. Let us give the answer in Mr. Banerjea's own immortal words:

"I do not know that I did. My impression is that I did not, and even if I did, I think it is open to me to change my opinion. I do not think I ever supported a time limit."

The evidence cited above contains some remarkable admissions, and one cannot but congratulate Mr. Banerjea upon the honesty with which he avowed the relatively numerical unimportance of the Moderate Party. But when it comes to describing its adherents—prospective, at that!—as the "saner section" of the community he does not err on the side of restraint.

If Mr. Banerjea really considers the Bill "a

definite and substantial stage of responsible government," then, one can only breathe a sigh and pass on and trust that his dream will not, like the baseless fabric, of this vision,

The cloud-capp'd towers, and gorgeous
palaces,

The solemn temples, the great globe itself,

Yea, all which it inherit. . . . dissolve.

And, like the unsubstantial pageant, faded,

Leave not a rack behind.

But nearly three months have passed since Mr. Banerjea tendered his evidence, and he has presumably had by now time enough to recall whether he did or did not move in the Congress in December, 1917, a resolution asking for statutory time limit. A plain yes or no to this question would greatly help to strengthen or otherwise whatever reputation for consistency Mr. Banerjea prizes. He apparently does not attach any undue importance to this quality. We will pass on to his evidence relative to Woman Suffrage. Questions 1131 to 1134 elicited that Mr. Banerjea's personal view was that "the question of women's suffrage should not be pressed because it might jeopardise the present Bill, because the opinion which ought to support the present measure—the

Conservative opinion, which was very large in India, and the unorthodox opinion—would be affected. That was his only objection. It was only a practical objection. He agreed with the principle, *but every principle had to be judged by the circumstances of its application.* (Italics ours.) He had never enquired into the percentage of women (in Bombay) who had exercised their right—he had not studied the question or taken the trouble to get the information." According to his adherents, Mr. Banerjea's evidence dazzled his hearers with its clarity, eloquence and wisdom. We can imagine that a Lord Curzon or a Sir Michael O'Dwyer, declared enemies of Woman Suffrage, might be enormously titillated by this; but bearing in mind that several of the Committee members, including the noble Chairman, have logically and consistently supported the enfranchisement of Englishwomen, we are decidedly of opinion that this betrayal of the cause of Indian womanhood, a crime committed in avowed ignorance and justified only by expediency, was likely to create the most unfavourable impression not only in the Committee-room, but to cause a revulsion of feeling among the eight million women voters of Great Britain when such evidence percolates to them, as it must

in course of time. Such statements are capable, we say in all sincerity, of having a very adverse effect upon the cause of Indian democracy. We regret the almost contemptuous phrasing of this curt dismissal of the claims of half India. As comparisons have been made the order of the day by the Moderates, we ask our readers to compare the strong and unanswerable plea of the Congress for the enfranchisement of Indian women, and then make their choice between these two witnesses on this point as on others.

The Indian National Congress is the chief organ of expression of India at present. As such, the evidence tendered by the Delegation is of a representative character, and carries a degree of weight which no evidence—however charming, however flattering, however subtly prepared in the hope of pleasing the British political palate—can carry from those representing small groups or themselves alone. If any one imagines that the Imperial Parliament is a stranger to "demands" and lends a readier ear to softly murmured cooings and suggestions, we beg to differ. It is the poorest compliment imaginable to suppose that the English are so enervated and hysterical a race that they cannot bear to hear the plain truth. The apparent acceptability of the

evidence to the Committee is the worst criterion by which to test it. The true test is, was the truth told and told plainly? Did the Congress delegates honestly conform to their mandate? If not, they will doubtless be prepared to answer for it. If they have, they have fulfilled their duty.

In the midst of all the cant about unity one fact emerges. Those who have it most on their lips have it least in their hearts, unless the unity takes the graceful form of subservience to personalities and not faithful loyalty to principles. The Congress Deputation has chosen the latter path. True, it does not lead to awe-inspiring revelations as to what this great man has told them in confidence, or how the other personage bit his lips and turned pale or glowed with gratitude for an inspiration received. All that kind of thing pleases a certain type of mind and no doubt marks the Heaven-born negotiator. The Indian National Congress is to be congratulated upon having selected witnesses of a manlier, sturdier breed to carry the message which Great Britain will not heed the less because it is a plain tale plainly and openly spoken by trustees, not by trimmers. — *October 24, 1919.*

VII

THE BETRAYAL *

THE saddest memory of the world is of a betrayal. The British Parliament is within measurable distance of re-enacting such a drama. One sorry scene of it has been played this summer by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill. Witnesses have been invited to appear before it to represent all views upon that measure. Scores of patriotic Indians, men and women, have faced the long and costly journey at what sacrifices to themselves or their supporters outsiders can only conjecture. And the net result is almost nothing. It would have been kinder and more decent to have warned them not to come.

It seems almost incredible that the long sittings of the Committee could have taught it so little, but the bare fact remains that the Bill emerges from this long and expensive examination practically as it went in. One or two slight concessions there are, such as the destruction of the Grand Committee plan,

* The article was quoted and attacked by Lord Amptill in the House of Lords in the Debate upon the Government of India Bill.

and the Separate Purse System; but in vital essentials the Bill stands where it stood last spring—a rigidly sovereign Central Government will dominate India, whilst divided Governments will essay the impossible in the provinces. Unless Parliament takes heed, and that speedily, it will commit the British people to a horrible betrayal of the only things that make the British race worth preservation—its one-time traditions of liberty and justice. From the Press of this country, enslaved as it is by vast commercial interests, nothing need be hoped. One prominent Free Liberal organ, in commenting upon the Report, stated that the plan as it stands “carries out the promise of liberalising the Government institutions of India.” As a culmination of this extraordinary handling of the truth it illustrates the practicability of diarchy by the alleged harmonious workings of the innumerable public bodies which govern London! At any other time this very paper would probably stigmatise this multiplicity of authorities in London as an evil to be deplored and remedied, but for lack of a better argument it applies an admittedly bad system in an area of under two hundred square miles as not undesirable in an area of a million and a half square miles.

The viciousness of the argument illuminates the indefensibility of the proposal. The resignation of Major-General Seely from the Air Ministry throws more light on divided control. In his statement upon his resignation made to the House of Commons on November 12 he gave as the reason for his action that the position “involved obviously the dangers of dual control. Dual control is a dangerous thing any where . . . peculiarly dangerous in the air . . . the arrangement was bound to be inefficient and wasteful . . . not in the interests of the State . . . inimical to the interests of the Air Service . . . there was no personal question involved . . . I could no longer consent to a plan which I thought would have fatal results. . . .”

If the dual control of the War Office and the Air Ministry over the Air Service has broken down in the teeth of the admittedly non-personal nature of the difficulties, what hope can there be of harmonious dualism when men of different race and tradition are required to work a similar system? Dual control will be no more a dangerous thing in the Air Service than in the Indian provinces, and it is to hope for the miraculous to suppose that there will not be many breakdowns due not only to

personal causes, but inherent in the very system of diarchy.

But we all know that the Bill, being a Government measure, has a practically fixed destiny, and that by Christmas it will be an accomplished fact, the incalculable chances of Fate being set aside. What, then, should be the policy of all Indians and lovers of India? It is in no sense the prerogative of this paper to dictate or even suggest what the Indian National Congress may or ought to decide. But there are plain facts and alternative courses open to the consideration of every thoughtful and interested mind. It may be that the Bill may be amended by the Houses of Parliament so that it is immensely better than we now foresee. If so, well and good; if wishes were horses, beggars would be riders. The more likely thing is that the Bill will go through much as it is, and in that case it is indisputable that the 1919 Indian National Congress will be the most important one that has ever met, and that its decisions will determine the course of Indian policy for a generation. That the political genius and prestige of Mr. Tilak, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and of all the other great Indian leaders may work

together fruitfully to one grand end will be the heartfelt desire of every wellwisher and admirer of India. Faced with an unsatisfactory Act, Indian political leaders may think of the parable in Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice." The wooers of Portia had to make a choice between a gold, a silver, and a leaden casket. The golden one bore the inscription, "Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire." The Prince of Morocco, who opened it, found inside a Death's head and the scroll, whose message began, "All that glistens is not gold." So will it be with those who take the Act at the face value which the Coalition Parliament inscribes upon it. They will be the dupes, but the Congress will certainly not be of this school of thought and accept the golden promises enshrining the Death's head. The silver casket bore the motto, "Who chooseth me shall gain what many men desire." The Prince of Arragon, whose choice it was, found inside the portrait of an idiot. This might well symbolise those politicians in India whose consistent inconsistency is to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, at one moment in with the Government and proclaiming their moderation, at another loudly asserting that they are as extreme as the extremist, and that, in spite of their

statesmanlike qualities of negotiation, diplomacy, and what not, no one can better them in a crisis. "Some there be that shadows kiss, Such have but a shadow's bliss," were the words inside the silver casket, and they aptly describe the Yea-and-Nay Party, despised by none more than by the Government itself. It was Bassanio who proved the successful wooer by opening the leaden casket. "Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath," said the label on this casket. The leaden casket of democracy does indeed make the demand of constant hazard and utter self-surrender; and this will certainly be the choice of the Indian National Congress. The gold of Governmental gifts, the specious silveriness of calculated zig-zag courses, will be unattractive in its eyes, compared with the dull, unattractive leaden casket containing the fulfilment of its democratic and far-reaching policy. The dupes and the self-seekers may fall away. The true-hearted workers will remain and ever secede until the goal of real self-government be reached. Even many of the better disposed of the waverers will return, we believe, to the old Congress flag.

The placing of the "little thing" upon the Statute Books of Great Britain is no particularly

proud achievement for the Mother of Parliaments to boast of. Its hurried passage before the Report of either the Currency or the Punjab Commissioners is rather clever. Its anticipation of the second may make it precede an outburst of national wrath. Its priority to the first may dodge awkward financial questionings. It is obvious that the Bill in its present measure of concession goes just about as far as the commercial and financial interests will sanction. The minimum of self-determination means the maximum of capitalistic exploitation.

May the Indian National Congress prosper in all its decisions! And when they are taken, may it remember that the next step is to send over enlightenment as to India's wishes to the great British people, who, not unmindful of India's glorious record, would be glad to do justice if only the truth were not withheld from their eyes. The Rubicon again has to be crossed by an Indian Cæsar; the Imperial City must know of its purport.

—November 28, 1919.

VIII

THE CONGRESS DEPUTATION

ON December 26, 1919 the last remaining members of the Delegation of the Indian National Congress left London for India. The occasion is therefore not an unfitting one upon which to review the general results of the Delegation's activities.

In personnel it comprised twelve members, viz., Mr. B. G. Tilak, Dewan Madhava Rao, the Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde, the Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. B. G. Horniman, Mr. A. R. Iyengar, Dr. Mehta, Mr. B. C. Pal, Dr. Sathaye, and Mr. Chenchiah.

During the stay of the Deputation a fourfold work was accomplished. The British Committee of the Congress was reorganised upon the defined and constitutional basis; the Congress Policy with regard to the Government of India Bill was pressed by every legitimate political means upon Parliament and the Joint Select Committee; the case for Indian Home Rule and the truth (as far as was then known) upon the Punjab reprisals was widely disseminated by a national campaign; and efforts were made to reconcile the various Indian Deputations and politicians who had come over contemporane-

ously with the Congress Deputation. Varying measures of success attended all these efforts.

That the Congress Policy should have been adopted *in toto* by Parliament would perhaps be too miraculous to hope for in view of the nature of the present Cabinet, with its Curzons and Milners. That more might have been accomplished in that direction, had it not been for the clashing self-styled "Deputations" of all kinds from India is probably also true. The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" some time ago published a letter from their London correspondent which expressed the naive pride of the Moderate Deputation in subordinating the Punjab question to the far more important matter of the reforms. They need not have troubled. No one in the universe had so clear a conception of the relative triviality of massacres as compared with measures as had the Secretary of State for India. They merely threw another perfume on the violet, painted the lily, and committed the other forms of wasteful and ridiculous excess. Their awe-struck attitude towards the Bill greatly strengthened the forces of reaction, although, had those forces been too strong for the Bill, their support would have done but little to ensure its safety. Had the Moderates all remained in India, the Bill would have passed,

and possibly—we do not go further than possibly—it would have included some form of that sorely needed Declaration of Rights. Public opinion is enormously influenced by sentiment and emotion, and the story of the Punjab told unflinchingly by all alike might have procured at least this in response to the impulses of humanity and generosity evoked in the constituencies. Compared with a human tale of woe, constitutional points like full provincial autonomy seem somewhat academic.

We must remind our readers, Indians more particularly, that the vast bulk of the present British electorate left school at fourteen or earlier, so that what appears abstract obtains comprehension or sympathy with difficulty. The one great opportunity for combined action was the Punjab question, and that opportunity the Moderates lost. Mised alike by their apprehensions as to the safe passage of the Bill and by their over-estimate of the value of their support they dropped the substance for the shadow. The very fact that they had diverged in policy from the Indian National Congress in its political evolution should have made them investigate their own acts with great strictness of conscience. It may be that all the various Deputations did their best according to their

lights, but we may be pardoned for thinking that the lights which led some of them along a path contrary to the National Congress, Moslem and Indian Home Rule League ones were rather doubtful lanterns! Undoubtedly the sporadic multiplication of "deputation" prejudiced the Congress Deputation in the number of witnesses heard by the Joint Select Committee, which seemed never to tire of hearing Moderates, but heard only Messrs. Patel, Madhava Rao, and Tilak for the Congress and Home Rule League. At the same time the change in public opinion effected by the straight course taken by the L. N. C. Deputation was very marked. By the end it had the greatest compliment of all political compliments paid it. It was singled out by the reactionary speakers during the passage of the Bill for hostile comment. The four stages through which a political movement usually goes are: apathy, ridicule, hostility, and success. It is a good thing to be at the penultimate stage! The Indian National Congress is now beginning to reach the ear of the ordinary voter and of the politicians of all types, and the moment is ripe for continued effort in the political field. The Indian National Congress is at last a force to be reckoned with in Great Britain.

We believe we do not err in saying that the Deputation assimilated knowledge and developed political capacity of the kind suited to this country as rapidly as they opened British minds with regard to Indian questions. We believe they have taken back to India a great fund of goodwill, and that they realise how much may be accomplished by the kindly means of co-operation and frank dealings between the two races. They have learnt that many Britishers themselves suffer beneath grandiose Imperialism, have troubled consciences about India, and would gladly do whatever they could. Personal contact has cleared up much misunderstanding; and more visits from Indians will accomplish proportionately more. Kindly feelings and warm welcomes await other comers from India, and the one wish here is that visits may be frequent. One might sum up by saying that the Congress Deputation accomplished far more by personal touch than their record of successes in their Report might show. The fruit of their labours is not yet all ripe, and the good result of their labours will accrue for a long time yet. India may truly say to her Delegates, "Well done, good and faithful servants."—
January 2, 1920.

IX

THE VOICE OF INDIA *

THE important cable from India given upon the first page of this issue enunciates in authoritative form the verdict of the people of India upon the present situation in that country. The whole world is in the travail and throes of rebirth, and India is by no means exempt from a share in the general tragedy of the universe. Nevertheless, there is a bright and hopeful aspect holding out cheer to us all, as well as a very gloomy part in her picture. In four words India condemns, thanks, demands, and reconstructs. There is little to despair about in a nation which can do these things simultaneously and with such unerring judgment as her thirty-fourth Congress has just demonstrated.

The condemnations include persons, actions, and legislation.

* The rows of dots indicate a sentence which the printers refused to take the legal risks of printing. Perhaps this little incident may signify to Indian readers that there is not quite so much liberty in Britain as they may sometimes suppose! The statement, it may be remarked, was a very mild one of moral condemnation and did not go beyond the Congress resolutions in spirit.

The Rowlatt and Indemnity Legislation receive due reprobation and the massacre its meed of horror. With so much to lament it would not have been extraordinarily surprising if the Congress had devoted its whole consideration to the story of India's wrongs and even to devising methods of vengeance. But Congress put things into perspective and proportion and showed a markedly constructive frame of mind. The inadequacy and unsatisfactoriness of the Government of India Act was placed upon record. That Act is broadly the same as the proposals of the Report upon which the Delhi Congress passed the same judgment. Congress has demonstrated its own continuity and consistency by repeating its former opinion. There is no vehemence of language or vindictiveness in purpose to make the sad recognition of a painful fact complete. The Reforms are to be worked concurrently with the consistent demand for a real constitution. If they break down in their own inherent illogicality and deviousness, it will

not be the fault of the malice or boycott of the Congress: it will clearly be due to their own defects. If they work unexpectedly well, then the case for more self-government immediately strengthens. As to postponements for statutory periods, of ten years or ten weeks, everybody, from Mr. Montagu downwards, knows perfectly well that no Parliament can bind a successor and that if the political situation is such as to make revision imperative it will be made. History does not respect documents, even Pragmatic Sanctions, more than the sun delays rising because of the snow on the mountain-tops. It is of great significance that the "within fifteen years" proviso of the Congress demand has apparently disappeared. It never was properly understood by all in this country, being frequently taken to mean that India was prepared to stand aside in chains for yet another fifteen years. The cable says: "early establishment of full responsible government." This gives a mandate and a motto to the workers for India on this side, whether connected with the British Congress Committee or not. Sufficient hard work would turn that "early" into "immediate." The Congress appeals direct to Parliament over the head of the Secretary of State for full and early self-determination. By the

appointment of a strong Propaganda Committee we note that it means to go even over the head of Parliament to the real source of power—to the British people themselves.

This is the most momentous decision Congress has ever taken and is grand news for all pro-Indians in England. When this propaganda is strongly going, the emissaries will find that, although the Labour Party will give such support that gratitude is rightly their portion, there will be other sections of public opinion also to be reached, wherein educational effort will bear rich fruit. To mention only three spheres of work, there are manifold ramifications of the women's organisations, the great teaching profession (which recently refused to affiliate with the Labour Party), and the religious bodies, Anglican, Non-conformist, Roman Catholic, and Jewish. All these have important influence upon public opinion. However, for the moment, the Labour Party has justly reaped the praises that were its due for its efforts during the passage of the Act. The thanks of the Congress to its own Committee in London show the new spirit of warm and kindly co-operation in which the two bodies, one in mind and yet so far apart physically, will work.

One thing that Congress asks for might be got on with at once—namely, the Statutory Declaration of Rights. Had the news of the Amritsar massacre been published last April, as it ought to have been but for the *suppressio veri* of the Government of India and the culpable supineness of the India Office and Parliament, it is difficult to conceive that two things would not have occurred. The Central Government's power would not have been left intact and some sort of civil rights must have been conferred. We would strongly advise India to judge of the tenacity and power of her friends on this side by the amount of effort made to get a Supplementary Indian Civil Rights Act upon the Statute Book. One of the reasons advanced by the Speaker against its incorporation in the India Bill was that it might conflict with existing legislation on the subject. This is exactly the point. May it conflict to the extent of repeal, and that right soon!

That Congress should thank Mr. Montagu for his labours is kind and generous. That it has refrained from expressly condemning him for active or passive suppression of the truth of the Amritsar massacre shows restraint and scrupulous fairness. But as there is to be another Congress when the Congress Enquiry Committee reports, perhaps his

management of affairs will again come up for consideration at an early date.

It is of good omen that well-known Moderates like Mr. Sastri should have been present and also that the numbers attending should have been so magnificent. The burial of religious feuds, alluded to by Mr. Kelkar at the end of his cable, is of the first importance. The Hindus support the Moslems on the Khilafat question and the Moslems have made a timely and noble concession on their side with regard to cow-killing at the Bakrid festival. It is such triumphs of wisdom and practical common sense as these which show how ready India is for self-government. She is not an Ireland, paralysed by indissoluble hatreds, but a congeries of widely varying but reasonable people, able to adjust differences, arrange compromises, to suffer with imperturbable dignity, to demand redress with fervent but just ardour and to place her case before the British people and the entire world in eloquent, moving, and logically proportioned statements. She repudiates her own mob violence with the same calm voice as that in which she articulates her scorn of the hideous terrorism by which it was punished. India is already free in mind and soul. That spiritual reality must be translated

into material fact with no postponement. "*Nullo vendemus, nullo negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut iusticiam*," was the pledge that the English people extorted from the dilatory Angevin in 1215. Delay of justice, as Macaulay remarked centuries later, is injustice. We must treat any Government that dabbles with the question of Indian self-determination as our forefathers dealt with King John, for the equal claims of humanity and honour. "*To none will we sell, to none deny, to none delay right or justice*."—January 28, 1920.

3. THE PUNJAB TRAGEDY

X
THE REIGN OF TERROR *

EVERY mail from India deepens the impression already engraved upon the British mind, abruptly shocked into an apprehension of the hideous reality by the revelations first made public on December 13 last.

Diverging for the moment from the gravity of the subject, a word may be said upon the propriety of comment upon the evidence given before the Hunter Commission. In the first place, that Commission is not a judicial body and has no power to inflict sentences. There is no jury in the case whose minds might be prejudiced or sense of justice warped by an unfair use of the Press. Comment is by no means precluded upon the facts which are not in question, such as the admissions made by military officers about their own conduct. Nor, for that matter, is the official and Anglo-Indian Press refraining from criticism, exhortation, praise, rebuke, and admonition, as seems good to it, samples of each of these being distributed at

* This article was the leader of a special "Punjab Atrocity" number. The general idea of issuing such a number was an inspiration from Dr. Rutherford, all details being worked out by the editor.

discretion among witnesses, other journals, and even to members of the examining Commission. Pandit Jagat Narayan, for instance, incurs their august displeasure by what they entitle his "prolixity." Our readers will remember that whilst the Douglas-Pennant Commission was still sitting and before its final report was published, not only did the general Press comment fairly freely, but that, for the sake of exonerating such gravely aspersed personages as Major Janson, the Commission even anticipates certain of its own findings. The Indian National Congress has from the first intimated its dissatisfaction with the formation, terms of reference, and personnel of the Hunter Committee. Subsequent to its first decisions, dissatisfaction with procedure has been added, for the Committee refused to allow the political leaders to be present throughout its sessions—not even in custody. The Congress has therefore regretfully boycotted the Hunter Committee. It cannot therefore be expected that the organ of the Indian National Congress in this country or the Nationalist Press in India should show either reticence or much respect for the conduct of that highly artificial and unsatisfactory body, the Hunter Committee. In passing we may observe that Pandit Jagat

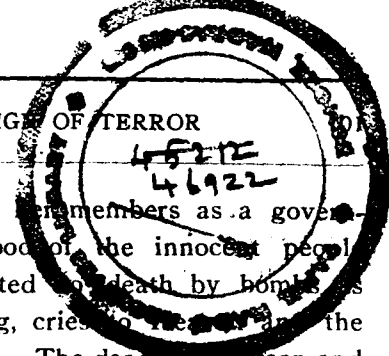
Narayan appears to be doing yeoman service for the people, and if he should ultimately dissent from the general findings of the Committee, his statements would probably carry India—i.e., Indian India—along with him.

We may, then, without indecency, consider the import of the undisputed facts placed upon record.

What things have England's Army been doing in India? The tale is long and hideous. It may take the form, if one will, of an inhuman equation. Let us not shirk the truth, but unflinchingly place upon record what misdeeds the desperate and miserable populace committed. Eight European men were murdered; and one English lady missionary was beaten unconscious in a street in Amritsar. A considerable amount of property was destroyed whose total value has not yet been stated—let us for the purpose of argument call it worth a quarter of a million pounds—roughly, the equivalent of what was destroyed in last summer's riots at Liverpool. This mob violence followed upon rough official retort to the earlier constitutional methods adopted by the people. But let us firmly state the one side of the equation—eight murders, one attempted murder, and damage to property such as the burning of banks and destruction of telegraph wires;

and one or two small pictures of the Emperor were destroyed.

Now for the other side of the equation. It would need the majestic diction of a Gibbon combined with the gruesome delineation of an Edgar Allan Poe to render in language the sorrows of the martyred Punjab. Martial law, "in all its might" (to use Colonel Johnson's phrase) and in all its brutality, revenged the few mad acts of a few wicked or desperate men. Attila, Ivan the Terrible, Catherine de Medici, Henry VIII, and Von Bissing have all left names at which the world shudders and sickens. But their murders and massacres were either deeds of warfare, or what they looked upon as punishments of those who, being of their own race and nation, had tacitly allowed their assumption of power. It has remained for the world's history to write a new chapter one would have thought impossible that a people governing an alien conquered race professedly in a spirit of benevolent paternalism should use their power for wholesale revenge by murder, humiliation, torture, and oppression. O'Dwyer, Dyer, Johnson, and O'Brien, not to mention the egregiously asinine Captain Doveton, have for ever sullied the honour of Great Britain and proved for ever her utter



hypocrisy of some of its members as a governing class. The blood of the innocent people at Gujranwala, blasted to death by bombs as they were dispersing, cries to heaven for the human race for justice. The dead at Amritsar and the maimed, shot "well and strong" by Dyer's minions, might form a hecatomb to England's shame. The caged citizens of Kasur have a clause to add to the Litany of Horror; one had supposed that caging was obsolete since the days of Louis XI. The flogged schoolboys and wedding parties fill up the cup of horror.

A few years ago our saintly minds were filled with loathing by the Congo atrocities. A pamphlet was widely distributed bearing a picture of a Congo boy with his feet cut off at the ankles, and well do we remember hearing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and Dr. Clifford filling the Albert Hall with their eloquent reprobations of Belgian atrocities. What have these custodians of England's conscience to say about Amritsar? How does their indignation express itself with regard to the alleged shooting of a mid-wife who had to disobey the Curfew Order in order to attend a woman in child birth? What have those members of Parliament who some years

back denounced the "On the knee" order to British soldiers as unworthy of the human race, to say about Dyer's crawling order at Amritsar? What of the 108 sentences of death commuted to 18 executions and long sentences? What of the imprisonments of such well-known and revered leaders of Indian thought as Mr. Kalinath Roy, Dr. Satyapal, Dr. Kitchlew, and Mr. Harkishen Lal? How can we describe the innumerable sentences amounting in the aggregate to thousands, inflicting hundreds of years' imprisonment upon guilty and innocent by Martial Law Courts and Special Tribunals without fair trial? Are there words in any language to describe the infamy of Cove-ton's whippings of male prisoners in the presence of prostitutes? (We have read his explanation. It is trivial.)

Deepest and loathsome of all cruelties was the diabolical one of chaining together Hindus and Muslims and driving them thus with taunts through the streets. This was perhaps the highest point of spiritually creative wickedness that history has ever witnessed.

What reparation can we possibly make to the outraged people of India for these deeds? Is there any?

In one sense, there is none. We cannot undo the past. It is only a dead Christ one can unnaïl from His Cross.

But we can take stern measures with all those responsible. The flail can descend upon the Government of India—that lying camarilla of despots whose deeds and concealments darken the fair face of the earth. Despicable as we may feel them to be, they are not the only ones upon whom the wrath of the justly incensed British people ought to fall. It is the Cabinet of this country which is responsible to the voters, collectively responsible. Mr. Lloyd George was never tired of promising us rare and refreshing fruit, new heavens upon new earths. He gives us a Secretary of State for India who, busily engaged in enfranchising 1.5 per cent. of her male population, learns from the columns of the "Daily Express" eight months after its occurrence how Indians have been butchered at Amritsar—and this in spite of the fact that he has been recently in touch with such authorities upon facts as Lord Meston and Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Did Lord Meston know or not? Did O'Dwyer reveal the facts or not? For heavens upon earth we have been given hells upon earth in tortured India, exasperated Egypt, and indignant

Ireland—to say nothing of starving Central Europe. Let us look beyond our weakling Chelmsfords and pitifully deluded Montagus to the chief author of the mischief. We have a Prime Minister and Government which have lowered us to a greater depth of degradation than ever before. Let us turn out this Government and get in one that will recall something of the old decent days of Palmerston, Cobden, Bright, and Gladstone, and set our house in order. Lord Rosebery's Government fell because of an insufficient supply of cordite. Let this one go because of its superabundance of coercion, brutality, concealment, and dishonour.—
January 9, 1920.

XI

THE MONTH OF OPENING *

• APRIL in England has always been the sweetest month of the year, the month when the celandine, the anemone, the tender larch and the yellow daffodil begem her lanes. The poets, from Chaucer, who began his "Canterbury Pilgrims" with the spring-like fluting:

"Whan that Aprille with his shoures swote

The drought of March hath perced to the rote."

to Wordsworth, who immortalised the celandine, and Browning who sang of the rapture of the English April, have all garlanded the month with tender memories.

And now, from being the joyous month of mirth, the Month of Opening, it has darkened to be the month of England's shame.

It is the month of Amritsar.

As long as Britain lasts, so long will the recurrence of the Thirteenth of April be memorable for every man and woman in these islands of the blackest deed that ever dyed our escutcheon crimson with blood and black with dishonour.

• This leader commemorated the anniversary of that great calamity to British Arms, the Amritsar Massacre.

Other names may ring with mournful cadence in our ears. Egypt is a word of broken pledges; Ireland is an emblem of age-long sorrow and misunderstanding; the Opium War with China was, in its way, an unsurpassable crime; Glencoe, Limerick, Peterloo are grim monuments upon our Appian Way. But Amritsar is the name of names, the eternal symbol of cruel perfidy, of coarse inhumanity, and of hypocrisy as callous as it was revolting. A score of national disasters, a hundred defeats in battle would not have made so grim a story for the proud records of the British race.

Writing these words fresh from the reperusal of the chronicle of last year as told by the Indian and Anglo-Indian Press, one is forced to state that some hideous Fate seemed to be driving events alike in India and in England on to their gloomy conclusion. From the moment of the inception of the Rowlatt Legislation, every subsequent catastrophe lay in embryo, and from that hideous conception was engendered all the disasters which followed in an Eschylean succession. From October 23, 1918, when in the House of Commons Mr. Montagu understood that "the recommendations of the Rowlatt Commission were engaging the attention of the Government of India," until his stubborn defence

of the Rowlatt Act on May 22, 1919, in the course of the Indian Budget Debate, step after step was doggedly taken along the wrong path. "Lastly, he said (we are quoting from this journal's Parliamentary Report) there was the Rowlatt Act, which had caused widespread, he would almost say universal, opposition throughout India; although the disturbances he had just described were so local, and although this showed that they were not directly due to the Rowlatt Act (an extraordinary inference!), let the House make no mistake, the Rowlatt Act was throughout India a very unpopular Act. *He had read from end to end all the Debates which took place upon the Rowlatt Act, and he was not there to apologise for it. He was still convinced that in the circumstances as passed, as it was then on the Statute Book, for it had been left without being put into operation, the Rowlatt Act was necessary, ought to have been passed, and could not have been avoided.*"

A lengthy and impassioned defence of the Act followed this statement, so it is perfectly fair to identify Mr. Montagu with the Rowlatt Policy, in his official capacity as Secretary of State for India. It is important to recall these facts in order that responsibility may rest where it should. If the Congress cable urging the recall of the Viceroy,

Lord Chelmsford, be considered in all its logical implications, responsibility is laid at the door of the highest quarters. No personal vengeance upon mere minions like Dyer will satisfy either the mind or the dignity of the Congress. Speaking for India, they censure Britain's highest agent in India. The complement to that is the correlative and tacit censure not only upon the Secretary of State who supported the Viceroy, but, higher still, upon the Cabinet, whose collective responsibility is grave, and ultimately upon the Prime Minister himself.

The psychology of Lord Chelmsford affords a parallel to that of Mr. Montagu. Repression before reform, order before elementary human liberty, was his watchword. From the moment the loathsome Bills were presented in draft, the wrong course was persistently steered in the Imperial Legislative Council, all protests and pleas for delay and investigation being ignored.

The Satyagraha movement, essentially the most spiritual, mildest and gentlest form of political resistance ever invented, was submerged in a flood of governmental violence. Delhi, Lahore, Gujranwala, Amrtisar, Kasur and other places unfolded the melancholy consequences, and the peaceful

meeting at Jallianwala Bagh became a blood-stained shambles. Humiliation after humiliation was being tamely suffered upon the North-West Frontier, but at Jallianwala at least the military gathered their laurels and inflicted some two thousand casualties upon an unarmed meeting.

And for all this kind of thing the Viceroy was giving a blank cheque. Again, as human memories are short, and forgetfulness is a fruitful mother of the wrong sort of charity, we quote from the "Pioneer Mail" of April 17, 1919, the following communique from the Viceroy: "It remains for the Governor-General in Council to assert in the clearest manner *the intention of Government to prevent by means, however drastic, any recurrence of these excesses.* He will not hesitate to employ the ample military resources at his disposal to suppress organised outrage, rioting, or concerted opposition to the maintenance of law and order, and has already sanctioned the application of the State Offences Regulation 1804 in a modified form to certain districts of the Punjab." The resolution later on states that the Governor-General in Council "will further use all preventive measures provided by the Statutes to check disorder at its source, and in Regulation III of 1818, and the corresponding

Regulations applicable to Bombay and Madras, and in the Rules under the Defence of India Act, he has powers which will enable him to deal effectively with those who promote disorder. He has sanctioned the extensions of the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act to the districts of Lahore and Amritsar in the Punjab, and will authorise a similar extension to other areas in which Local Governments see reason to require it. The Police Act of 1861 enables a Local Government to quarter additional police on any locality which is guilty of organised offences against the public peace at the charge of the inhabitants, and to levy from the latter compensation for those who have suffered from injury to their property. The Governor-General in Council will advise Local Governments to make a free use of these provisions when necessary."

"Let those who consider Lord Chelmsford to be an amiable weakling predisposed by nature towards constitutionalism and reforms, ponder well the above drastic communiqué. Let them consider the line taken as to the appointment, personnel, and terms of reference of the Hunter Committee itself, to say nothing of its subsequent unfairness of procedure, so grave as to lead to its boycott by Nationalists.

Nor can the disgraceful Indemnity Act be forgotten. Let them be mindful of the long intrigue that concealed the truth about Amritsar for eight months from the British Parliament and people until the Liliputian Act was passed and the Moderates of India gulled into joyful acceptance of what is really next door to nothing.

The year has come full circle, and the anniversary of Amritsar has passed. The Hunter Report fastens the blame upon the mere tools. The Congress Report affixes it to the true perpetrator, that Governor-General in Council who issued the Prussian instructions we have cited. It is for the British people to act against Chelmsford and all his abettors, how high soever.

If Englishmen have not lost all sense of liberty, Amritsar will be the word that will open the British peoples' hearts and minds to the true needs of India, and will be the name to inspire devoted work for her freedom, unresting until it be utterly obtained, so that April may be to India as to the Ancients, the Month of Opening and Awakening to her true destiny.—April 18, 1920.

XII

THE FINDINGS OF THE HUNTER REPORT
(MAJORITY)

IT is to the credit of whatever is decent in the public life of great Britain that publication of the Hunter Report has been awaited with such intense anxiety. After prolonged delay for, by now it has been before the India Council and the Cabinet for many weeks—it has at last appeared. The delay makes the disappointment caused by the terms of its Majority Report all the harder to bear. The Report is so much white-wash; and its feeble censures, where it does censure, are in their futility almost as irritant in effect as the wholesale condonations of slaughter which make it one of the most shameful Governmental productions issued by any modern civilised Power.

The Majority Report is the unanimous production of the five European members of the Committee Lord Hunter, Mr. G. C. Rankin, Mr. W. F. Rice, General Barrow and Mr. T. Smith. In arrangement it is an apparently intentional jumble of narrative, effects, analysis of statements, causes, and findings. If the object was to confuse the mind of the reader the authors may be congratulated upon success.

Compared in form and style with French State documents it is a childish production, of which the English is meagre, jejune and devoid of grace and clarity. Hence for purposes of clearness we propose to open our analysis by stating its answers to the two questions which an impartial or anti-Indian critic might begin by asking, viz. :—

1. Were the outbreaks the visible sign of rioting: or of rebellion: or of revolution?
2. Were the outbreaks connected in any treasonable manner with the Afghan War of May last?

As to the first, the Majority Report makes the following observations, the first occurring at the end of their criticisms upon General Dyer: "The action taken by General Dyer has also been described by others as having saved the situation in the Punjab and having averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the Mutiny. It does not, however, appear to us possible to draw this conclusion; particularly in view of the fact that it is *not proved* that a conspiracy to overthrow British power had been formed prior to the outbreaks. Earlier on, the Report says: "On the evidence before us there is nothing to show that the outbreak in the Punjab was part of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force. On the

other hand, the Punjab Government had been advised by their legal advisers that the Satyagraha movement amounted to an illegal conspiracy against the Government.....Apart from the existence of any deeply-laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion, might be developed rapidly into a revolution." The Report cites with a certain amount of effect that Mrs. Besant had written to the "Times of India" on April 18, 1919, that the acts of violence were not the actions of Satyagrahis, nor even of casual rioters, but of revolutionaries. It must, however, be remembered that Mrs. Besant was writing far from the scene of the outbreak, so that the utterance was not of the *ex cathedra* variety, but a mere casual opinion.

With regard to the Afghan War, the Report states:--

"On May 8 war with Afghanistan was declared. The Punjab Government were in possession of information which at the time seemed to point to a connexion between the outbreak of hostilities in Afghanistan and the risings in the Punjab. In explaining this, Mr. Thompson said:--Of course the matter has not been cleared up yet, but the

position we take up is, that we put you in possession of the evidence we have, but we do not claim that it proves anything more than that the Amir took advantage of the troubles in India and that he had certain emissaries in India."

The elements, then, of treason at home and treasonable connexion abroad, were lacking. But the vengeance taken blended the ferocity of the St. Bartholomew with the more refined cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition. The Committee's analysis of the causes of the outbreak travels over familiar and to a large extent undisputed ground, and need not therefore be dwelt upon at length. It totally fails to visualise the impassioned resentment caused by the Rowlatt Legislation. It sweeps aside all the bitterness caused by the intensive War Loan and Recruiting Campaigns in the following words: "It has been suggested that the methods of recruiting for the Army sanctioned by the Punjab Government were largely responsible for the unrest in the provinces previous to the outbreaks. In our opinion this proposition is not established or well founded. There is even less ground for attributing unrest in the Province to any action taken by the Government in connexion with the War Loan."

Of the Satyagraha movement, the Committee

says: "We believe that Mr. Gandhi is honestly opposed to the employment of force or violence in the prosecution of his aims. But the general teaching of the doctrine of civil disobedience to laws to masses of uneducated men must inevitably tend to breach of the peace and disorder. Apart from the use of force, civil disobedience to laws if extensively preached and practised would mean the paralysis of government." To this the Satyagrahist might aptly rejoin that if the Rowlatt Legislation was ever practised extensively it would mean the complete paralysis of ordinary civil life. To the one possibility Satyagraha opposed the other but it was a possibility, not an accomplished fact.

Mutiny and treason being eliminated what case remained for Dyerism and O'Dwyerism as vengeance? Feebly, haltingly, half diffident as to its own conclusions the Report ambles from place to place, following the Committee's itinerary, and condonation follows condonation in sanctimonious sequence. At Delhi 28 Indians were killed and 123 wounded: but it was "an error to enrol leading citizens as Special Constables." At Ahmedabad: "The measures taken by the authorities to deal with the disturbances were appropriate. The use

of military force was unavoidable and the rioters alone were responsible for the casualties which ensued. The behaviour of the military was exemplary." At Viramgaum, where six Indians were killed and 18 were wounded and 27 rioters were convicted, the "force used against the rioters" is described as "Certainly not excessive." At Amritsar, the Deputy-Commissioner "acted rightly . . . in carrying out the deportation orders quickly and quietly." *Supra*: "We consider that the Deputy Commissioner was right and had done no more than his duty when he resolved to prevent entrance into the Civil Lines by any such crowd (*i.e.*, the one protesting against the deportations)." Of the firing which ensued at 11-30 a.m. at Hall Bridge they state: "This resort to firing was completely justified as absolutely necessary in the circumstances and in no way exceeding the occasion." Of the second firing there at 2 p.m. they say: "The order to fire was rightly given." "The mob-violence was anti-Government at every stage." The Deputy Superintendent of Police who was in charge of 75 reserve men is censured for the ineffective handling of this force in language whose vigour may be compared profitably with that employed in criticising Dyer.

Passing on to the immortal tragedy of Jallianwalla, the Committee are tossed hither and thither upon its troubled waters and steer no clear course. "We think it distinctly improbable," they comment, ". . . notwithstanding what General Dyer said in his evidence [It is kind of them to save Dyer from himself!] that the crowd gathered on the Jallianwalla Bagh would have dispersed upon notice being made that they should do so, and much more likely that recourse to firing would have been necessary to secure obedience to his proclamation . . . notice to disperse would have afforded those assembled in ignorance of the proclamation and other people also an opportunity to leave the Bagh and should have been given. If the notice had been disregarded, General Dyer would have been justified in firing on the crowd to compel it to disperse. In continuing to fire for so long as he did it appears to us that General Dyer committed a grave error We believe that he honestly considered that he was called upon in the discharge of his duty to take the extreme step which he did

"In continuing firing as long as he did it is evident that General Dyer had in view not merely the dispersal of the crowd that had assembled

contrary to his orders but the desire to produce a moral effect on the Punjab. . . . In our view this was unfortunately a mistaken conception of his duty. If necessary a crowd that has assembled contrary to a proclamation issued to prevent or terminate disorder may have to be fired upon; but continued firing upon that crowd cannot be justified because of the effect such firing may have upon people in other places." As to attention (or lack of it) for the wounded, the Report calmly says: "It has not been proved to us that any wounded people were in fact exposed to unnecessary suffering from want of medical attention." The Report flatly traverses the statement that Dyer's action saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the Mutiny: this, we may own, is to its credit.

For absolute ineptitude, compassion in the wrong place, for lack of proportion proving a callous indifference to the rights of humanity, an equal disregard of civilisation and the judgment of history the Committee's judgment upon Dyer will stand for all time in an isolation of moral obloquy long after the obscure names of its fabricators shall have passed into oblivion.

Picking up the threads of massacre one passes to

Lahore, where of the firing on the Mall the Committee say, "Nothing short of firing would have been of any use. We approve" At the Lohari Gate, 18 Indians were wounded, Mr. Broadway having previously been stoned with bricks and mud. "The justification for this firing is obvious." At Hira Mandi, after mob stone-throwing "the greatest care [i.e., in firing] was taken and the least possible degree of force used." At Kasur, where Government buildings had been attacked, 57 shots were fired in all . . . four men died . . . others were wounded. "We uphold the decision to fire upon this mob and think that it should have been fired upon before the Deputy Superintendent of Police arrived."

At Gujranwala, following an attack upon the railway line and stone-throwing at Mr. Heron, the latter ordered his men to fire and himself fired his revolver: "We entirely approve his action." When the Post Office was burnt . . . "the acting Deputy Commissioner who was present refused to give liberty to fire . . . (he) appears to us to have committed an error."

"It appears to us that, in the circumstances, the decision to use bomb-carrying aeroplanes at Gujranwala on April 14 was justified the

urgency and the extremity of the need for prompt dispersal of the rioters is incontestible. *The bombs were not only justified but in our view were invaluable* the swiftness with which an aeroplane can arrive at the scene of disorder, the large measure of immunity of attack from the ground and its independence of all external aid in getting there, are advantages which must always count heavily, *and in no country more so than in India . . .* Major Carberry's action in firing with his machine-gun upon the crowds in the streets of Gujranwala does not appear to us excessive....."

In face of all this it appears a little hard to jump so heavily upon poor Lieutenant Dodkins for the use of one single bomb, which he failed to justify, on April 15!

It seems almost needless after all this to state that the firing from the armoured train in the Sangala neighbourhood elicits a warm-hearted approval. "This officer (*i.e.*, Rai Sahib Lala Sri Ram Sud) appears to us to have acted in a different situation with promptitude and decision."

As to Martial Law, the Report justifies its declaration, but pronounces that its duration is more open to criticism. Nevertheless: "It appears to us that those responsible for the maintenance of

Martial Law gave a careful and considerate judgment to the questions of its continuance (*more especially, we presume, those who failed to circulate a file which caused it to last upon the railway for a fortnight longer than was really necessary, according to Sir Havelock Hudson*), and that they did not prolong it beyond the time during which to the best of their judgment it was necessary for the maintenance and restoration of order in the provinces. Looking to the problem with which they were faced we do not think that we should be justified in adversely criticising their decision."

The Administration of Martial Law is very lightly dismissed. "At Kasur, the police gathered large numbers of the population, in one case gradually the whole male residents of the town, and had them paraded before certain of the witnesses. The treatment was no doubt galling to people of position and education and there may have been cases where individual police officers subjected the arrested to unnecessary severity, but we find no reason for holding, or even thinking, that undue harshness was adopted as a matter of deliberate policy Having regard to the enormous mass of cases we feel that while the number of persons arrested but not brought to trial is regrettably large and the

periods of detention in some cases seem unduly long, this very difficult work was not done badly or oppressively on the whole. We think it would have been better had this proclamation (i.e., the order against the employment of outside counsel) not been issued. Some of the (Martial Law) orders were injudicious . . . served no good purpose . . . were not drawn with sufficient care."

The Committee do not agree that it was merely a slight inconvenience for the inhabitants of the street disgraced by the Sherwood assault to go on the roofs of their houses. The "order caused unnecessary inconvenience.....in subjecting the Indian population to an act of humiliation it has continued to be a source of bitterness and racial ill-feeling long after it was recalled." By the Salaaming Order "no good object was served." Colonel Johnson's treatment of the students was "unnecessarily severe."

Public floggings are condemned, and "some restriction on the number of floggings should be imposed on the discretion of area officers in giving sentences of whipping. There should always be a record of the punishment and some limitations on the nature of the punishment. And, finally, where martial law has been imposed . . . the

power of the military commanders need not necessarily be so supreme as was the case in the Punjab."

From the personnel and terms of reference of the Committee this is much the Report to be expected. If Mr. Montagu stands by this, he will go down to some minor page in history's record together with the condoners of Limerick, Glencoe, and Peterloo. If he is courageous enough to throw it overboard and ask for a Royal Commission in England to investigate the whole circumstances he may yet clear himself of some measure of the hideous responsibility which, like Black Care, must ride behind him in all its horrors.—*May 28, 1920.*

XIII

MR. MONTAGU'S VIA MEDIA

THE Majority Hunter Report, which was summarised in *India* of May 28, has been given an unobtrusive funeral by the covering correspondence issued with the whole Report. Command Paper 705—Correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India on the Report of Lord Hunter's Committee is officially christened as "In continuation of Cmd. 681" (The Hunter Report). It is much nearer to being in condemnation of Cmd. 681.

Although agreement is indicated with many of its conclusion, those who recognise the formal and informal limitations of official phraseology will note that the opening sentences of Section 4 of the Secretary of State's letter are practically a censure of the whole spirit animating the Majority Report. "There is one question with regard to which it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Majority of Lord Hunter's Committee have failed to express themselves in the terms which unfortunately the facts not only justify but necessitate. In paras. 16 to 25 of Chapter XII of their Report, the Majority have dealt with the

'intensive' form generally which martial law assumed, and with certain specified instances of undue severity and of improper punishments or orders." To put this as bluntly as the man in the street would express it, the Hunter Committee are thrown overboard; and that on a subject of major importance, the administration of martial law. In fact, even the despatch of the Government of India, surprising as it may seem, uses stronger language than does Lord Hunter's Majority, taking its stand with the Minority in this case: "the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances by a misuse of power, by irregularities, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts."

The *cause célèbre* of General Dyer is another glaring instance of the failure of Lord Hunter and his official clique. In a nutshell, their judgment of the Dyer massacre was that a warning would not have dispersed the crowd, but that Dyer should have given it. Having given it, his firing would have been justified if there had been less of it, what extent of diminution would have been not excessive being unspecified. They state that his inattention to the wounded was "a subject of criticism" and then callously advance the same pitiful excuses which Dyer had already worn threadbare, winding

up with a sentence which probably displays the most effrontery of any they have framed. "It has not been proved to us that any wounded people were in fact exposed to unnecessary suffering from want of medical treatment." This, although Indian unofficial evidence was driven by the Committee's unfairness into boycotting its sessions! The Government of India's despatch, after intimating that Dyer "was thrown temporarily off the balance of his judgment," states that after carefully weighing all the factors they can "arrive at no other conclusion than that at Jallianwalla Bagh, General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought to be necessary and that he did not act with as much humanity as the case permitted."

The Secretary of State's despatch is of about equivalent strength to this, with the addition that it censures the doctrine on which General Dyer based his action and his avowed conception of his duty in the circumstances confronting him. Mr. Montagu states that he approves the decision of the Commander-in-Chief which required Brigadier-General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigade Commander and informed him that he would receive no further employment in India. The

palliations of Lord Hunter have been too much for even the Government of India and the Coalition Cabinet to accept. The Majority Report is slain at birth, but although Mr. Montagu is the slayer, he cannot escape the position of the slain, the Hunter Committee being an integral part of his own policy.

In the Notes of *India* of April 9, it was intimated that Mr. Montagu would probably express dissatisfaction with the leniency of the Majority Report. That prophecy has come true in the form just indicated. As our contemporary, the *Nation*, writes :—"Mr. Montagu, with a decided and impressive gesture, has taken his stand by the Minority and has induced the Cabinet to join him in a stern disavowal of the method and spirit of the Punjab Government."

All this one can freely admit, and for whatever Mr. Montagu has accomplished one can grant him due meed of credit. But at this stage there arise some further questions. History, after all, and the judgment of the civilised world will not prosecute researches into the question as to how far Mr. Montagu adjusted himself by this group or to what extent he placated another. The great question will be: Was justice done to outraged India?

It is here that we regretfully part company with the Secretary of State and his despatch. Good up to a point, beyond that point it is an utter failure. Towards two main points we direct attention. In the first case all the culprits higher in rank than Dyer go scot free, or are even commended. In the second, there is no promise of such legislation as will protect the people of India against such experiences in the future, except for the disavowal of Ordinance IV of 1919.

As to the culprits. It is not in dispute from any quarter that the Rowlatt Legislation, coming when it did, has been the head and front of the offending, the *fons et origo* of all the manifestations of deeper troubles. Who defended the Rowlatt Acts? On May 22, 1919, in the course of the Indian Budget Debate, the present Secretary of State, and no other, said that he was not in the House to apologise for the Rowlatt Act. He was still convinced that, in the circumstances as passed, as it was then on the Statute Book (for it had been left without being put into operation) the Rowlatt Act was necessary, ought to have been passed and could not have been avoided.

When one remembers that Mr. Montagu might justly have complained of the trick played upon

him by the introduction of this legislation into the Imperial Legislative Council without his sanction, the only possible conclusion is that his certificate of approval was a genuine one. And if there is anything at all in the theory of responsibility of a Cabinet Minister for his Department, why should Mr. Montagu be "immune from criticism" whilst Dyer and men of inferior rank to Dyer have to bear the whole brunt of the results of Rowlattism?

No word even remotely approaching condonation can be justly applied to the Dyers, Johnsons, and Bosworth Smiths. But, at any rate, they can lay to their souls the comforting reflection that it was not they who passionately defended the Rowlatt policy and forced it upon a violated India. The Government of India may originate, and the Secretary of State may promote, legislation which will inflame India. The Governor-General in Council may then "assert in the clearest manner the intention of Government to prevent by all means, *however drastic*, any recurrences of these excesses." The unfortunate, ill-balanced Prussians who are then deputed to put out the flames are the only ones punishable under this system. The incendiaries escape and the firemen are solely to blame for the

damage caused in putting out the blaze. Anything more fundamentally dishonest and mean it is impossible to conceive. The first persons whose policy and conduct should come under review are the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy. Next in order of investigation comes the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Mr. Montagu does not regard the latter as "immune from criticism" and yet rather than resign, he allows the addition of a warm testimonial to that Satrap, presumably as a resultant of Curzonian pressure on the Cabinet. The fact that he can brook the issuance of such an enlogium over his signature to a man so universally detested is the measure of Mr. Montagu's weakness. For the sake of the honour and high dignity of his office, Mr. Montagu should have resigned rather than permit such an outrage to all decent feeling and to the national honour of India.

His despatch also fails in its omission to promise constitutional guarantees of liberty for India. The abolition of Ordinance IV is nothing like sufficient. The voice of the Congress becomes clearer and more and more insistent. Not mutual testimonials between the Montagus, Chelmsfords and O'Dwyers

will appease her shattered pride, but the appointment of a Royal Commission strong enough to deal with Viceroy and Secretary of State and a full-free Constitution such as is her inalienable birthright.—*June 4, 1920.*

XIV

THE CONGRESS REPORT

NATIONALIST India lies under a deep debt to the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress for their devoted labours which have fructified in the Report upon the Disturbances in India last year.

"We have postponed comment upon this great work until both volumes of the Report could come under our readers' investigations, while in our issue of May 7 we gave copious extracts from Volume I and on May 14 further extracts from Volume II, Volume I opens with the forwarding letter from the Commissioners, Messrs. Gandhi, Das, Abbas Tyabji and Jayakar, in the course of which occurs the following statement, evidential of the spirit of grave responsibility in which they undertook their task:—

We examined the statements of over 1,700 witnesses and we have selected for publication about 650 statements, which will be found in the accompanying volumes of our report. The statements excluded were mostly statements proving (the) same class of facts.

Every admitted statement was verified by one of us and was accepted only after we were satisfied

as to the *bona fides* of the witness. This does not apply to a few statements from Manianwala and neighbourhood, which were mostly brought at our request by Mr. Labh Singh, M.A., Barrister-at-law. Every such statements bears his name at the foot thereof. No statements was accepted without sufficient cross-examination of the witness.

It will be observed that many witnesses are men of position and leaders in their own districts or villages.

It will be further observed that some of the witnesses have made **very serious** allegations against officials. In each and every case the witnesses were warned by us of the consequences of making those allegations, and they were admitted only when the witnesses adhered to their statements, in spite of the knowledge of the risk they personally ran and the damage that may ensue by reason of exaggeration or untruth. We have, moreover, rejected those statements which could not be corroborated, although in some cases we were inclined to believe the witnesses. Such, for instance, were the statements regarding (the) ill-treatment of women.

Needless to say that our enquiry was confined to the Martial Law area and to the districts in which

it was proclaimed. The principal places were personally visited by us."

The rest of Volume I is divided into six parts, of which a brief historical and geographical description of the Punjab is the first. A summary of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Administration is the second. There follow chapters on the Rowlatt Bills and the Satyagraha movement. The great bulk of Volume I, however, is comprised of descriptions of Martial Law in a score or so of places; the sixth part of the volume is the general conclusion reached by the Commissioners. Photographs of victims and plans of the Jallianwalla Bagh and the Crawling Order Lane add to its value.

Volume II consists of 946 pages of evidence. It is indicative of the promptitude which animated the Commission that the various sections of this bulky volume were printed at no less than eight different presses in Bombay. The Commission are much to be congratulated upon the measures they have taken to place their Report before the British and Indian peoples before the Hunter Report's belated appearance. Unlike the Hunter Report, the Congress Report is unanimous in its findings, there being not even any minute of dissent. The amount of evidence furnished is a tremendous tribute to the

energy, patience, and hard work of the Commissioners, to say nothing of the encouraging effect that the mere presence of such men must have been in the Punjab, stupefied by the brutalities of her War Lords.

Of the tone of the Report it is difficult to speak too highly. It is not too much to say that it is a really spiritual production which rises to great heights of nobility. There is an absence of vengeful spirit, a calm-moderation throughout and an avoidance of all vituperation which is reminiscent of the grandeur of the closing stages of the life of Socrates. It is small wonder that already in the Punjab the Report is christened "The Saint's Report." It is the Report not only of one Saint, but of a deeply spiritual people whom suffering has ennobled, not degraded. It makes one feel that the glories of India's past will be as nothing to the glories of India's future. The measure of the nobility of India's own Report is also the measure of the failure of the Hunter Majority Report—aye, there's the rub! and not only of the Hunter Report, but of the disgraceful *ex parte* White Paper on the Punjab Disturbances on which we commented strongly some weeks ago. It has been objected in some quarters that it was improper for Mr. Gandhi

to have been a member of the Commission, in as much as one of the subjects under review being the Satyagraha movement which he led it would have been difficult for the Commission to have come to a condemnatory conclusion regarding that movement, had there been a tendency shown in that direction. We cannot deny that there is something in the contention. But upon consideration of the alternative, that Mr. Gandhi should not have been a member, it will at once be seen that the remedy would have been much worse than the disease. The manifestations of an unique, and in modern times unprecedented, movement could not very profitably have been examined and considered apart from the mentality and personality of its originator; whilst the influence of his clarifying and restraining guidance is obvious at every point. On the whole, the Report has gained enormously by Mr. Gandhi's membership of the Commission, and we are confident that had he felt at any moment that his presence was conducive to undue favours to himself, he would instantly have withdrawn, or resigned. The Report has gained far more by his presence than it would have done by his absence.

It must be borne in mind that the Report has not

yet been formally presented to the Indian National Congress. With all its many merits, it is naturally not faultless and is equally naturally incurring some measure of friendly criticism. Anglo-Indian hostility apparently finds it difficult to find loopholes in it. The two main critical tendencies are directed from the Moderate camp, which charges the Report with being insufficiently judicial, and the other from Lala Harkisanlal, who, when giving a presidential address at the Punjab Political Conference at Jullunder, charged the Commissioners with certain sins of omission.

To deal with the Allahabad "Leader's" strictures first, their chief grounds of contention seem to be that witnesses for the Government were not examined, nor were the witnesses for the Congress Case cross-examined by Government Counsel. We have never heard of any request to allow pro-Government witnesses to appear; nor, had the Government's pride permitted them to make application for hearing, is it conceivable that such application would have been refused. But the Commission did have a special representative to take a verbatim report at all the Hunter Committee's sittings which were public ones. Indeed, they say :—

We have freely availed ourselves of the evidence laid before the Disorders Enquiry Committee, in order to strengthen or correct our conclusions. It may be mentioned that the vast majority of the statements appended were received by us before Lord Hunter's Committee began its sittings."

We presume that Mr. Chintamani, (then, editor of the *Leader*,) would not be so hypercritical as to suggest that the Congress Committee is to be blamed for not knowing the evidence given *in camera*, such as Sir Michael O'Dwyer's? Even the British Parliament has been formally denied access to this by the ever-secretive Mr. Montagu.

Lala Harkisanlal's statements are of graver import. We quote from the "Mahratta" the following notable passages :—

"The trap theory of the Jallianwala tragedy is entirely overlooked. I, amongst others, know that the trap theory could be established beyond doubt on the evidence of some contemporary documents which came to the knowledge of the Commissioners, but because those documents were not handed over by the holders thereof, to be placed on the file of the Sub-Committee, the Commissioners would not enter upon the discussion. This is a limit of Satyagraha doctrine; while the Government of the

Punjab did not hesitate to have false and fabricated evidence produced in cases which are now described by them to have been judicially decided."

Another omission he refers to in the following terms :—

"The Commissioners do not seem to have directed their attention to what may be called the part played by the judiciary in the Martial Law drama. The judges may be unfit, they may be unjust; the tribunals may be packed, the courts may disregard evidence and overlook procedure, the judges may write imaginary essays and false defences, instead of judicial and just judgments, their findings may be against evidence, and their interpretation of law manifestly wrong, but they escape enquiry and criticism. The innocent victims of such courts and tribunals have no means to establish their innocence, and have to be satisfied with the King's mercy. One should have thought that this part of the drama will receive attention equal to that played by the Executive. Lala Duni Chand and Pundit Ram Bhaj Dutt Chowdhari, and your most humble servant, gave their whole time for three long and most difficult and anxious days to the task of bringing the people to see the folly of continuing the hartal, and they were punished for waging war.

They are let off by His Majesty's orders as the fit subjects to receive his mercy, but they cry for justice; and yet she does not appear. Now the committee also has not touched this subject, nor do we expect any finding on the question of the innocence or guilt of the prisoners from the Hunter Committee, as they have not admitted evidence on the question of trials or the conduct of the judges. This is a grave omission, and I trust this Conference will not fail to call attention to this fact, as the honour of hundreds of innocent and loyal subjects of His Majesty is involved."

Both these omissions demand our careful attention. We had heard of the Trap theory at the time of the Congress. We also knew that there was some evidence to support it; and we therefore, like Lala Harkisanlal, had expected that it would at least be referred to in the Report. The omission startled us, but as we could not guess the reason, we did not refer to it. Now, as it has been let out by Lala Harkisanlal, we think that it must be made known to the public. Actual documentary evidence may not be forthcoming though in existence. But the testimony of those Commissioners, who have carefully perused those documents, will surely be believed by their countrymen.

If they think that the evidence is not sufficient or convincing, then they may say that. But if they are satisfied with it, then to suppress that information from the public would be tantamount to stretching the rules of evidence too far.

The conclusions of the Report are not of any degree of papal infallibility and are for India to accept, reject, or modify, as she will. So far the indications are that they are being strengthened. When India makes up her mind finally her demands will be honourable Britain's minimum, not the maximum. These Dyers, Chelmsfords, O'Dwyers, Bosworth Smiths, and Johnsons have given Britain occasion for taking strong action. If India forgives them, she will be very lenient. Great Britain has her own honour to consider and cannot in justice to herself be other than just to these Prussians. At all events, Great Britain and India alike are heavily in the debt of the Congress Commissioners.—June 11, 1920.

XV

THE JALLIANWALA CYCLE *

LIKE the mediæval alchemist who spent his days in endeavouring to transmute the baser metals into gold, every lover of the good name of Great Britain will anxiously scan the parliamentary reports of the historic Amritsar debate in order to find what grains of virtue are residual in the retort, after the fumes of verbiage and passion have evaporated. Nothing of permanent value is to be gained by exaggeration or unbalanced language in either direction. Some gains there are from the Debate, and it is fair to compute and place them upon record.

In the first place, the doctrine of rule by terror in India has received a deathblow by the House of Commons vote. The protagonists of military force of teaching a lesson, of shooting some people *pour encourager les autres*, have brought their dogma, hideous, naked, and unashamed, before the Supreme Inquest of the nation, and it has there been defeated. Had Sir Edward Carson's motion been triumphant, then we say quite plainly that terrorism would have been England's official creed

* Written after the Dyer Debate in the House of Commons.

and that it would have been decent and proper for India to have taken any and every usual step by which one nation seeks its severance from another. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress would logically have had to throw up the sponge, and there would have been no justification whatsoever for the continuance of the Congress Committee or the Congress organ. The triumph of Carson and the Dyerites would have been the winding-sheet of the connection. As we wrote recently, the exoneration of Dyer would have indicated the limit of India's forbearance. So far as and no further than—it goes, the declaration of the Secretary of State for India, endorsed as it was subsequently by the Commons, may be definitely reckoned as an asset by India. The rejection of Dyer's case by the Cabinet, the Army Council, and the House is an indication that some sanity still lingers among our ruling classes.

It is a curious and, in a measure, a consoling consideration that the higher the authority that has dealt with Dyer the stronger has been the judgment against him. The Hunter Committee, as all remember, was ineptitude and feebleness personified—we allude to the Majority Report, of course—and its niggling and namby-pamby conclusions are the low-

water mark of criticism upon Crawling Order Dyer. The high-water mark was reached by the Secretary of State for War. In fact, the Hunter Committee obviously tempered the requirements of justice to its estimate of probable public opinion, and by so doing has earned for itself immeasurable and permanent contempt. The Government of India took a stronger view and concurred in the Indian Commander-in-Chief's removal of Crawling Order Dyer from his appointment, in the notification that he was omitted from further promotion by the Selection Board in India, and in fact that he was thus automatically placed upon half-pay. A telegram from the Commander-in-Chief of the India Office recommended that he should be retired from the Army. The head of the Army Council and Secretary of State for War (the Right Hon. W. S. Churchill) in the course of the debate indicated in the House his own decided opinion that the definite disciplinary act of Dyer's compulsory retirement would have been proper. Then why was it not done? The explanation of the Minister for War gives as a reason the virtual condonation of this man by his military superiors in India. The Army Council, and at a later stage the Cabinet, took a similar view. And here critical opinion

must sharply part company with the course adopted by both these bodies as being virtual abdication of responsibility and function for fear of reversing the actions of their own military subordinate. With what sense of logic can Mr. Asquith so heavily censure the Civil Authorities in Amritsar for abandoning civil responsibilities when the supreme Civil Authority of the Empire allows the performance—even the admittedly meritorious performance of certain military operations by Crawling Order Dyer, and a very general conduct at Amritsar by his immediately official superiors, to outweigh their own supreme duty of reviewing and revising the whole situation, not omitting any measures of condonation or quasi-condonation of his crimes? As the matter now stands, Crawling order Dyer is broken. That we have upon the statement of his defence by his admirers. But the Cabinet and Army Council have crawled obsequiously down the lane marked for them by Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Dyer's dogmas and murders are repudiated. Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved and esteemed them correct. The action which the Army Council and the Cabinet would have liked to take they therefore say they cannot take. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is not merely the strong

man of the Punjab. He is the ultimate authority in the British Empire.

Thus the British Army List has to be disgraced by the inclusion of the name of Crawling Order Dyer, and the Indian taxpayer has to continue to be taxed to maintain him. The obloquy is Great Britain's.

All this we owe to a weak Secretary of State for India. Ever since the appointment of the glaringly inadequate Hunter Committee we have been forced to prophesy woe, and our prophecies have proved all too painfully true. It is all very well for him to repudiate terrorism in particular and concentrate opprobrium upon one head in particular. To put it bluntly, that saves himself. Herod had the head of John the Baptist on a charger for enunciating views as to the sanctity of marriage which did not commend themselves to the monarch. But who really was responsible for a greater offence, the Massacre of the Innocents? Unhesitatingly we affirm and shall continue to affirm, that while the present Secretary of State for India holds office his grovelling flattery of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and of the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, mark him as either a hypocrite or a villain. No man, no

matter what his lip-service against terrorism, can endorse such rulers and be honoured, or even tolerated, in the eyes of an awakened India. Nor can the British public forget the whole Jesuitical treatment of the truth. The Secretary of State did not know officially what Mr. Montagu knew unofficially. This Jekyll and Hyde business is not the kind of thing to be regarded with enthusiasm by the English. Miss Sherwood's letter read in the Debate claimed that she had full knowledge of all Amritsar details, and we have been recently informed that she had an interview with Mr. Montagu last October. Nevertheless, he was able to be "profoundly disturbing" by the same story on December 13. It is profoundly disturbing to the British people that they do not yet know the full truth of all that went on at the India Office last year, nor how much the Secretary of State concealed from the Cabinet. The safe passage of the precious reforms apparently overshadowed all else. No Declaration of Rights was given by them, but merely the unsubstantial shadow of a Frankenstein monster of a constitution, ghastly in its artificiality.

The whole matter cannot possibly be allowed to rest where it is. A feeling is abroad that there has

been trickery of the worst kind, and every explanation given makes darkness more obscure and confusion more palpable. The Congress Punjab Report and the Hunter Report conflict throughout. Grand dogmas are enunciated, and culprits get off scot free. For the moment an O'Dwyer may grin with sardonic amusement and a Chelmsford smile merrily at the pretty little game. But India's demands coincide with Great Britain's vital needs. A Royal Commission must reopen the whole affair and deal primarily with the Montagus, Chelmsfords, and O'Dwyers and relegate the mere tools to their place in the rear. Warren Hastings was impeached. Did he ever send an official approval of a Jallianwalla Bagh? Austen Chamberlain lost the Secretaryship of State for India for the Mesopotamia muddle. Did he ever stoop to praise an O'Dwyer or a Chelmsford?—*July 16, 1920.*

XVI

INDIA'S NEXT STEP

EVERY historic eruption in the world's history has been preceded not by one but by an accumulation of causes. The overthrowing of the Roman Republic, the Jacquerie in France, the Peasant's Revolt of 1381 in England, the French Revolution, the recent Russian Revolutions—of none of these could it be said that a singular and simple cause was the origin. Religious disturbances, economic crises as the aftermaths of war, and violent subterranean disturbances in political structure are all the true precursors of the crash which amazes only the undiscerning by its illusive suddenness.

In this apostolic succession of nations displaying every omen and symptom of fundamental change India stands to-day in the front rank as the next heir of that spirit which, moving on the face of the waters of destiny, leaves nothing unchanged where it has blown. Be it for good fortune, or be it for ill, she is now being tried as in a furnace. Hers are the major problems of the world to-day. It is not too much to say that if India can in the next decade set her house in order, then there is no trial

or test too severe to be solved by applied political science and general good will.

For certain it is that her anguish of travail is upon her. No blow, no humiliation, no sorrow is being spared her now. Islam, partly through Turkey's fault (though that does not help India to bear it), partly through Turkey's misfortune, lies shattered in its temporal aspects, and if it is to survive—which we do not doubt for a moment—it has to live on as a spirit without a local habitation. This is a state of affairs sorely afflicting one-fifth of India's peoples. Hinduism itself, *per contra*, is in no particular danger from the missionaries of what the West is pleased to describe as Christianity. We should imagine that Miss Sherwood's endorsement of Dyer's wholesale slaughter would have forever obliterated the prospects of the missionary efforts of the Christian Creed to become India's dominant faith. But whether Hinduism may not react to this blighting of Christianity by an increased reversion to its own excrescences and accretions is problematical. The hardening into the cruelties of its own orthodoxy of one faith has been frequently accompanied by a similar movement in parallel religious associations, with results detrimental to each. If India sullenly clings to caste,

child marriage and those other features of her life which social reformers have been trying to ameliorate, no small portion of the blame will spiritually rest upon those of the alien faith of Christianity who have used these latter days to show how little Christian Christians can be, and how fraught with Imperialism its higher officers in India, such as the Archbishop of Simla, have allowed themselves to become.

And as a result of the War India has been taught several lessons. The first is her own martial capacity, learnt when on the plains of Flanders her troops could check the best trained army of the West. The second is the utter ingratitude of her suzerain, who could repay her sacrifice with the Rowlatt Acts and the Government of India Act. The third is that she has been shown the "might of martial law," in all its unashamed illegality. Nor has that illegality been dealt with honestly and justly by the High Court of Parliament. Dyer walks England a free man to-day, despite the dicta of a long list of constitutional authorities. O'Dwyer and Chelmsford, Johnson and O'Brien, Sri Ram Sud and Bosworth Smith are all untouched by the law. And yet, according to Dicey, the state of siege as understood in France "is in England

utterly unknown to the Constitution. Soldiers may repress a riot as they may resist an invasion, they may fight rebels, as they may fight foreign enemies, but they have no right under the law to inflict punishment for riot or rebellion any execution (independently of military law) inflicted by a Court Martial is illegal and technically murder." Coke long before had laid it down that "a rebel may be slain in the rebellion; but, if he be taken, he cannot be put to death by the martial law." Chief Justice Cockburn in the great Jamaica Rebellion case of Reg. v. Eyre, 1868, gave a decision which fits the Jallianwalla incident with great precision: "Even if an officer's illegal act was the salvation of the country, that, though it might be a good ground for the legislature afterwards passing an Act of Indemnity, would be no bar in law to a criminal prosecution The mere fact of good intention, or even the benefit that may have been done, would not be a bar to a criminal indictment." It is further noteworthy that Cockburn, C. J., held in this case that in a settled colony the settlers carry the law of England with them. He held that the Petition of Right which prohibited resort to Martial Law in time of peace did not sanction it *specifically* even in time of war.

He held that the Governor who kept up Martial Law for 30 days after the end of an insurrection did wrong. And in arresting and sending a prisoner out of a district where Civil Law was in force into a district under the rule of soldiers the Governor "committed a grave and lawless act of tyranny and oppression."

Such were the rulings of the palmy mid-Victorian day before the orgy of imperialistic lawlessness generated by the South African War and clinched by the miserable declension of the Privy Council Rulings of that era, rulings which flagrantly defied the spirit and the letter of greater decisions. So now we find the Indian Indemnity Act in full swing and Bosworth Smith careering merrily on. The House of Lords and the *Morning Post* endorse Dyer. O'Dwyer is censured and praised in a breath, whilst Mr. Secretary Montagu's labyrinthine twistings remain unravelled to bewilder India and ourselves. Mr. Ramsay Mac Donald at the Labour Conference urged his removal; the *Tribune* of Lahore deprecates the suggestion. When, oh when, will some Indian leaders abandon the habit of scanning the faces of India's betrayers to see if a fleeting smile or frown passes over their countenances, just like kindergarten children anxiously

watching the face of a governess, instead of sternly interrogating high office holders as to how they have discharged their responsibilities? It is not Mr. Montagu as an individual who matters one jot—nor for that matter Lord Sinha or Lord Chelmsford either. It is the Secretary of State and Under Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy of India with whom India and Britain have to hold stern parley. It is as childish to quote Mr. Montagu's vague declarations in the Commons against terrorism as a substitute for all that legal procedure which he ought to have set in motion against culprits and delinquents as for the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri to set against Lord Chelmsford's decrees of Egyptian hardness of heart the alleged fact that he later on sent a subscription to the Punjab sufferers. We say quite frankly that it would have been better for Dyer to have been tried at the Old Bailey and have been acquitted even, rather than have reached the present utterly unsatisfactory state of affairs all round. As to the policy stated in Mr. Secretary Montagu's despatch, that of leaving punishment of those censured to the Government of India—instead of summoning them home for trial—it seems to have ended pretty much as might have been expected.

Small wonder flaunted India is outraged, and the latter end of the Hunter Inquiry is as utterly unsatisfactory to Moderate India as to those whose political views are of sterner hue. Nor is the gloomy picture in any way illumined by any ray of either international or political solace. India's representation upon the League of Nations, the Seamen's Conference, and the International Labour Conference at Washington has all been of the officially chosen type, and what real Indian India has been thinking none of these bodies have had any opportunity of learning. The Rules just passed under the Government of India Act fail to satisfy in a score of ways, and leave that Act what the Amritsar Resolution declared it to be—inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing; something unworthy of England to offer; unworthy for India to accept; something perhaps fated to go the way of the fourteen paper constitutions which France tried and rejected in the century between the Revolution and the present Republic.

That Indians are helots, outlaws, walfs-heads within the Empire is another torment of soul. From British East Africa, from Canada, from South Africa, from the Fijis, nothing is heard but one long tale of wrong to immigrant Indians.

Does anyone suppose that if India were mistress in her own house she could tolerate all this insult for a second?

The last and perhaps the greatest cloud upon the horizon is the hideous militarisation of the Middle East, where

The serene heaven which wraps our Eden wide
With iron light is dyed.

The Anarchs of the North lead down their
legions

Like Chaos o'er creation, uncreating.

It is some small comfort that the war to crush Mesopotamia is very unpopular in this country, and that British soldiers enjoy the prospect of dying for the oilmongers no more than do Indian ones, whilst the tax-payers' means are clamant to the heavens. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the fundamental truth is never told to the British dupe, indignant though he be. Why is there all this necessity for controlling the Middle East, from Constantinople to Egypt, from Persia down to the estuary of the Euphrates? Is it oil? Yes, and much more. The Near East has to be in tutelage, the Middle East in bondage in order that the Far East should remain in thralldom. If India were free and had freely chosen either of two alternatives, namely, to remain

happily within the British Empire as an equal, or to solve her separate destiny isolated from it, defending herself as best she could from other possible aggressors, then at any rate the major problem for Britain would have been solved and a countless host of minor ones with it. "To tell us that the interests of India are paramount, and that to save out power and our credit there, all things are permitted, and that all morality is idle; this is indeed to demoralise the nation, to turn our Indian Empire into a curse greater to Englishmen than her Mexican and Peruvian conquests were to Spain; it is to teach a free people the creed of a pirate," says that veteran Radical, Frederic Harrison.

India, in saving herself, will save far more than herself for the regeneration of the world. It is therefore with the utmost searching of soul that she should prepare herself for the great choices that lie before her in September.—*July 30, 1920.*

XVII

LOYALTY'S RECOMPENSE *

ON August 2, 1921, Londoners had the opportunity of showing to the gallant troops of the Indian Army their enthusiastic gratitude, and turned out in their thousands to offer such honour to the soldiers of the sister nation as it is the privilege of the citizens of the Empire's capital to render to victorious warriors. One may quite safely say that not one English spectator in ten thousand present had more than the faintest notion of the dark regime of oppression and martial law so recently prevalent in the native land of these men, and certainly would not have approved of it if he had. If one could have slipped oneself inside the mentality of the beholders, there would probably have been found a mixture of gratitude, simple brotherly feeling, admiration, and perhaps a little awe inspired by the reserved, dignified, and martial bearing of these haughty members of the Aryan race, so like and so unlike to the English.

The gratitude is a very real due.

* On August 2, 1919, a magnificent body of Indian troops marched through London to celebrate the end of the war. They were most enthusiastically received.

Turning to a despatch dated Delhi, March 19, 1919, published as a supplement to the "London Gazette," profoundly interesting information is obtained on India's great effort in the war. One does not primarily think of India as a producer of war material, but the activities of her Munitions Board were admirable. Her exports included, between 1914 and 1918, 1,855 miles of railway track, 229 locomotives, and 5,989 vehicles, whilst the output of a single month from her clothing factories was 2,000,000 garments.

The world at large has not yet adequately appreciated India's magnificent contributions to the supply of man power, greater than that of all the other British Dominions combined. The total contribution of Indian personnel was 1,457,000, of whom 943,000 served overseas. Enlistments during the war period came to 1,218,000. There have been 106,594 casualties of which 36,696 were deaths. Comparisons on such points would, of course, be in the worst possible taste, but it is not without interest to recall that the number of lives given by our most powerful Ally, the United States, was 36,154.

General Sir Charles Monro pays a handsome tribute to Indians for their "soldierly qualities fully

in accord with the highest traditions of the British Army."

On the financial side India has, considering present conditions, acted no less heroically. During 1917-1918 the Indian Government offered to contribute £100,000,000 towards the cost of the war, and further repaid the Imperial Government £45,000,000 for the cost of Indian troops in the field. Three great results should naturally have followed all this. In the first place a much more liberal policy should have been followed in the throwing open of commissions to Indians in their own army. A beginning has been made, but on too timid a scale. A certain number of substantive and honorary commissions were granted to Indian officers, whilst temporary but substantive commissions were conferred upon selected military and civilian candidates. In future, forty Indian gentlemen are to be nominated annually to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. This policy needs immediate expansion. One hopes that future processions of Indian troops through London will be headed by Indian generals.

The second result one would postulate would be that India should sign the Peace Treaty and should also become an original member of the League of

Nations. These things fortunately have accrued, and there is no need to dwell upon them. They serve as some sort of a silver lining to the dark cloud.

The final result should be an early grant of Dominion Self-Government to India; in other words, that the demands of the Indian National Congress should be recognised as just.

For the moment, however, the nation that gave a million and a half men to fight for liberty must be treated as —, but what one word can describe it? Let the following record of one Indian journalist be considered as an example:—

He went further than most editors in representing to the people the critical nature of the war and rendering every editorial help to make the issue plain, reading a series of articles written by his pen at the War Conference at Delhi, and immediately after, explaining again and again that service rendered to the Government was service to the country. He associated himself wholeheartedly with the call to arms made by the Lieut-Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer at the War meeting which followed that Conference; he denounced any spirit of mere bargaining at such a time, calling it suicidal; "It is," he wrote, "an absolutely unpatriotic attitude of mind to enter into the sacred,

the solemn affair in the spirit of bargaining, so essentially alien to our nature. Our offer of co-operation with the Government is, and should be, absolutely unconditional." He went further still and in an article on May 9, 1918, headed, "To Arms," he endorsed the phrase which had been recently used by a public speaker, "duty, honour and liberty point to a single path, and that path leads to the recruiting booth, the parade-ground and the firing range." And later, when the appeal for the Indian Defence Force was being canvassed, he urged that it was one of the paramount duties of the citizen to be enrolled. All through his editorial charge of the "Tribune" he published the War Supplement regularly in his paper, and also printed the War Loan notices free of charge. He was an active member both of the Lahore War Publicity Board, and also of the Punjab War Publicity Committee. In all these and other ways he encouraged to the utmost of his power the effort that the Government was making to render substantial help during the War. Indeed, it would be easy to go further and to show that Mr. Kalinath Roy incurred unpopularity with his fellow countrymen on at least two different occasions in a single year by opposing certain popular leaders in India

and taking the Government's side against them over important issues.

The first question which would naturally leap to the mind would be what decoration, indeed, how many O.B.E.'s would adequately recognise all this. But the bare fact is that at the present moment Mr. Kalinath Roy is serving a sentence, shortened it is true, for having been convicted of sedition under the Martial Law Commission. Having disseminated what he considered to be the truth about the War in the paper, he continued to disseminate what he considered to be the truth about the events in India last spring.

If one were disposed to be cynical, instead of indignant, one might commend to him the American poet's lines—

"I do believe in Freedom's cause,

Ez fur away as *pagris* is."

If ever there was a case for amnesty—a process in which the Crown, as often as not, far more forgives itself for the excesses of its officials than it does the nominal offender—surely that case is the one of Mr. Kalinath Roy. An order has been received from the Bombay Government staying until further orders the sentence of death passed upon Chand Abdulla, the first accused in the case

of the murder of Sergeant Fraser. This clemency, shown, we understand, on the ground of the extreme youth of the prisoner, will harm no one. But ranging things in proportion, it makes the rigour shown to Mr. Roy—it is stated that his health is being seriously impaired in captivity—all the more appalling. A man of such excellent record should never have been tried by Martial Law at all. The freedom of the Press and the military mind are plants that will not flourish in the same soil. Politicians, lawyers, and writers who make their appeal to moral force and to reason are naturally suspect to those whose criterion is physical force, and the latter are as unfit by nature to be allowed to judge the former as they are incompetent by training.

The whole Punjab regime is a wretched answer to India's loyalty and devotion in the Empire's hour of agony. If India had held back or if she had actively assisted the enemy it might have been, if not justifiable, at least comprehensible. Of the man chiefly responsible one might say, as Dr. Johnson did of Charles XII—

"He left a name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale."

And that name, we fear, will be Gujranwala.

XVIII

DEMOCRACY AND THE REMEDYING OF
MISGOVERNMENT *

THE moment of termination of the last three months' Punjab campaign in Great Britain affords a suitable occasion upon which to review its total of achievement or otherwise,

The favourable results may be summed up as the awakening of interest among two great sections of the community—the Labour Party (as witness the Scarborough Conference)—and a proportion of the women voters who are politically conscious of their imperial responsibilities; for which we may cite † among other evidence the very interesting correspondence now proceeding in our contemporary the *Woman's Leader*, under the heading "Amritsar." The Peace Conference also was favourably in-

* This article was, of course, written before the working out of the details of Non-Co-operation in such form as to make propaganda in great Britain an illogical and incompatible anomaly.

† It was also noteworthy that the best-attended and most successful meeting ever held upon an Indian topic was the one of July 13, 1920 organised by the Women's Freedom League to protest against the treatment of Indian women and children in the Punjab.

fluenced by Indian propaganda and passed entirely satisfactory resolutions at its last sessions. Nor was this propaganda without effect upon the Amritsar Debate in the Commons, as the acidulated references to it within Hansard's pages place upon record. To hundreds of thousands of British voters, men and women, India is now a nightmare of solemn responsibility. Much literature has been circulated, and many statements have been furnished to the Press, and to Members of Parliament. No Indian propaganda has fallen upon stony ground, nor do we think that any of it will fail to bear fruit in due season. Scores of resolutions have been passed by democratic bodies demanding full democratic freedom for India, and such measures of just censure as the recall of the Viceroy, the impeachment of the late ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and the dismissal of the minor tyrants.

Nevertheless, the bald fact remains that the Government of India Act has been left practically unaffected, whilst Chelmsford, O'Dwyer *et hoc genus omne* still flourish like the green bay tree. The last session of the All-India Committee of the Indian National Congress solemnly entrusted to the British Committee the mission of securing the

impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the Parliamentary reparations necessary to restore India's self-respect. Hence it is evident that the measure of achievement attained up to the present falls far, far short of India's hopes. Setting aside what proportion of failure would be due to Mr. Secretary Montagu's Machiavellian parliamentary tactics, which is a large one, the causes of the rest of the nonachievement should be carefully traced out and remedied at as early a date as possible, for there is no satisfactory standard in the prosecution of propaganda of a noble cause short of complete success. At the same time, impatience must not be allowed to mar or to discard partial success attained at any given moment. Time must be allowed for germination, florescence, and fruition of all political ideas, and it is a mere nursery display to root up the part because the whole has not had space and room enough for full growth. The Secretary of the Fabian Society once stated that between the inception of a reform in that society and its final adoption upon the statutes of the country an average period of 19 years elapsed. If one can suppose the promoters of all the reforms thus summarised, wearying at, say, the seventh year, and flinging up the sponge, it is obvious that all their

forms of propaganda would have appeared sterile. Fortunately, hope and faith form a large part of the equipment of a political reformer, nor is some meed of reasonable patience altogether despicable.

At the same time, allowing for all these counsels of prudence, the question may well be put: Is the Punjab to wait long years for justice? To this the answer must be an emphatic negative. It is unthinkable that justice should never be done. It is intolerable that there should be much more delay. The category of wrongs is so far out of the ordinary. The spilt blood of Jallianwalla pleads like Abel's to the skies. The accusations made on behalf of the Punjab women and children demand instant inquiry, to say the very least possible. Short of a Royal Commission plus the trials of Dyer and O'Dwyer, it is different to see how the full truth can ever be placed upon record in such form that the respect of future ages and history may be commanded. Halting between the two Reports, the Congress and the Hunter, the civilised world of the present and future may well be bewildered at the unbridgeable gulf between them. Justice demands that the whole truth should be dragged into the light.

As has been remarked, the All-India Congress

Committee indicated to the British Committee a certain path. The upper reaches of that path, namely, the impeachment of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, have not yet been attained. If one may imagine the speculations of the future historic inquirer upon this matter, they might centre upon such points as whether the impeachment was the only method of dealing with that man or if any other way would have done as well; and whether it was a possible course in view of the equipment of the body charged to undertake it and the circumstances of the time. It is quite obvious why the people of India fly to impeachment as a mode of redress. The historic precedent of Warren Hastings naturally colours their outlook. In 1786 upon the motion of Burke, the impeachment of Warren Hastings was decided upon. It began upon February 13, 1788 and ended on April 23, 1792. But how did it end? In an acquittal. So far as India derived any satisfaction from this case, it was the dual satisfaction of having the truth brought into the open, and the much greater solace of finding that there was a Burke able and willing to plead oppressed India's cause. Not the cold fact that Hastings was acquitted but the moral victory which Burke achieved it was which influenced the long future.

But much has happened since 1792. For one thing, impeachment in itself has long been in disuse, the last case being that of Lord Melville in 1806. Never formally repealed, it has probably lost political savour, and in demanding its revival the people of India are charging themselves and their agents with the task of reviving the obsolete as well as of securing the ends of justice. A most complicated method of procedure would have to be set going. A Member of Parliament sufficiently noble and persistent, intellectually powerful and influential enough to command a majority of the House of Commons, would have to get the question adopted. "Managers" of the case would have to be selected by the Commons who would conduct the case before the Lords and adduce the evidence. The recent vote of the Lords upon the Dyer case, illuminates the probability of a satisfactory verdict upon this. If the present House of Commons could produce a Burke—which it certainly shows no signs of doing, either in India's cause or any other—even then, one must remember that in the onward flow of democracy and the last century's widening of the franchise, there has been an immense widening and separation in spirit between the two Houses. In Burke's day it was the country squires who

impeached before the larger landowners, and kith spoke to kin. To-day it would be the town artisan and the lower middle class dealing with the immensely more powerful new peerage reinforced by the plutocracy. It is not perhaps the fault, but it certainly is the misfortune, of Labour, that hitherto it has produced no Burke.

In spite of all this, impeachment is not an impossibility. But if it should prove, upon reflection, to be an impracticable mode of procedure, is persistence to abate and the matter be allowed to slide? One hopes not. There are other means available such as were used against Governor Eyre in 1868. Should such means fail, the possibility of an appeal to the League of Nations might receive close scrutiny and consideration. In proper concomitance and sequence the question of the Turkish Peace Treaty and its effect upon the Khilafat might receive similar treatment, since the possibility of justice from the Allies seems more remote than ever.

The machinery of such appeals is a subject for the utmost careful thought. Suppose the late Mr. Tilak's first policy of sweeping on to victory by the elections to the new councils were adopted and Parnellite tactics then followed within the new

bodies, directed towards the refusal to deal with all public business until India's international honour were satisfied? Would this be a mode of realisation of the policy of Non-co-operation or not?

From the lists of Congressmen's candidatures published in the Indian Press it is a fair inference that work for elections is to proceed side by side with consideration of aspects of Non-co-operation, and although the renunciations of titles and posts may have some slight moral effects, it is not until Non-co-operation, if adopted, begins to be really embarrassing that it becomes serious politics.

But apart from what may be done before the League of Nations and the larger world, a great development of existing methods and machinery of propaganda within the United Kingdom is as inevitable as it is necessary, unless propaganda here is to be abandoned as unnecessary and useless. Larger and stronger contingents than ever would have to come over from India at more and more frequent intervals; men and women who could and would quickly adapt themselves to British modes of platform procedure and habituate themselves to brevity and omission of mere detail. Diplomats of the first water are required, who could leave upon public men the right

impression and inspire them with zeal for India's Self-government.

With such men at work, the chances of obtaining amending statutes to the Government of India Bill, a Declaration of Rights, justice for Dyer and O'Dwyer and legislation before which future Dyers and O'Dwyers would tremble, would be a great possibility. But not even an executive of the Congress in London can make its bricks without sufficient straw. To quote Mr. Mahomed Ali's remarks upon another contest, it cannot, any more than any other propagandist body, embark upon a war of unlimited liabilities with limited assets. For the right type of Indian publicist there is ample room and verge enough to obtain magnificent results here for India, if she will but revive courage and faith in her powers of persuasion and remember that although the way of democracy with misgovernment is more circuitous and lengthy than those of a despot, or of an oligarchy of 1786 would be, yet the end is far less in doubt. The great democracy of America took four years of warfare to end negro slavery. But it did end it, and therein lies the moral.—*August 13, 1920.*

XIX

MARTIAL LAW IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS *

UNALTERED by a single word, unimproved by a solitary concession in the direction of democracy, the Government of India Bill has now passed through the House of Commons. The manner of its passing has been the means of showing that Parliamentary institutions, as our freedom-loving forefathers understood them, are on their deathbed in Great Britain.

The Secretary of State for India came down with his sacrosanct document, and a servile House has registered it unchanged, just as the old Parliament of Paris compulsorily registered a royal decree whenever the French monarch held a *lit de justice*. At a time when the doctrine of Direct Action is waxing, and the respect of Parliament waning, Mr. Montagu has shown how utterly foreign he is to the spirit of constitutionalism in England. It is therefore small matter for wonder that he has

* As correspondence indicated that this title was not understood in India, perhaps it might be stated that its intention was to indicate that the docile M.P.s. were as much under the crack of their Whips as Indian's had had to be under Martial Law.

proffered to India a mess of pottage instead of that liberty which is man's birthright.

We will not quote from the professedly advanced journals' opinions as to the extraordinariness of the course followed, but will cite the views of what might be termed man-in-the-street newspapers. The "Daily Mail" says that the Bill passed its third reading "after a Parliamentary progress which would have staggered M.P.s. of a generation ago by its celerity" and "emerged from the Committee stage without a single alteration having been made in it—a unique experience with a Bill of such magnitude." The "Daily Express" says that it "achieved the miracle of going through Committee for two days without one of the forest of amendments being carried."

What has induced the House of Commons to turn itself into a penny-in-the-slot machine? Partly the mistaken idea that the Bill was giving concessions of freedom to India, partly the fear of revolution, Bolshevism, or something else unpleasant if some step were not taken; and in certain quarters undoubtedly there was hope of dishing the Extremists—or, in plain language, of frustrating the policy of the Indian National Congress, and perhaps even of causing the extinction of that body. However

mixed Col. Yate may have been in his dates, he certainly let the cat out of the bag by his allusions to the Conference. Skilfully driving these three horses as one team, Mr. Montagu pushed, poked, pulled and dragooned his measure through. He spoke of the Third Reading as being the proudest moment of his life. In the sense that he rode on the crest of a wave, and that the position is never again likely to be recaptured, it may be conceded that he was at his apogee. But that he will decrease and that the Indian National Congress will increase is as sure as that if he had given India a real measure of Home Rule the Congress would have found itself, like Othello, with occupation gone. Surrounded as the Secretary of State for India has been with Byzantine and Besantine self-appointed spokesmen for India these last months, it is not surprising that he views his achievement with childlike and joyous rapture. But history is full of warning of the tremendous danger of giving the nicely calculated less when the time calls for the generous more: or even most. Govern by force if you will, and as long as that force overmasters your helots they can do nothing. There are numerous instances of successful domination—aye, even of extermination. There are

other instances where generously complete emancipation has been successful, as in the recent cases of South Africa or the Philippines. But does the history of the Girondins convey nothing to the sycophantic or merely foolish admirers of this measure? Have they never heard of Charles I, who, reluctant to give Strafford's head, in the end gave not only Strafford's, but his own? Did they never read how the niggardly concessions of George the Third's Governments but enraged the Americans to armed rebellion? Have they by any chance ever studied the career of Pio Nono, who in the end was nicknamed Pio "No! No!"? Of Napoleon III? Of the last Czar of Russia, who, had he granted real power to his Duma, might have to-day been as flourishing as his cousin, George V, but who thought to act the statesman's part by giving too little? The gulf between that of a despot and a liberator is infinitely dangerous.

That is to say, in this particular instance, it is dangerous for Great Britain in regard to her relation to India. For the moment we will leave Mr. Montagu to rejoice in his personal glory; a figure not unreminiscent of the immortal Tartarin de Tarascon, who, after apostrophising himself thus: "*Tartarin, couvre-toi de gloire!*" remembered the

dangers of lion-hunting and his own infirmities and then adjured himself: "*Tartarin, couvre-toi de flanelle!*" Sincere as we believe our Tartarin's intentions to have been, they have paved the usual road. His most admirable feature has been that he has "known when to yield." Thus the epitaph—we mean verdict—of the "Times" upon him. The yielding has been to the reactionary, the resistance to the amendments embodying the policy of the Indian National Congress. Every one of those amendments has been lost.

The defeat, however, is merely upon the surface. Some thirty Reform Bills were lost here before the Act of 1832 was carried. No doubt at each defeat reaction triumphed. It could not triumph for ever. It is as certain as to-morrow's sun that India will have to have a democratic constitution, unless some Napoleon of the East is to arise. Whichever way things go in the new provincial legislatures, whether they become official versus popular bear-gardens, or whether they work in harmonious conjugality, the argument will be for change, nor will that change be long in coming. The provision as to ten years' delay before revision cannot possibly bind future Parliaments, nor need it hamper the Congress in its demands. The armour-clad

impregnability of the Central Government cannot endure because of a mere Statute, if the people of India will it to be otherwise. They did not send a million and a half men to the war for self-determination to have their aspirations throttled by a knot tied in White-hall and the Service Clubs of London, and fastened round their throats at Delhi. People who can fight to free French, Belgians and Czecho-Slovakians need not allow others to determine for them the times and seasons of their advances towards liberty. Of all the insults to India, the restatement of the Preamble emphasising that the determination of India's freedom is for others *i.e.*, Parliament—to judge and decide is possibly the most arrogant and wounding to the pride of a great and rightly sensitive people; just as the omission of any Declaration of Rights is a most sinister feature.

The passage of this measure will involve a reconsideration of its practical policy by the Congress. The moment of enactment would appear to have been neatly determined so as to give the least possible opportunity of consideration in India before Congress meets. What Congress may decide to do we cannot, of course, predict. It will inevitably feel a measure of gratitude proportionate

to the effort extended by members of the Labour Party to move pro-Congress amendments in the House, but we think it very possible that Congress will also see that the Labour Party is not as yet powerful enough to emancipate India, and that it may not pay India to rest her whole hopes upon the possibility of the Labour Party coming into power in either the near or distant future. Labour is not much stronger in Parliament to-day than in 1906, and facts, not fancies, ought to be faced. Whilst Labour's help is valuable and to be cherished, other and simultaneous means of political action should be sought. To place all the eggs in one basket is poor policy.

In truth, the cause of India is in need in this country of two things—organisation and stimulation. Interest has to be created and enthusiasm evoked. Information has to be supplied profusely. Sympathy has to be created and directed into political channels. As many helpers as possible must be enrolled from all the British political parties. Above all, it is absolutely essential that the question of India should be made a test question at general elections and also at by-elections. There ought never to be a general election again when every candidate's views upon Indian self-government are

not sought and recorded, and electorates advised as to the preferable one to support from India's point of view. By-elections will offer an even greater opportunity for publicity and propaganda. A strong London organisation would often enable great prominence to be given to candidates' policies (or lack of such) upon India, and at such times an Indian orator's services would be absolutely invaluable.

The new Parliamentary Committee upon Indian affairs will also provide a useful sphere of labour. If India wants more than will be given by this modest modicum of Mr. Montagu, she will ceaselessly bombard this new Parliamentary group with her demands. Either they must be made to be useful to India or their lives such a burden of embarrassment that no one can serve in peace upon that Committee. When individual members of that Committee for Indian affairs come before their respective constituencies there will be grand opportunities for effective Indian propaganda and influence. Those with unsatisfactory records should receive the reward of their works, and those who have tried to forward Congress policy should receive support quite irrespective of their views and position in the British

political parties. To attain all this, strong support would have to be forthcoming from India, more material, and most and best of all in the persons those whom the Congress might send as her envoys. That the British Committee of the Indian National Congress would whole-heartedly and delightedly welcome more and more Indian co-operation in personnel is almost too obvious to be stated: yet in view of the insinuations made in the contrary direction during the past year, it is perhaps not amiss to emphasise the obvious.

Dark as the situation may be, all those who believe in real self-government for India will not lose heart for a moment. At any rate, the passage of this measure in one sense clears it out of the way, which is a relief! All those who are satisfied with it will be satisfied, and may be looked for shortly among the ranks of those whom the Government delight to honour. The real patriots and democrats will get on with the work, for India must be free, not in fifteen years, not in ten years, but rapidly, for her own sake and that of England's honour.—*December 12, 1920.*

XX

THE AMRITSAR MASSACRE *

WITH dramatic suddenness the interest of this country has this week been turned aside from the unrealities of the Government of India Bill to India's terrible woes. The general Press, which has displayed but a languid interest in Mr. Montagu's changeling child, has been startled into consideration of the events of last April in Amritsar.

The Disorders Committee presided over by Lord Hunter sat at Delhi from November 3 to 9, and then proceeded to Lahore, where its enquiries opened on November 11. It will be recalled that last spring, owing to a variety of causes, there were popular outbreaks in Delhi and the Punjab. Those causes need not be again described in detail; they were a general blend of Mahomedan alarms as to Turkey and the Caliphate, the high prices and scarcity of necessities, the immense mortality caused by the influenza scourge, and in particular the deep resentment aroused by the repressive Rowlatt legislation then coming into being. Following upon orderly passive resistance protests,

* The news of the Amritsar Massacre reached England on December 13, 1919.

various disorderly actions of mob violence ensued, which were quelled by the ruthless use of force. Complaints were so bitter and deep that the Secretary of State empanelled a Committee of Enquiry to investigate the causes of the disturbances and the measures taken to cope with them. Upon the unsatisfactory personnel, scope, and limitations of that Committee *India* has commented, and in particular has protested against the passage by the Government of India of an Indemnity Act whose purpose is to protect all agents of the Government from punishment for acts committed in the *bona fide* belief that they were necessary. To those protests for the moment, although nothing has transpired to cause any modification of them, we do not recur in detail, proposing to concentrate attention upon the extraordinary evidence of General Dyer as to his actions in Amritsar.

For eight months the truth has been held back from the British people, but now at last they learn from the mouth of the man who did it, namely General Dyer, what was done to paralyse and terrify Amritsar into submission, and even after the orgies of cruelty of the last few years England reels with the shock. The whole affair is strongly

reminiscent of the Massacre of Peterloo, whose centenary we must have been keeping a few weeks after a practical repetition of it. On April 4 news of the disturbances at Delhi reached Amritsar, and as a *hartal* (i.e., a cessation of business, similar to the one on Armistice anniversary, but longer in duration) had already been held, the sapient authorities of the Punjab Government decided that the secret deportation of Amritsar's political leaders, Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, would be a wise step. The news of this deportation quickly spread, and the mob proceeded to the railway line, at first mainly with the motive of catching the last glimpses of their loved leaders. The goods yard was damaged and an English guard killed. On its return the crowd brutally murdered two officials. At the National Bank other damage was done, and the Town Hall burnt down. Near the Zenana Hospital a woman doctor, Miss Sherwood, was set upon and beaten until she was unconscious. Communication was made to Lahore, and a small body of troops under General Dyer came from Jullundur. To General Dyer the Deputy Commissioner gave administrative control of the city. Drastic measures, which may or may not have been necessary and justifiable, were taken to preserve the peace, but public imagi-

nation has been stirred to its depths by the description of the slaughter at Jallianwalla Bagh, a place near Amritsar. All meetings had been prohibited by the General, and military proclamations had been made at eighteen places in the city to that effect. Hearing that a meeting was going to be held at 5 p.m., General Dyer determined to disperse it.

It is here that the real story of horror begins. Jallianwalla Bagh lies low, encircled by buildings, and has but four entrances, three of which are small. When the gallant General appeared upon the scene, a meeting was being addressed by a politician named Hans Raj. *The crowd was not ordered to disperse, but within half a minute was being fired upon.* Desperately the terrorised people strove to reach the narrow exits, but during their ten-minute struggle 1,650 rounds were fired. Between four and five hundred people were killed, and between twelve and thirteen hundred were wounded. Neither the military nor the civil authorities took any steps to succour the wounded, "for the hospitals were open and they could have gone there." For twenty-eight hours the dead lay beneath the pitiless Indian sun. The following verbatim extract from the evidence gives a more vivid picture

of what was in General Dyer's mind than any paraphrase could do:—

Mr. Justice Rankin: Excuse me putting it in this way, General, but was it not a form of frightfulness?

General Dyer: No, it was not. It was a horrible duty I had to perform. I think it was a merciful thing. I thought that I should shoot well and strong, so that I or anybody else should not have to shoot again. If I had the right to fire one shot, I had the right to fire a lot of rounds. I arrived at the logical conclusion that I must disperse the crowd, who had defied the arm of the law. There was no medium course. The one thing was force.

Asked if he did not consider it his duty to consult the Deputy Commissioner in regard to this extreme measure, witness said there was no Deputy Commissioner on the scene, and his mind was already made up. His object was to disperse the crowd, and he was going to fire until they dispersed. Asked what reason he had to suppose that the crowd would not have dispersed without firing, he said: "I think it is quite possible I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but they would have come back again and laughed, and I should have made what I consider to be a fool of myself.

. . . . The action I took was not so much a question of Amritsar district. I considered it was my duty to fire, and fire well."

Lord Hunter: Was there any other course?

General Dyer: No, sir. I looked upon it as a duty, a very horrible duty.

Dwell upon the sentence: "I think it was quite possible I could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but . . . I should have made . . . a fool of myself."

Throughout the Anglo-German War the one plea our enemies gave whenever they did something more than usually abominable was "Necessity." Sacred necessity excused every form of *Schrecklichkeit*. General Dyer has added a new reason to the galaxy of reasons for frightfulness—the desire not to make a fool of oneself. Or rather two reasons. In describing his measures to avenge the beating of Miss Sherwood he has added as a reason the desire for making the street in which that disgraceful deed occurred "sacred"—because women are sacred. Not all women. White women. If there were women in the massacred crowd, they would not matter. They would be Indian women, and, therefore, presumably not "sacred." Whenever men invoke the sanctity of womanhood as a

reason for their actions, it nearly always presages something more than usually hysterical on their part, and invariably something excessively distasteful to women themselves.* In this case the avenging of the insult to Miss Sherwood took the form of making everyone who had to go down the street of that scene, for no less than the next five days, crawl upon the ground in snake fashion. We feel confident that the last woman in the world to have approved of this would have been Miss Sherwood, † whose presence in India as a woman doctor testifies to altogether different ideals of life. This horrible degradation of guilty and innocent alike is an insult to our common humanity, something hideously degrading to the victim, but infinitely more degrading to the afflicter. And in that degradation we must all share. It is our myrmidons who act thus in our name, and we must shoulder full responsibility.

* The following resolution has been passed unanimously by the National Executive Council of the Women's Freedom League :—

This Council considers the crawling order at Amritsar as a totally unnecessary vindication of the honour of European women in the East.—"India" January 20, 1920.

† Subsequently Miss Sherwood did disapprove to some extent of this order, stating that, if Indian hands had hurt her, other Indian hands helped, rescued and tended her.

It is cold comfort to learn that Sir Michael O'Dwyer approved of the action, and colder still to reflect that that Attila of the Punjab has been allowed by Mr. Montagu to be Chairman in India of the Army Commission at the present time. But Haman went high before his fall.

With his gaze glued to the draft of the Government of India Bill, the Secretary of State has more or less acquiesced in the hideous state of India this last year. A trumpety measure of reform which would not have excited the ancient Assyrians has engrossed his attention. Meantime affairs with Afghanistan are admittedly muddled; Indians in Canada, the Fiji Islands, and South Africa groan under injustice; the Rowlatt Laws remain; the Indemnity Bill remains; Sir Michael O'Dwyer remains; the Government of India remains . . . but will Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu remain?

If the Mesopotamia muddle brought down Mr. Austen Chamberlain, what effect ought these murderous onslaughts on fellow-subjects to have upon the career of the Secretary of State for India?

Four hundred killed, twelve hundred wounded, and General Dyer has not made a fool of himself. But he has succeeded in dragging down England

to the Nana Sahib level and in creating an impression, not only in the Punjab, but throughout the world, which it will take us many a year to recover from. Has General Dyer courage enough to withdraw himself from the protection of the Indemnity Act and take an ordinary chance before a British tribunal? -- *December 19, 1919.*



4. THE KHILAFAT QUESTION

AUCTION OF MINDS *

THE major residuary problem of the World War at this moment is undoubtedly the group of outstanding questions connected with Turkey and the Khilafat, and upon a just and satisfactory solution of that problem depends the future peace of the world. Racial and religious cleavages far deeper than those between France and Germany complicate it. Failure to find the golden thread leading the way out of the labyrinth may set Europe and Asia against each other in some future mortal combat ten thousand times more hideous than the struggle of 1914 to 1918.

It will therefore be granted by all save the intransigent Chauvinist that a calm, serene atmosphere is essential at the present fateful moments of reflection and mutual adjustments of the rightful spheres of Cross and Crescent. Each side has much to forget and forgive; each has much to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest; whilst none of

* When it is realised that over 10,000,000 people "go to the pictures" every week in the British Isles, the importance of the subject of this article will be more fully grasped. The film referred to is still being shown (1921.)

the victorious belligerents needs to consider her every step with anything like the care which Great Britain does, seeing that she is, numerically speaking, the greatest Moslem Power in the world.

It is, therefore, remarkable in the highest degree that the League of Nations Union in this country is presenting a propaganda than which nothing could be more calculated to dissipate whatever calmness might exist and arouse the last remnants of war hatred left in our weary spirits to operate against Turkey. Readers of *India* will recollect that about February 1, it published a very strong resolution sent to it by the Islamic Society of Great Britain against the film then being shown at the Albert Hall, entitled "Auction of Souls." Before writing one word in endorsement of that resolution the editor of the paper determined to see this production in its entirety. Having done so, one can only refer to the resolution as an exceedingly mild and restrained one. Whatever the artistic and commercial merits and demerits of the "Auction of Souls" may be, we are incompetent to judge. It is solely in its political aspect that one attempts to deal with it, and on that ground alone criticism could hardly be too severe.

Briefly, the production may be described as an

Armenian love-story of a not very dignified order, holding together a number of scenes of orgiastic brutality, commented upon by a series of sub-titles whose sole apparent motive is anti-Turkish propaganda, coupled with some violence to the usual methods of spelling the English language. Whenever the adjective "innocent" appears, it is axiomatic that it applies to an Armenian. Similarly, "brutal" is copyrighted for the Turk. If we rightly understood the plot, 500,000 Armenians were massacred by the Turks because (a) a particular Turkish Bey coveted for his harem Miss Flora Mardiganian (acted by herself); (b) a Turkish spy in a loft overheard a remark—later on repudiated in usual gestures—that a small group of Armenians wanted Russia to fight with them; (c) because, at the Palace of the Sultan, the massacre was decided upon in a Council Scene which seemed about as near the usual ideas of such events as the Palace scenes in "The Young Visitors" to the Court of her late Majesty Queen Victoria. At the end of the performance we had not decided whether the heroine's charms, the spy's report, or the State policy of Turkey was the ruling motive of the atrocities alleged to have been perpetrated. At all events, no indication at any point was furnished that the

Armenians had ever given the slightest occasion for any resentment by the Turks. The latter state that many hundreds of thousands of Turks were massacred by Armenians before they themselves moved in anger and revenge against their subjects. After all, Easter Week Rebellion did occur in Ireland before the English and Scotch battered down part of Dublin. How should we like a film exhibited in the East showing English regiments shattering Dublin with shot and shell giving no indication of what preceded? Or to tread upon even more delicate ground, a film showing General Dyer mowing down the Amritsar meeting, but carefully excluding that Sherwood incident which led him to perform his fearful deed? Would the Government of India allow the public display of such a film?

At every point possible, Christian feeling—*i.e.*, Christian in the Pickwickian sense of the word—is exploited to the utmost. The Catholicism of the stage is never too impressive, and the cinema version of it as conceived in Los Angeles (where, it is understood, the film was actually taken) is less so. To play the noble music of the Resurrection hymn, "O Sons and Daughters, Let Us Sing," whilst an Easter crowd is being put to fire and sword is clever—in a sense. But as the late Sir Henry Campbell-

Bannerman used to say, one can be too clever by half, and the fairer mind of the British always finds it very repugnant. Again, the incident of the torn-down Union Jack behind the teacher in the Mission School is very, very odd. It is the American teacher, not the English, who uses the flag as school drapery and a vehicle for emotion; and if that Union Jack was not in the original film a Stars and Stripes, we are much out in our reckoning. Such sickly sentimentalism alternates with scenes of capture, ravishment, hunger, thirst, death, escapes, murders of all kinds, and culminates in a series of crucifixions of nearly nude women. Revolting is not a strong enough adjective to use. There simply is no word. The Home Office, we believe, has perfunctorily bowed to Mrs. Grundy, and some feet of film have been cut out as offending the proprieties. Far more fitly the Foreign Office might take action, if that be possible and within its capability. The India Office would do well to consider the matter.

The extraordinary thing is that this "Auction of Souls" should be exhibited under the auspices of the League of Nations Union. Their official explanation is that the film is shown in order to display the horrors of war and so deepen the feeling for

peace. But if the Union wants to show war films—a very doubtful and dangerous practice—why not show *war* films? Presumably there is still extant the official “Somme” film and many others which were taken on the actual fronts. But “Auction of Souls” does not show any battlefield or engagements of any kind. It is no more war than was the Sicilian Vespers or the Battle of Sidney Street. It does not show the wrongs done by both sides, but isolates the misdeeds—as alleged—of one side. It can leave in the mind only a feeling of hatred towards Turkey and Islam. For us, who called hundreds of thousands of Indian Moslems to our side, it is blackest ingratitude and the deepest of bad taste to exhibit any feeling against the religion of the Turks, whatever may be the necessary atonement Turkey may need to make for being on the losing side in the war. For the League of Nations Union to be concerned in anti-Islam propaganda is absolutely incomprehensible. No doubt they acted in simple good faith, but those responsible for this departure from impartiality must be very unsophisticated indeed.

The clumsy unwisdom of certain aspects of this Albert Hall affair is further demonstrated upon the programme and even in the matter of the atten-

dants. If the Union desire the spectator to believe that only one in five hundred thousand escaped, why are the attendants dressed as Armenians? If they are the genuine thing, the device is improbable. If they are not Armenians, but English, why do they pretend to be unable to speak English? A far more serious point, however, is the fact that the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor occurs upon the programme, in an endorsement of the League of Nations' advertisement of itself. His Majesty approves of the League of Nations; the League of Nations Union approves of the “Auction of Souls”; the inference the casual-minded may draw is equally obvious and deplorable. Some years ago Queen Mary thought it wise to withdraw (in a very kindly and gracious manner) her name as patron of the National Council of Women because of its increasing, although strictly non-party, action in political matters. It is certain that the N.C.W. never handled any enterprise within measurable distance of being so doubtful as this one. Seeing that the King rules more Moslems than Christians, it is obvious that his name should not occur in any way upon the programme of this film—its use, although no doubt strictly truthful, is too misleading.

That there is a good and constructive side to the use of the cinematograph for the purposes of democracy the writer is the first to admit; in fact, a lecture was delivered by her upon the identical subject a year ago at the London Opera House. The net result of the discussion—carried on mainly by experts in cinematography—was that, until progressive bodies co-operated on the productive side and combated the spirit of sensationalism from the outset, the right type of play would not be made. From the moment of the conception of the scenario the idealist must dominate—even then for year such films may not be commercial successes, because the public will have to acquire a new taste. To such a task the Union might well address itself. Meantime we would express the hope, shared by many of its truest friends, that its next experiment may be far more fortunate.

In the October number of the official organ of the Union there appeared in a speech by Anatole France the following wise counsel which one may appropriately recall:—

We shall see in Paris at the next Carnival, in the Champs-Élysées and on the boulevards, thousands and thousands of small boys dressed by the foolish labour of their mothers as generals and field-m Marshals.

The cinema will show them the beauties of war; we shall thus prepare them for the career of arms; and as long as there are soldiers there will be wars.

My friends, we must abandon these dangerous practices. The teacher of the future must exclude from his teaching every appeal directed towards hatred of the foreigner, yes, even towards hatred of our enemy of yesterday; not because one should be indulgent of crime and absolve all criminals, but because any people at any given moment contains more victims than it contains evil-doers; because one has no right to impose the punishment due to wrong-doers upon innocent generations; and, finally, because all the peoples of the world have much to forgive each other.—February 6, 1920.

XXII

THE CO-EXISTENCE OF INCOMPATIBLES *

TO the many horrors of the Peace, the last few days has witnessed a new addition, in the form of a whirlwind advertisement campaign having as its object the bringing of pressure to bear upon members of Parliament to expel the Turk from Constantinople in order that the League of Nations may rule there. We are informed that neither the League of Nations itself nor the League of Nations Union has financed this campaign; a single individual has laid it as a sort of foundling upon their doorsteps, and its adoption is still a matter for determination.

A strong case would never have needed such methods, and we mention the incident but to pass on to the disease of which it is the symptom. It is an attempt to drive the twentieth century back into the arms of the twelfth. * As one member of the House remarked during the great Constantinople debate last week, there is "the shadow of the Crusades over it all." If those Labour members

* A frenzied and obviously very costly advertisement campaign against Turkey had appeared in a leading British paper in the preceding week.

who so gaily advocated the "bag and baggage" policy would give some consideration to the effects of the Crusades upon the consolidation of power in monarchical hands and to such delights as the Saladin Tithes which adorned them, they might think twice before embarking upon a policy of embattling Europe against Asia, Christendom against Islam. The war evidently has changed something; for if (let us suppose) Mr. G. K. Chesterton and Father Bernard Vaughan—taking these gentlemen as typical of what crusading spirit might then have been extant—had appeared upon a Trade Union Congress platform ten years ago to advocate the dispossession of Constantinople from the Turk, the vote would hardly have gone in their favour. It is evident that the anti-Turk group, whatever its class or party derivation, draws its spiritual sustenance either from ignorance of the past or an all-too-trustful credulity in such visions of the future as the League of Nations and that with regard to the present it has ignored one trivial world-factor, namely, the existence of the British Empire. The Neo-Crusaders have turned a Nelsonian telescope towards the vital truth that more than a quarter of their fellow-citizens within the British Commonwealth are Moslems. The

Crusades must have been inspiring and exciting to those who took part in them, but the revival to-day is just about four hundred years too late. The last date for a Crusade in which the people of these islands could logically have fought would have been before the grant of a charter to the East India Company. The existence of an Empire is incompatible with Crusades against the religions of portions of itself.

It may also be pointed out that the Constantinople situation reveals the attempted co-existence of two more incompatibles. The House of Commons would like to control foreign policy, and in days gone by there were even prophecies as to a time when diplomacy should no longer be secret. Yet the announcement is made by a mere Admiral in Constantinople that that city is to be left to the Turks; it is repeated in India by the Viceroy; and with this accomplished fact the House is confronted. The plain truth again is that true democracy and large imperialist States cannot co-exist. Some similitude of it may flourish for a time; but every domination over others is ultimately made at the cost of some loss of liberty at home. There was only one brief period in English history when England was herself, when she had lost everything on the Continent

and had not founded an Empire, and that was in the spacious days of the Virgin Queen. Elizabeth was great, and England was merry England, but it was not by means of alien holdings. Under Elizabeth's Scotto-Teutonic successors a different course has been mapped out for this unfortunate country, and every step she takes must be taken with conditions as they now are, and for considerations, very different from those which would have weighed with an Edward I or even a Henry VII. The ancestors of the seventy million Moslems of India who now look to George V as their Emperor did not ask to be made British subjects. The situation is of our own creation, and we must face it.

Hence in our peace negotiations with Turkey we must bear in mind that, although there is no question of "dictation" from our Moslem fellow-subjects, yet they are vitally involved. Speaking with all due respect of Lord Robert Cecil, it is not his views as to what they ought or ought not to think of the Khilafat which matter, but what they actually do think. An important Indian Moslem deputation is now in London, able and willing to explain to British publicists what Mahomedans really do hold upon the matter; nor are their views upon the

political side either unreasonable or affected by communications with our late enemy ; for there have been none. They speak as co-religionists who are yet loyal to the British Crown and connexion, and for the sake of Britain's reputation for justice it is to be hoped that they will get a wide and fair hearing.

It is with emphasis that they advance the view that the Sultan of Turkey, as Khalif of Islam, is the spiritual head of the Moslem world, and that an essential condition of that headship is independent temporal power, of a kind equivalent to whatever prevails in other lands at any given period. Therefore, to dismember Turkey involves the dismemberment of the Khilafat. The two are inseparable. A vaticanised Khalif, with British naval guns trained upon him, is not the sort of personage to whom the Moslem can look as its Commander of the faithful, and it is folly to suppose that an appeasement of "Christian" religious sentiment here by such a solution would not instantly be detected as the merest camouflage by the critical, vigilant, and intelligent Moslem community throughout the world. It is perhaps barely necessary to restate the fact that, as far as our national and imperial honour is concerned, we are

already committed, not only by Mr. Lloyd George's pledge, but also by Point XII of the celebrated Fourteen Points, upon which the Armistice was concluded, the terms of which were :

"That the Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of their sovereignty, that the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule shall be assured of undoubted security of life and absolute unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and that the Dardanelles should be permanently open as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees."

Mr. Lloyd George himself still regards as binding the pledge he gave with regard to Constantinople and rich and renowned lands of the Turkish parts of Thrace, in spite of the attempt now made to interpret it as a provisional and contingent peace offer, so there is no need to regard it as anything but a *fait accompli*.

Everything, of course, turns in treaty-making upon the interpretation of pledges and the terms used in them. The vital point is, therefore, that the pledges shall be interpreted in the spirit in which they have been understood by our Moslem fellow-citizens. It is imaginable that Turkey will

endeavour to stretch them to cover everything conceivable to her advantage, and to read more into them than they will bear. It is just such a contingency as this which makes the arrival of this Indian Moslem deputation so opportune, timely, and valuable. They are not contending for mere forms or for barren terms. Nor do they ask that any subject people of Turkey should be left defenceless and unconsidered. Territorially they take their stand upon the *status quo ante bellum*, but so long as in an essential sense the integrity of the Ottoman Empire is preserved they would contemplate with no alarm any federative settlement which would give ample opportunity for credal, communal, or cultural autonomy in the different component parts of that Empire. They state that, as a useful parallel and corrective to the Bryce Report, a non-Turkish Moslem enquiry ought to take place in order to examine into the question of Turkish alleged misrule; or that, if this be thought not impartial enough, then a joint Anglo-Moslem Commission could be empanelled and proceed to take evidence.

The Premier in his speech darkly alluded to some possibility of the revivification of the American Mandate Plan. To us, such a plan seems absolute-

ly incompatible with Point XII already quoted; the very word "sovereignty" in the usual connotation of legal and political science excludes such an idea as tutelary supervision, and it is perhaps for this reason that the American Mandate idea has broken down at the outset. Its revival will be attended with grave difficulties, and the Supreme Council would do far better to evolve some plan of helping Turkey out of her present plight by a well-considered scheme which she could accept without loss of sovereign dignity or of spiritual prestige.

As to the other alternative futures for Constantinople (the days of Cœur de Lion, St. Bernard, and the original House of Montagu having vanished), they may be dismissed. Russia does not want Constantinople, and, if she did, the dear old ladies and rectors who subscribe to the "Morning Post" would be more than horrified at the prospect of Lenin and Trotsky in possession of St. Sophia. They might turn it into a communal kitchen or, far worse, a library for the dissemination of Bolshevik literature. Russia and America being equally out of question, there remains only the Tangier International Control Plan, a tried and proved failure; and last of all the proposal that the

League of Nations should be the final inheritor of the City of Constantine.

To this we will simply say that if the League of Nations is going to ask blandly for capitals of sovereign States in its infancy, its despotic possibilities in maturity baffle the most soaring imagination. And if Constantinople, why not Rome? Were there no outrages in Tripoli? And why not Berlin? Was there no Louvain? And why not London? Was there no Amritsar? *March 5, 1920.*

XXIII

GET ON WITH THE WAR

THE ancient Greeks held a doctrine that a man was never in so great danger as when uncontrolled pride and folly were sweeping him on to disaster. The military triumph of the Allies has, ever since the Armistice, shown in the madness of their inflated designs the same terrible conditions of mind summed up in the classic word *hubris*. The historian of centuries hence will, we unfeignedly believe, date the downfall of the West European races to the period when they insanely attempted the open, blatant, and utter subjugation of Asia for that is what the hideous Turkish Treaty really means. Only the island Empire of Japan retains any semblance of independence, and even that may be a mere question of time.

Turkey until quite recently was an Empire of some two million square miles. The treaty makes her into a mere patch of similar dimensions to the Low Countries. Great Britain, on the other hand, adds nearly a million and a half square miles to her territories as a result of the War, to say nothing of all the pickings and perquisites the "mandates" (conferred and assumed) will bring her. Turkey's

destruction removes the once powerful Euro-Asiatic buffer at the juncture of Europe and Asia and leaves all India and Mid-Asia to two alternative choices. The last leaves in the Sibylline book now bear the inscription, Bolshevism: or secular subjugation to North-West Europe.

The second policy is now in adamant mould, and there can be no possible mistake about it. Asked whether the Greek Premier had a free hand to carry on the new war with Turkey, M. Millerand replied that the former had been told to "get on with the War."

To get on with the War!

After all the carnage, the butchery, the desolation, the despair, the breaking of the hearts of women for the last five years, even the evil geniuses who now drive France and Britain to dire disaster might have paused before uttering a phrase of such immortal levity. We doubt if there is any parallel in history to such a declaration, unless it be the similarly frivolous remark of Ollivier, the Prime Minister of Second Empire of France, when he declared in the Chamber of Deputies that France entered upon the Franco-Prussian War "le cœur léger." Those three words stamped for ever as basest metal the regime which they characterised.

Thousands of scribes and chroniclers, myriads of historians and historiographers have not been able to efface their indelible stain of irresponsible foolhardiness; even though half Europe may have preferred France's cause and case to Prussia's. What then will remain to be said of a parallel light-heartedness in imbecility when not two countries, but two continents, are in question; when added to that the vital interests of one of the world's great religions are involved? That the ignorant obscurantist mentality formed by a Welsh village chapel conception of Christianity should command the resources of the British Empire with the insolence of a Sulla and the hypocrisy of a Pecksniff at a moment when matters of tremendous world-import are at a stake is a devastating irony. A Salisbury or a Beaconsfield would have been barely adequate to the task of the British Premiership at this moment. And we have a Lloyd George.

Get on with the War, although it humiliate the tortured soul of India. Get on with the War until it leave no unravaged homes in Asia Minor. Get on with the War in order that one of the most ignoble, most unscrupulous and time-serving of our Allies may richly profit. Get on with the War that

Britain may sink beneath a load of bankruptcy. What will that matter if the international Jews get the oil?

It needs no remarkable gifts of prophecy to say what the course of the War will be. A few spectacular chocolate soldier Greek successes will either happen or be reported to have happened. *Per contra* Mustafa Kemal's forces will then do well for a time. Then will come Mr. Churchill's turn, and British lads will be sent to die for the glory of Venizelos, we cannot say of Greece. Greece died centuries ago, and not all the incantations of a Byron ever brought back that heroic race. Those who call themselves Greeks will somehow or other be finally installed in Constantinople. To think of the present Constantine of Greece, that Roi Faineant with his Mayor of the Palace, enthroned in the city made glorious by the first Constantine, enriched with the memories of Byzantine and Islamic culture, is almost more than the mind can bear. Perhaps the whole world is doomed to dissolve in a chaos of laughter and the harlequinade is really the end of the pantomime.

But let us get on with the War—*our* War; not against temporalities and powers, but against spiritual darkness in high places.—*July 9, 1920.*

5. MISCELLANEOUS

XXIV

INDIA AND GOLD *

IT is not inopportune, now that a Committee is sitting to deal with Indian Currency, to refresh the memory by consideration of a few of the main features of that system as it now exists.

Three systems are in vogue throughout the world to-day—the scientific single gold standard, the limping standard, and the gold exchange standard. Under the scientific single gold standard system, the chief metallic currency is—under normal peace conditions, of course—a gold coinage. Silver coinage merely expresses fractional values of gold coins, and is not legal tender beyond a small amount. Gold in bullion form may be taken by any individual to be coined into the standard currency, and in this country for an ounce of standard gold may receive £3 17s. 10½d. at the Mint. As a result of Government control being at a minimum on this system, public demand and not Government manipulation has the chief influence in determining the supply of coinage and the international flow of bullion. Commerce is thus

* This article was written apropos of the Babington Smith Currency Commission, then recently appointed.

freed from unnecessary shackles and prosperity follows. The gold standard is the system of the most advanced countries of the world.

The second system, known as the "limping" standard, is an approximation to the single gold standard. It prevails in France, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland. The principle of bimetallism prevails to a certain extent, and silver coinage is less of a token than it is under the gold standard, and has not been reduced into as thoroughly subordinate a position, although efforts are being systematically made to reduce silver and depress the ratio of silver to gold coinage.

The system of India is, however, the artificial one known as the gold exchange standard, with a fixed ratio between gold and silver. As far as India is concerned it originated in the demonetisation of gold in 1853 by Lord Dalhousie, following upon the making of the silver rupee the sole legal tender of India in 1835. India suffers under the crushing difficulty of a gold standard without an effective gold currency.

There is a strong feeling in some financial circles that a gold Indian currency would endanger the finance of the rest of the world. An ancient bogey about India being the grave of the precious metals

because of the hoarding habits of her peoples is exhibited as regularly as Guy Fawkes' masks on the Fifth of November. As far as the hoarding habits are true in a country of such poverty, the uncertain and fluctuating rupee is an obvious factor in the situation. Any English man or woman who has quietly hoarded an odd half-sovereign or so as a source of mental satisfaction to handle instead of the ever-depreciating pound-note ought to understand at once the very natural tendency to accumulate a little of anything which is of standard value and relatively unfluctuating. Nor would the consumption of gold in the arts and its import for the purpose of stiffening the bank reserves be any worse crime in the case of India than of any other country. The proposal that a stiff import duty should be placed upon gold imported into India was a monstrous one, even though it originated in the firm of Samuel Montagu. India's ancient currency was gold, and it is a poor argument for the British connexion to insist upon changed standards of life as reasons for a relatively unsatisfactory and "managed" currency. The Fowler Committee in 1898 unanimously recommended a gold standard. The Chamberlain Committee of 1913, which reported in 1914, reversed

this recommendation, stating that the history of the preceding fifteen years had shown that the gold standard had been firmly secured without an effective gold currency, and that the people of India neither desired nor needed any considerable amount of gold for circulation as currency. The Chamberlain Committee also stated with no uncertain voice the opinion that the proper place for the location of the whole of India's gold standard reserve was London. There was no foundation, said the Commission's Majority Report, for the opinion that the reserve was regarded in London as being available to supplement the Bank of England's reserve. One presumes that the Commissioners were, like Mr. Pecksniff, particularly careful that night in praying for the souls of those wicked enough to think the exact contrary.

Sir James Begbie's Minority Report on this Commission is still of great value, in spite of the changed situation caused by the intrinsic appreciation of the rupee. The conclusions of the Chamberlain Commission were decidedly unsatisfactory from the Indian point of view, and any similar outcome from the deliberations of the Committee at present sitting would merely add emphasis to the demand of the Indian National Congress for the

abolition of the Finance Committee of the India Office, and weight to the protest of Congress that India's finances are managed merely as an ancillary adjunct to London banking operations.

Halting and tentative conclusions and experiments will not do at this juncture. Courageous measures must be taken to place India's finances upon a sound footing, and the recommendations of the Commission are being awaited with the utmost critical interest. *July 25th, 1919.*

XXV

GOVERNMENT BY PROPAGANDA *

THE soap manufacturers and whisky distillers who began the process of turning the sober mid-Victorian newspaper into mere backing material for the puffing of their wares could never in their most ambitious moments have dreamed that they were blazing a trail along which someday would tread the Governments of the world. But this seems likely to be the case.

Fiat experimentum in corpore vile, ran the old tag. We are not denying that tentative experiments of the nature described below are being made by many Governments in many countries, but the Government Order of which we now make mention is Number 336 of a series of Orders promulgated by the Government of Madras, and to that Presidency we specifically refer. It is dated July 17, 1919, and is entitled a Special War Order. The general purport of the Order being that henceforth and hereafter the Madras Government

* Since September 1919 Governmental publicity departments have multiplied all over the world, with no very demonstrable advantages save the higher taxation necessarily involved in their upkeep.

is to be aided by Organised Publicity, may we respectfully suggest that a useful and novel piece of information with which the Publicity Board might make its *debut* is that hostilities in the War ceased last November, and that the Peace Treaty with Germany was signed in June, 1919? We feel that a policy of studied frankness and the communication of information at public cost makes the purveyance of unhackneyed and surprising information immensely desirable—unless it is felt that this news is too sensational for a start. The Order is much too long to reproduce verbatim, nor, unfortunately, have we the space wherein to describe the discussion preliminary to its issue, which took place in the Banqueting Hall in Madras, a scene to which only a Pope or a Swift could do justice.

The general idea of the Order (Special War) is to establish a Central Publicity Board in Madras to issue useful information on such subjects as Agriculture, Sanitation, etc., and to distribute this to local publicity committees. The Central Board is to be mainly non-official, but . . . but . . . but . . . a Government official, a member of the I.C.S., is to be in charge of it. At first there had been a proposal to establish a Government newspaper, but opposition was so strong that the

means of dissemination are now to be limited to the existing Press, pamphlets, leaflets, and lecturers. It is both grateful and comforting to have the cheery information that the latter are to be provided with magic lanterns. Schoolmasters, dispensaries, post-offices and local committees are to be pressed into the service of this most beneficent scheme. A central bureau of information in Madras is to be maintained wherein information as to local affairs and legislative developments in all parts of the world will be available.

It would be in the worst possible taste, nay, almost profane, to suggest that a Statue of the God (or Goddess?) of Humbug should be the chief ornament in the hall of this Temple of Truth and yet we venture to make it.

Trite as it may seem to harp upon elementary facts, yet it is the case that all Governments are maintained by the taxes of the governed, and the governed, the world over, are tiresome enough to consider that they have the right to criticise their Government. In so doing a free Press and free speech ensure that all sides of the case get, for and against the Government, fair presentation. If the Government is driven to provide for a defence from the pockets of its natural critics, it looks very much

as if no free and independent writers will come forward to say a word for it. Such a position, seeing that Governments are naturally of the established order of things, and can usually derive support from the most stable (not to say stodgy and interested) elements of the community, leads to the idea that all classes are alienated from Government, and would be practically a confession of failure.

No one, of course, objects to the dissemination by Government of useful scientific information. If the Board of Agriculture knows how to stop disease in grain and animals, let it say so and tell the agriculturist the cure.

But surely the economical method is for the specialised Board to communicate to the special class needing the information? Why should there intervene a Publicity Board between the two? It looks as if this innocuous function is to the avowedly political in the proportion of Falstaff's ha porth of bread of that intolerable deal of sack. Let us face the straight issue. Should taxpayers consent to be told, at their own expense, what they ought to think about their employees, the Government? Madras is not the only place where this question has to be considered. Whenever and

wherever there is a new electorate to be brought into existence some egregious Eliphaz will always arise and with the owlish demeanour of one upon whom special wisdom has been apostolically poured will inform all and sundry that the new electors need education. The eight and a half million women recently enfranchised in Great Britain had just the same experience. Having voluntarily organised themselves into hundreds of societies and scores of non-Party Women Citizens Associations in order to study political problems, various zealous supporters of the Coalition officiously supplied yet another organisation to "educate" women into the support of the Coalition. The funds supplying this precious and unasked boon came from private pockets, and the organisation received, one understands, more apathy than active hostility. Thereupon an attempt was made to establish a Government Information Bureau for *men and women alike*, supported by public funds. This plan, we believe, aroused enough opposition to procure its own early funeral. But the idea of "educating" the masses in its own support must always be a tempting one to authority. It is easier to hire skilled pens than to provide justice, more tempting to justify than to avoid the need for it.

Besides, it makes yet another job for some faithful henchman.

Even if such an organisation were to be placed in the hands of as lofty a patriot as Mr. Gandhi himself we should regard it with reserve and caution. What is the matter with ordinary education, with free speech, a free Press and the institutions of freedom, including a democratic constitution, that they should not function unless the machine should suddenly assume a Frankenstein human form and proceed to oil itself? No doubt we shall forthwith be told that Madras (like many other parts of the world) does not yet enjoy these blessings. True enough. But because the child is not of full adult stature one does not immure him in hospital or prison—one lets him grow. The remedy is that Madras should have her full human and political rights. The soothing syrup of a Publicity Board everlastingly defending, explaining and popularising the Government may prove a noxious drug stunting the growth of the State in freedom, self-expression and training in political judgment. Progress by trial, experiment, and even error, is Nature's wise rule.

It is an age of advertisement, and a period of puff and publicity. No doubt we could all think out

some telling headlines for the Madras Government leaflets: Madras Methods Most Modern--Schemes Sanctioned by Sydenham--Readings in Rowlatt for Rebels; and so on. But does a Government gain in dignity by descending into the arena, as it would probably have to do when its publications were attacked? And unless the Government is perfect and always tells the truth about everything, how long will its pronouncements upon its own policy and action retain any moral force? We conclude with a problem for the imagination. Even if the Board begins as an absolute Cæsar's Wife, what is its function in the community likely to be after five year's work? A soporific or a clarion call to a free commonwealth?--*September 19, 1919.*

XXVI

LABOUR DIFFICULTIES IN INDIA

AN interesting article upon tile-making in India in the January number of the "World's Work" contains the following guileless passage: "The greatest of all the difficulties our Indian manufacturers have to contend with to-day is that of labour. . . . However, as a set-off against the many disadvantages of native labour must be mentioned the fact that the wages demanded are exceedingly--almost incredibly--low. Clerks, foremen, blacksmiths, carpenters, and masons of the best (obtainable) quality can be engaged for the sum of five shillings weekly, whilst labourers are content with half-a-crown, and "boys" gladly accept one and threepence. It is perhaps sweated labour, even when allowance is made for the fact that a Hindu coolies (*sic*) can live at the cost of 2½ d. per day."

Perhaps it is! Perhaps that is why Bombay has recently been almost overwhelmed in strikes and industrial troubles, whilst the rest of India has by no means entirely escaped them. In a recent issue of *India* was published the news that the Bomba^h millhands were on strike, together with a brief

kindly aspirations will soon develop into a practical and working policy. Nothing, perhaps, could be more to the point as illustrating the need for this than the following passage from a memorandum submitted by Sir Narayen Chandavarkar to the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd :

Those facts are best stated in the language of one of the representatives of the operatives who spoke at my Committee's meeting on Monday the 19th inst. He is an elderly gentleman and I cite him because his words summarise the case of the operatives in a manner which, my Committee venture to think, ought to carry sympathy, even if not conviction. He said: "The charge is made against us operatives that we have all gone on strike at the instigation of a few malcontents, encouraged by the concessions made at the last strike and that we, nearly 200,000 of workers in Bombay, are a foolish unreasonable lot duped by a handful of wire-pullers. Surely, Sir, why should this be so? Do we not know what a strike means to us who have wives and children? Are we such fools as not to know our own interests? When people point to the last strike as having whetted our appetite for strikes, have they considered how the present strike originated as a matter of fact?

What happened was really this: The operatives of one mill in Bombay, feeling sorely the pinch of hard times and dear prices, approached the assistant manager of that mill, as the head manager was then absent, and requested him to have the bonus of last year paid to them, because they could not meet their wants from their wages. The assistant manager not only declined to listen to them, but was over-bearing in his attitude. That set up the backs of the operatives of the particular mill. They at once struck work, came out in a body, and marched off instantly to other mills and began to throw stones at those working in them.

"The managers of the latter mills seeing the trouble brewing from outside stopped the machinery working and of their own accord and own responsibility, without any motion on the part of their operatives, ordered the operatives to leave work and clear out of the mills. So far as the operatives of the latter mills are concerned, it was at that moment not a case of strike, but it was a case of lock-out for which not they but their employers were at the start responsible, though it be that they felt at that moment the lock-out was necessary in the interests of security and peace. The operatives so locked-out would not have after

that joined the operatives of the particular mill who had started the strike if, having been sent out, they had not been left to themselves and no time given for them to join the strike by brooding over the hard conditions of the times. The dearness of the prices and hard conditions of the life increasing from day to day were already there to prove incentives to them to catch the contagion of the strike. Workmen do not strike work for fun or mischief unless the wants of the belly drive them to it. Had the employers taken immediate steps to increase the wages demanded by the economic situation, the original strikers would have found no addition to their ranks from the other mills and would have themselves probably quieted. But as the millowners looked on after the lock-out and declined to make any move to relieve the hard conditions of labour, what began as a lock-out in the majority of the mills soon changed into a general strike. And by persisting from day to day in that attitude the millowners have thrown all the operatives into the strike movement. And once such a large number is so thrown it becomes unmanageable. Sir, we may be right or we may be wrong in what we demand. It is for you to guide us. But pray do not drive us into strikes as we have been now

driven from lock-outs to strikes, and after driving us into these straits, then do not say that we are the dupes of malcontents and that we must return to work before our immediate necessities are met. Before the last strike we were getting an allowance of 15 per cent, for high prices. After the strike, it was increased to 35 per cent. Since then and now the prices have gone up higher still. For a long time we did not complain. But the pinch felt sorely led the operatives of one mill to strike under irritation; that led to the lock-out in other mills and the millowners by their quiescent attitude have all along thrown temptations to strike. Now the operatives ask: Why should we go to work when we have been so driven? Give us some proof that the employers are in earnest by means of some positive concession; that will at once restore confidence and we will then return to work and end the strike.

The "Times of India" has advocated a Labour Disputes Tribunal. The suggestion is not without value as a temporary expedient.

But the whole problem is so large and complex that nothing short of the wholesale applications of the most modern and scientific conceptions of Trade Unionism will prove more than a temporary

palliative, Indian Labour is peculiarly unable to afford the expensive luxury of the strike, save as the last and only effective weapon. British Labour is not so magnificently wealthy that it can afford to leave Indian Labour disorganised and inert before the astute international exploiter who would ruthlessly use the cheap labour of India to lower the hard won standards of life in the West.

A Commission has recently been sent from the Labour Party to examine the state of Ireland. Is it too much to ask the Labour Party to do its utmost to send a similar friendly Commission to India as soon as possible? *February 20, 1920.*

XXVII

THE LEADER GONE

So Bal Gangadhar Tilak has left us. Faithful to the end to the cause of the India whom he served, he has passed beyond the dust and heat of battle; whilst it is for foe, friend and admirer alike to gaze in mournful contemplation and sad reverie at the labours of that mighty personality.

To those of us who knew him the wonder has been that he could have endured for so long, that his frail form could have survived the cruel buffetings of an evil and perverse generation. His will and his determination to be of service was his mainstay and the source of his great fortitude. It carried him through periods of imprisonment, of harassing litigious persecution, of cruel misrepresentation and of baffling, but never frustrating, disappointment. His life story is, in a large measure, the story of India's aspiration to become free and it had much in common with other great liberators and patriots.

His personality was a pleasing, gentle and gracious one. When he first came to England it was very difficult to realise that this slight, unassuming, elderly gentleman was the man who had placed

Anglo-India in a nightmare of fear and disquietude. He suggested rather the sedate recluse of academic groves, not the noisy clamour of the forum. In committee work he gave the impression at first of a certain unobservant dreaminess, if one may say so, of almost a lack of interest in the momentary momentousness of the business passing. His detachment was heightened by the physical infirmity of hearing from which he suffered. But let the moment arise, and some incisive remark, some word pregnant with lucid wisdom, would cut across the drifting talk like a searchlight above flowing waters. It was at such moments that one learned to apprehend and appreciate the mentality of one of the subtlest intellects to which deep-browed India has ever given birth. Nor were his objectives merely those of the immediate future. Every remark would indicate that his vision and prevision flew far ahead of the existing moment and situation and that everything was surveyed at a glance by that powerful mind. There was very little that escaped those half-closed eyes and that inwardly-rapt gaze.

His courtesy and *unvoir faire* were very noticeable, even in an Indian, and his whole manner a tacit reproach to whatever was rough and uncouth

among his environment. He was a most patient, attentive and uninterrupted listener, which was perhaps one of the secrets of his great talent for diplomacy. Almost without contention Tilak could bring his opponents, if not quite to his point of view, at least obviously and appreciably nearer. Again and again he won people round in spite of themselves. On no occasion was this more marked than when he appeared as the representative of the Home Rule League before the Joint Select Committee which sat upon the Government of India Bill last year. This came not many months after his rebuff in the Chirol case and when its result was still having a very prejudicial effect upon his reputation in certain political circles of the type from which the members of this Committee were drawn. A breezing atmosphere prevailed when Tilak took his seat in the chair of the witness. But as he quietly proceeded, first an understanding seemed to begin between himself and Lord Selborne, and then the circle widened until all the Committee became obviously more interested and sympathetic, until by the time his statements had concluded much ice had been melted, much prejudice removed, and barriers partly broken away. There was certainly a marked diminution in

unfriendly reference to him after this hearing. At the last Congress his diplomatic powers again made themselves felt. Not so saintly as Mr. Gandhi, not so implacable as some at the other end of the range, Mr. Tilak exercised his talents for welding the apparently disparate and separate into a homogeneous working combination as far as was humanly possible.

His oratory was simple, homely and convincing, illustrated constantly by little touches of Indian folk lore and proverbial wisdom. Its effects on vast masses was irresistible. In England his speeches produced one most valuable effect. If this moderation be what officialdom in India persecutes, and this man be an extremist there, then what must be the real state of affairs?—was undoubtedly the state of mind to which he brought even his most critical hearers. Perhaps Mr. Tilak did more for the cause of Indian Self-Government by coming here and placing himself under the observation of British people than was at the time realised. Here was the execrated villain, visible in the flesh. What was not visible, nor demonstrable at all in his presence, was conglomeration of evil qualities freely attributed to him before his personal arrival.

But above all, and beyond all his subsidiary