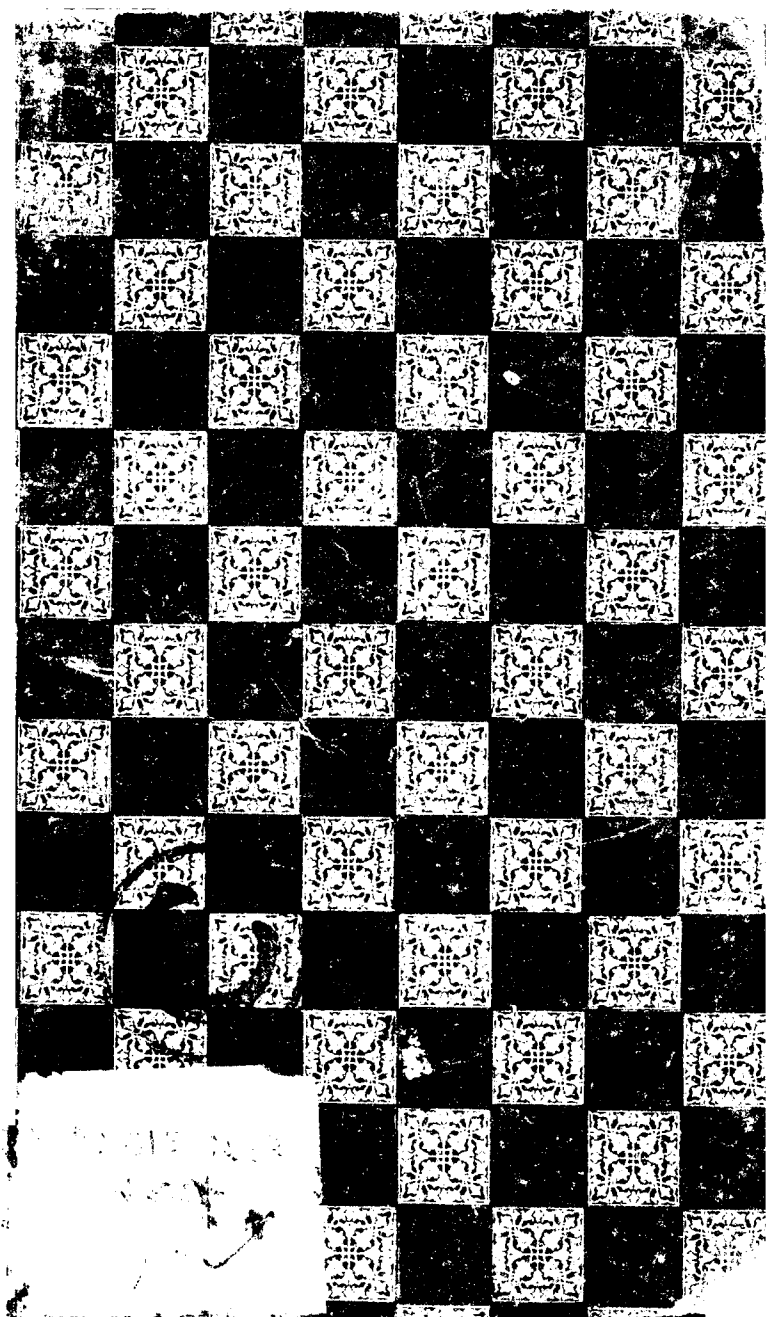




THE
Royal Commission
AND
The Civil Disobedience

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7772



His Majesty King George V,
(Statue in Windsor)

"Trust in God and Do the Right"

The **favour** of your valuable personal opinion on
the merits and usefulness of this small brochure
—which is specially designed **for the benefit of**
The Masses and the Students
to counteract the bad effects of the unmerited prejudice
created by the spread of misrepresentation and calumny

AND

For the diffusion of sacred Love and Reverence
towards the constituted authority of the
Government, as detailed in the Preface,—
is very earnestly solicited by the author

T. K. V. Narasiah Pantulu,

"SURYA VILAS,"

No. 7, Avadhanam Ramaswami Aiyer Street,

WASHERMANPETTA, MADRAS

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

There is no man in the world, who does not love his Mother-Country and naturally, without even a single exception, we, Indians are second to none in this respect. For sometime past, owing to the wide awakening of the National Spirit, every Indian Patriot has been striving his level best to obtain for his Mother India, her rightful place in the British Empire and is earnestly expecting for his country the practical realisation of the long-desired and promised privilege of being a proud partner in a free Commonwealth of Nations ; but, non-co-operation, unlawful activities and revolutionary outrages can hardly achieve this object of obtaining political freedom. Constitutional agitation and sincere co-operation with the Ruling authorities are the only and sure means of success and through them alone—we, Indians should reach our political goal. Under all circumstances, the Protecting-hand of the Impartial-Britisher is absolutely essential to keep the balance even and prevent powerful Majorities persecuting Minority-Communities as well as ensure peace and order.

A campaign of vilification and calumny has been set on foot by a few interested and misguided people who, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions created by the Civil Disobedience Movement, have misrepresented the policy of Government and spread disaffection amongst the law-abiding, innocent and peace-loving Masses.

This small brochure has been brought out with the sole object of placing before the public a correct account of the incidents, that have happened, since the inaugu-

ration of the mischievous Movement and the measures taken by the Government for the last eight months to counteract its baneful effects.

The book appears a little late, at any rate, later than was intended, owing to causes, not altogether under control. But, it is hoped its usefulness will not suffer, since the Civil Disobedience Movement has not yet quite died out, though it has been brought under control, and there is still need for the dissemination of correct ideas, to completely root out the new-fledged prejudice and to destroy the spread of the noxious weed of discontent, in regard to the present condition of affairs. What was yesterday a simple non-violent agitation—may likely become tomorrow—an aggressive violent revolt.

Agreeably to the valuable suggestions made by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech on 9-7-1930 and in concurrence with the recommendations made by the European Associations to the Home Department, and at the instance of some of my friends, who have rendered me material assistance in this undertaking, to whom my deep-felt thanks are due, I have ventured to bring out this small book on this, one of the most interesting events touching the springs of personal and national life, and very keenly watched by the whole world. If this, my venture, for the diffusion of sacred Love and Reverence to the Benign British Raj is approved by those, who are amenable to Reason, Fairplay and sound Judgment and also by the Law-abiding public, for all of whom it is intended, and thought by them as useful to spread correct ideas, that would result in harmony and mutual good-will being once again established between the

Rulers and the Ruled, I should have the book translated in the several vernaculars of the Country, so that the Non-English—knowing public, who form the bulk of the Indian Population and whose fair minds have been greatly seduced and biased by misrepresentation of facts, may read it too with advantage and form a correct estimate of all the recent happenings. This book should certainly eradicate wrong impressions and help these and also the misguided people, whom some pseudo-patriots move by their emotional appeals and spectacular demonstrations, to understand the real situation in that it represents in a connected and logical form, all about the history of the Civil Disobedience Movement, its causes and ill effects as well as an account of the machinery of Government, that will not admit of any sudden or violent changes, much less by any part of it, except in consultation with all the rest.

I have also briefly explained the “**Blessings of The British Rule in India**” and under the caption “**Our Duty**”, I have, to the best of my ability, attempted to show what the attitude should be of every Law-abiding Citizen and Student at the present juncture, stressing at the same time, the importance of our inherent ancient philosophic piety, and also pointing out the imperative need there is for utilising our immediate attention and energetic activities in several useful and noble undertakings, that are sure to lead towards the Material, Moral, Economic and Social prosperity of our traditionally civilized and historic Motherland.

I shall consider myself amply compensated if, through the medium of this present publication—a Labour of love

and a token of my humble services to the Crown and the Country—I have been able to vindicate the cause of Justice and condemn in unambiguous language the present lawless movement. It is my fervent hope that the Almighty may be pleased to grant that quiet may soon be restored and normal conditions prevail.

I am very much thankful to that generous citizen of Madras, that thorough Loyalist, who gave Madras the magnificent statue of His Most Gracious Majesty King-Emperor George V,—that devoted subject and Ex-Sheriff, Diwan Bahadur Govindoss Chathoorbhoojadoss for having come forward to help me at my request in the publication of this edition of the book for free distribution.

My thanks are due to those, who have been pleased to express their valuable opinions on the merits and usefulness of this small book.

I also wish to express my sincere thanks to that old friend of mine, the Head Master of one of the biggest High Schools in the City of Madras, who helped me years ago in a similar venture of mine, for not only reading through the proofs and making useful suggestions as well as corrections, but also for complimenting me for condemning in no unequivocal terms the part that school children have been seduced to play in acts of lawlessness and revolt of constituted authority.

I have drawn my information in regard to certain happenings in different parts of the Country from the Government Communiques and pamphlets, issued from time to time, as well as from some of the most trusted

and popular Newspapers on the authority of all of which I do depend.

A few advance—incomplete private—copies of this brochure, were sent out on 1—11—30 to court criticisms, subsequent to which some necessary alterations and additions have been made in the light of criticisms offered by a few good friends.

Readers of this book, whatever their convictions, are requested to kindly overlook any shortcomings in my present attempt to write briefly on this most difficult and controversial subject, in the appreciation of the sincerity of purpose, with which it is written, and hope the book will be useful in spreading a better and correct understanding of the great events now happening in the country. Errors of omission and commission due to misprint &c. are apologised for. Any suggestions calculated to improve the quality of the book will be gratefully acknowledged.

T. K. V. NARASIAH PANTULU

“SURYA VILAS,”

Avadhanam Ramaswamy Iyer
Street, Washermanpetta,
Madras.

16th, December, 1930

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE



Diwan Bahadur Govindoss Chathoorbhoojadoss,
Ex-Sheriff of Madras

If I have undertaken the publication and free distribution of this small book "The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience" I have, I believe, availed myself of one more opportunity to do my bit of service by the Government and the Country. His Excellency the Viceroy has wished that "the example of those public men, who, in the face of strong opposition, have not been afraid to condemn in unequivocal terms the Civil Disobedience Movement, had been more widely followed."

In my small sphere, I was setting my face sternly against the Civil Disobedience Movement, notwithstanding the fact that the Guzarati Community, to which I have the honor to belong, has been contributing a liberal following to Mr. Gandhi, in many parts of the country.

When the author of this book requested me to undertake its publication for free distribution, I gladly agreed to do so, as I deem it a laudable object, calculated to throw oil on troubled waters. The book should, in my view, tend to erase from the minds of such, as have been ill-informed, any uncharitable opinions they may have formed against constituted authority.

It gives a succinct account of the whole movement as it reared its head in different parts

of the country, the havoc it has done and the imperative need there was to put it down,—as well as how the Government in putting it down did nowhere anything more than was absolutely essential. The book, in short, is a just vindication of the Government and its high ideals and lofty intentions. I venture to suggest that the book should be widely read, for it cannot fail to disseminate a true and correct knowledge of facts to all the classes as well as the Students and the Masses in particular. The chapter on "Our Duty," is highly instructive and interesting, and richly deserves special commendation. In this strong belief it was, I undertook this publication.

While thanking those, who have been kind enough to favour me with their encouraging opinions on this publication, I feel bound to express my gratefulness and sincere thanks to the Author, for producing this very instructive and useful brochure at the most opportune moment and enabling me to distribute copies of this First Edition free.

GOVINDOSS CHATHOORBHOOJADOSS,

Diwan Bahadur

459, Mint Street,
Park Town, Madras
10—12—1930

} Ex-Sheriff of Madras

SELECT LETTERS AND OPINIONS (EXTRACTS)

Private Secretary to

His Excellency the Right Honorable

Edward Frederick Lindley Wood,

Baron Irwin of Kirby-Underdale,

P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E.,

Viceroy and Governor General of India

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience”... His Excellency wishes me to say how much he **appreciates** what you said in your letter and to thank you for having so kindly sent a copy of the book for him..... **sympathy with the Loyal object which you have in view.** His Excellency wishes you every success in your undertaking.

Private Secretary to

His Excellency Lt. Col. the Right Honorable

Sir George Frederick Stanley P.C., G.C.I.E., C.M.G.,

Governor of Madras

...“I am directed to say that His Excellency, **appreciates the spirit of Loyalty and Co-operation which has prompted you to produce the book.** “The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.”.....

Private Secretary to

H.s Excellency Sir Joseph Augustus Maung Gyi,
Kt., Bar-at-Law

Governor of Burma

I am desired to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of an advance copy of "The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience,"and to say that **His Excellency the Governor of Burma, has read it with great interest.**

Registrar to

The Hon'ble Sir John Thompson, *Kt. C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S.*

Chief Commissioner of Delhi

..."The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience".....**It appears to be well suited for translation.**

M. R. RY. DIWAN BAHADUR

Sir C. V. Kumaraswami Sastriar Avl., *Kt., B.A., B.L.*

Retired Judge, High Court, Madras

..."The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience." I think it very desirable that some of the mischievous aspects of the propaganda carried on for obtaining Political Freedom through Civil Disobedience **should be brought home to the Masses.** No patriotic Indian can fail to strive for India obtaining her rightful place in the British Empire but **lawlessness and outrages can hardly achieve the end.**

The Hon. Justice Sir H. O. C. Beasley, Bar-at-Law,
Chief Justice, High Court, Madras

..."The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience" by Mr. T. K. V. Narasiah Pantulu.....My position as a Judge prevents me from expressing any opinion upon political subjects.....I am not however precluded from expressing **my great admiration of your public spirit which has caused you to publish this book** for free circulation.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. G. Stokes, B.A., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.
Member of Council, Government of Madras

...Mr. T. K. V. Narasiah Pantulu's book on "The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience." **I have read the book with much interest and feel sure that it will have a very beneficial effect and will do much to enlighten the public,** many of whom I fear have been to **a great extent mislead,** as to the real position at the present time.

The Hon Sir J.E.B. Hotson, M.A., C.S.I., O.B.E.,
I.C.S. J.P.,

Member of Council, Government of Bombay

..."The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience." I have read it with much interest. **The book has evidently been compiled with great care,** and there can be no doubt that, **if the knowledge of the facts recorded in it would be disseminated** among the hundreds of thousands of people, who now hear little except the Congress version of events, **much good would be done.** You deserve the **greatest credit for the patriotism** with which you have taken upon yourself the duty of publishing and distributing this book.

The Hon'ble Capt.

Nawab Sir Muhammed Ahmed Khan, K.C.I.E., M.B.E.,

Member of Council, Government of United Provinces

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.” **It is a very interesting contribution on the subject** and gives in a brief and succinct form all that is to be said against the Civil Disobedience Movement. **You are doing a distinct service to the Country by trying to popularise the ideas contained in the book. I wish you every success in your loyal and patriotic efforts. The Author deserves all praise for bringing out such a handy pamphlet.**

The Hon'ble Mr. A. N. Moberly, C.I.E., I.C.S.,

Member of Council (thro' Press Officer),

Government of Bengal

...I have read the book (“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience,”).....**with interest and appreciation. It is likely to do a great deal of good if it is decided to translate it into Provincial vernaculars and circulate it widely throughout the country.....**

The Hon'ble Mr. P. T. Rajan, Bar-at-Law,

Minister, Government of Madras

...I have perused “The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience” **with interest.**

C. B. Cunningham Esq.,

Inspector General of Police, Government of Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience”:—**The book is a patriotic production and is calculated to do good. The public spirit of you and the author is commendable.**

E. J. Rowlandson Esq.,

Commissioner of Police, Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience” and **congratulate you on the spirit which evidently prompted its production. I wish it a large circulation.**

W. Scott-Brown Esq., I.C.S.,

Collector, West Godavari District

I have read with interest the advance copy of the book “The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience”, the publication and free distribution of which you have generously undertaken. The book exposes in simple language the evils of The Civil Disobedience Movement and makes **a definite contribution to the literature on the subject. I think its dissemination would have excellent results.**

R. G. Grieve Esq., M.A., C.I.E.,

Director of Public Instruction, Government of Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.” I have looked into the book and you are to be congratulated upon your decision to publish **a book in Vindication of Government** at your own cost.

M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur S. E. Ranganadhan Avl.,

M.A., I.E.S.,

Vice-Chancellor, Annamalai University, Chidambaram

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.”.....**You have done a valuable Service to the**

Country by having it published at your expense for free circulation. It would be a very good thing if it could be translated into the vernaculars and distributed widely among non-English-knowing people.

Mahamahopadhyaya

Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, M.A., D. Litt., LL.D.

Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.”.....I feel that **it will serve a useful purpose, if read in the right spirit.** I am having it placed in the University Library.

Rev. F. Bertram, S. J., B.A., D.D.,

Principal, Loyola College, Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience”:—I have known its author for a long time, and rather well too, and his name on the front page was, in my eyes, **the best guarantee of its merit.** Mr. T. K. V. Narasiah is well known for his work on behalf of the country, for his loyalty and for his high moral principles. Any book written by him is sure to be inspired by his lofty ideals and to do good to such as care to read it. Such books should be scattered broadcast, so as to reach the humblest citizen in the land, and be translated into the vernaculars. I can only praise you for the initiative you have taken and encourage you to persevere in your laudable efforts.

M. R. Ry, Rao Bahadur K. Chinnatambi Pillai Avl.,
B.A., L.T.,

Principal, Pachayappa's College, Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.” **You have done a good service to the country** by having it published at your expense for free circulation. I think it appears to me **it is well suited for translation.**

P. F. Fyson Esq, M.A., F.L.S.,

Principal, Presidency College, Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience”.....I wish you all success in your proposal to **translate it and make it available for the Masses.**

Rev. A. G. Hogg, M.A., D.Litt.,

Principal, Madras Christian College, Madras

...“The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience.”.....**I have read the booklet with interest and I appreciate the public-spirited motive** which has led you to undertake its publication....

M. R. Ry. M. K. Sundara Varadachariar Avl., B.A., L.T.,

Headmaster, C. C. C's High School, Perambur, Madras

I welcome the book, “The Royal Commission and The Civil Disobedience,” **as a vindication of the honor of a much maligned community**, which has unhappily come in for a large share of mistrust and even abuse from

those it has been serving loyally by its frank and advocacy of Justice and Truth and by the sacrifice individuals have made.

It is not expected that all the readers of the could see eye with the author in all matters; no fair-minded or right-thinking person can fail to condemn in unequivocal terms acts of lawlessness leading to disorder and confusion and ending in harm and injury to peaceful and law-abiding citizens, including women and children.

I should like to see your book translated into the vernaculars of the country and made available to Pupils, and Elementary School-Masters as well as the Masses.

I quite agree that considerable caution is needed in the grant of a full measure of responsibilities to the people, especially where popular control has meant persecution of minorities and fomenting of class-hatred, well as open defiance of all, these hold sacred.

One wrong cannot be righted by another wrong. Neither can the end justify the means. Considering the times, I cannot help feeling that in this Venture the author has been actuated by a high sense of duty, patriotism and loyalty, and the philanthropic publisher by a desire to serve in a just cause.

M. R. Ry P.A. Subramania Ayyar, Avl, B.A., L.T.,
Head Master, Hindu High School, Triplicane, Madras
... "The Royal Commission and 'The Civil Disobedience,'" written by you and think it is a very useful publication.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

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"Rule Britannia Rule"

THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I. THE BRITISH SUZERAINTY

The Protector of the weak and the Saviour of the distressed has in His Infinite Mercy bestowed almost universal sovereignty on the British Empire, so that it presides over the destinies of many millions of people with maternal care. The home of this British Nation is in the north-west of Europe. It is called the British Isles and comprises England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. It has an area of 1,21,000 square miles with a population of 45½ millions. London is its capital and His Most Gracious Majesty, King George V, is its Ruler. India was brought under the control of the crown in 1858.

According to the Proclamation of Lord Canning, the Viceroy in 1860, India and all the Feudatory States came under the sovereignty of the King of England. The King of England thus became the Ruler of India.

Under the Royal Titles Act 39 Vict. C. 10, passed by the Parliament in 1876, Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India.

In 1889, under an Act of Parliament 52 and 53, Vict. C-63, the Indian States, their Rulers and Maharajahs

came under the control of the Viceroy, and the Viceroy the Provincial Governors and their Agents were vested with full powers of administration. Thus the Empire of India acquired—**Suzerain Power.**—The British Empire extends over all the five continents. The Sun that spreads its warm rays over one part of the world at one time and over the other at another, never sets on the British Empire. Even as the Sun sheds his blissful light throughout the whole world, so the mighty British Rule extends its benevolent sway over numerous millions of people. The foreign possessions of the British Empire extend over an area of 11 million square miles with a population of forty crores and it embraces a fourth of the population of the world. By Divine grace, the British Government has enormous influence throughout the world and has acquired the reputation of being the foremost among all Governments.

1. British Constitution

The British Empire is subject to the authority of the King in Parliament. The King carries on the administration with the advice of the Prime Minister, who is elected by the people. The Prime Minister is, however, responsible for any short-comings in the administration, as "the King can do no wrong." The Prime Minister chooses his own colleagues to assist him in administering the various departments and recommends them to the King who approves such recommendations and appoints them.

2. Emperor George V.

He was born in Marlborough House on 3rd June 1865, and married Victoria Mary, the Princess of Teck, on 6th July 1893, in St. James' Palace. They have five sons and one daughter. When he was Prince of Wales, King George visited India in 1905-6 with his Consort. They visited several cities and states and were welcomed by both the Princes and the people. They returned to their country highly pleased with the welcome accorded them. Since then they have cherished great love and sympathy for the people of India and whenever opportunities occurred, they have been helping India to the best of their ability.

King George's father was the late Edward VII, Emperor of India, who died on the 6th May 1910. On his father's death, King George succeeded to the throne and on 22nd June 1911, he was crowned King of England amidst great pomp. In the same year, he and the Queen visited India for a second time and held a Durbar in Delhi on the 12th December, with great magnificence. Princes, Feudatory Chiefs, zamindars, jaghirdars, miltadars, peasants and the Nobility extended a hearty welcome and demonstrated their loyalty. On their return to their country, they began to evince an even greater interest in the welfare of the people of India, having been greatly pleased with their love and affection and loyalty. His Majesty has been always anxious to help India forward to the best of his ability, as opportunities should arise. May He and His family live long!

3. The Parliament

The Government of Britain is carried on under authority of a representative assembly which is composed of representatives elected by the people of England, Wales, Scotland and part of Ireland. This representative assembly is called the Parliament and the first Parliament was constituted in 1295. It consists of the House of Commons and the House of Lords and various parties are represented on it. The principal political parties are the Conservatives, the Liberals and the Labourites. Besides there are also other small parties attached to one or other of the three parties mentioned above.

Each elected member of Parliament belongs to one or the other of the parties stated above. The leader of the party which is returned in a majority at the general elections is chosen to be the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister chooses his colleagues to assist him in carrying on the government at home and of British possessions abroad. The House of Commons decides the majority party and shoulders the responsibility of governing the country in accordance with the wishes of the representatives of the various political parties. Elections to Parliament are held once in five years, when there may be a change in the Cabinet members including the Prime Minister. If, during the life-time of a Parliament, the electorate is dissatisfied with the administration of the Prime Minister, he and his party forfeit the confidence of the people. He will then have to resign his office, and though five years might not have elapsed, the Parliament will be dissolved and a fresh election ordered. The leader of the party returned

in a Majority, becomes the Prime Minister, so that it becomes necessary for him to act in accordance with the wishes of the people, if he should retain his office.

4. Premier Macdonald

In the General Elections held in 1928, the Labour Party was returned in a majority and consequently Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the leader of that Party, became the Premier. On a previous occasion, in 1923, he was chosen Prime Minister, as a result of the majority secured by his Party in the general elections, but he had to vacate his office, as his party lost its influence. Even before he became Premier, Mr. Macdonald felt that Indians should be given an increasing share in the administration of their country. He belongs to the Labour Party and is actuated by philanthropic ideals. He is God-fearing and very kind and sympathetic. He is also a great statesman.

As he is the Leader of the Labour Party, he could not secure a large measure of co-operation from the leaders of other parties. Besides, some members of his own party, raised a revolt owing to differences of opinion. It has therefore become necessary for him to carry out his programme in Parliament carefully, taking into consideration the time and circumstances and the strength of his party. He could not rush through any programme.

He has to devote his attention to very many important questions. He has to attend to the questions pertaining to England and to the British Possessions in the

five continents. He has realised that there is an intense desire among a large number of Indians for an increasing share in the administration of India with the assistance and supervision of the British Government and is sincerely anxious to help Indians in their aspirations. Since assuming office as Prime Minister, he has been doing his best to satisfy the aspirations of Indians. He is acting carefully and tactfully with a view to secure for them their cherished object of Self-Government within the Empire. The prospects are that any hasty action will be detrimental to the interests of Indians. It is better to wait.

II. THE INDIAN EMPIRE

About 3,000 years ago, India was governed by the Great Mauryas. Several changes followed and after having been under the sway of the Guptas, Andhras, Rajputs, Pallavas, the Pathans, Moghuls and Mahrattas, it has come under the sway of the British Empire. Its area is 18,05,000 square miles with a population of 320 millions representing nearly a fifth of the population of the whole world.

There are 562 Native States, including large states Hyderabad, Mysore and Kashmir. Besides, there are a large number of *zamins* and *jaghirs*. The area of India is equal to that of the continent of Europe *minus* Russia. India is also termed a Continent.

For the first time, Thomas Stephens, an Englishman came to India in 1579. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a group of business-men called the East India Company came to India in 1600 and in 1612, built a Fort in Surat to house their merchandise and began to trade. Subsequently, they built similar forts in Madras in 1640, in Hooghly in 1651, and in Bombay in 1661 and expanded their business. In course of time, the trading company became prosperous and gradually began to acquire territorial rights in the country.

This marks the foundation of the British Empire in India. Other details may be learnt from history.

After the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 and during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Canning, the Government of India passed from the hands of the East India Company

to Queen Victoria. She assumed the title of Empress of India in 1877 and reigned for a long time. Edward VII succeeded her to the throne and since 1911 His Majesty King George has been presiding over the destinies of India with love and affection.

As India is subject to British Rule, Indians also have to abide by such laws and regulations as are enacted for the carrying on of her Government in accordance with the decisions of the British Parliament. The British Prime Minister has a Cabinet Minister to assist him in governing India. This Minister has an Advisory Council and they have their seat of Government in London.

Then there is the Viceroy and Governor-General in India, who is vested with powers of control over the Provincial Governors and the Commander-in-Chief. He carries on the Government subject to the control of the Secretary of State for India.

When the Viceroy considers that any reforms have to be introduced in India, he consults his Cabinet first and then communicates with the Secretary of State who must secure the sanction of the Prime Minister. Before the Prime Minister accords his sanction, the Parliament must approve of the proposals. When the Parliament approves, the Reforms are incorporated in the Statute-book and then alone come into operation.

When the Parliament declines to approve of the proposals of the Prime Minister, he must resign his office. This will be followed by a dissolution of the Parliament, fresh elections and a change in the Cabinet. To avoid such a contingency, the Viceroy, the Secretary of

State for India and the Prime Minister must carefully think over and have their proposals approved. The Viceroy therefore will have to act cautiously in these matters.

1. The Secretary of State for India

Mr. Wedgwood Benn is now the Secretary of State for India. He belongs to the Labour Party which is pledged to secure Self-government for India on the same model that obtains in Canada and Australia. He is doing his best to achieve this object.

He is a lover of truth and treats everyone with kindness. It is good augury for the country that a gentleman with such a sterling character happens to be the Secretary of State for India at the present moment. He is very much concerned about the disloyal activities of many Indians.

As it is the fundamental principle that the Government is carried on for the benefit of the people, he is safeguarding their interests by restraining those who engage themselves in unlawful activities and by adopting measures to prevent others from following them. He will not brook injustice. He is always prepared to meet and consult political parties which are prepared to co-operate with the Government in suppressing unlawful activities and patriots, who are sincerely anxious to meet the aspirations of the people.

2. H. E. Lord Irwin

Lord Irwin is the Viceroy of India at the present moment. He assumed office on the 4th April 1926. He has the reputation of being a great statesman, noble-

mindful, generous and God-fearing. It is a piece of good fortune for India that such a great man is now Viceroy. All are looking forward with eagerness for realisation of Indian aims under his guidance.

3. Administrative Attitude

His Excellency Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, is very much concerned about the present unrest in India. Some people, actuated by revolutionary ideals, have engaged themselves in unlawful activities in opposition to Government's policy. Besides, they induce the law-abiding citizens to make common cause with them and break the laws and thus pave the way for unrest and disorder. The mischief of that section of people who are out for Complete Independence outside the British Empire appears to be gaining ground day by day with the result that disaffection towards the established Government is rearing up its head. As the Government has to be carried on peacefully, he is taking steps to suppress the unlawful and mischievous movement, that is now being carried on. In order to preserve peace in the interests of the people, he is obliged to enact certain repressive measures as occasion demands, to put an end to the subversive activities that have been spreading. In accordance with this, Government officers, have been trying to suppress the disorders wherever they have occurred, adopting such measures, as circumstances demand. In some cases they have been obliged to employ severe methods to suppress serious disorders. It is an acknowledged fact, that the Police Department is intended to put down lawlessness and maintain peace and order, so that the people

may lead a happy life. It is, therefore, their primary duty to employ necessary measures to put down such lawlessness. Any person who fails in his duty not only courts disgrace but also difficulties. This fact is universally acknowledged.

At present Police officers, who are engaged in suppressing serious disorders, are subjected to humiliation by the public, but they have been discharging their duties with patience and courage under circumstances of exceptional difficulties, often involving danger to their very lives.

The loyalty and devotion of the Police in these circumstances is most praiseworthy and this has led to the gradual return to normal conditions. May the Almighty grant peace!

4. Official Sympathy

It must be understood that it is not the action of Government that is responsible for the discontent and the sufferings, now visible in the country. The Parliament have proposed certain reforms and the Viceroy, in pursuance of their mandate, has adopted certain measures. A section of the people, actuated by mischievous motives, have unnecessarily misrepresented the aims of the Viceroy and thus created unrest. But Lord Irwin's abiding sympathy for India has not in any way changed. He is sincerely anxious to associate Indians in an increasing measure in the administration of the country, in response to the wishes of the people, with a view to raise eventually the status of India to that of Canada and

Australia. Both the Secretary of State for India and Prime Minister of Britain are of the same view and prepared to support the Viceroy's proposals. They also the backing of an influential section of the members of Parliament.

A majority of the Provincial Governors and Officers also sympathise with the aspirations of the people and are resolved to render such help, as is necessary and circumstances warrant. Those, who are ignorant of the above-mentioned facts have been led astray by mischievous agitators and have given cause for unrest and manifold sufferings. Our kind Viceroy is doing his best to stem the tide of unrest and its evils.

The following facts will show that neither the Viceroy nor his agents are to be blamed for the present situation.

5. Political Privileges

Ever since Her Majesty, Queen Victoria assumed the reins of Government over India, the administration has been improving gradually as also the prosperity of the people. The Imperial Legislative Council was constituted for the first time in 1861 and was composed of Indian leaders and influential Europeans nominated to it. In the same way Legislative Councils were constituted in the Bombay, and Madras Presidencies and leading men of the respective Provinces were nominated as members of such Councils.

Local Self-Government was granted to India in 1888 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon. In 1892 the Legislative Councils were enlarged by an increase in the

number of members of the Councils. Besides, Legislative Councils were also constituted for smaller provinces.

Under the Minto-Morley Scheme of Reforms, Indians were appointed to the Executive-Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors. The numerical strength of the Legislative Councils was also increased.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms conferred on the people the right of electing their own representatives to serve on the Councils of the country. Elected representatives of the people were appointed Ministers who, in co-operation with the Government, had the power to shape its policy. This form of government is termed Dyarchy. This has not only provided an opportunity for popular Ministers to learn the art of government and become statesmen, but has also given them scope to prove their capacity and ability.

The Parliament has realised that the Dyarchic form of Government is an experimental measure and have therefore provided by an Act that the position should be examined in the light of experience gained in working the reforms for 10 years and necessary changes introduced. In some provinces, Dyarchy had failed in spite of co-operation between the Executive-Council and the Ministers. In some other provinces, much harm has resulted owing to the obstructive tactics of the elected representatives. Some provinces have also been benefited under this form of Government.

III. THE ROYAL COMMISSION

In pursuance of the declared intention of Parliament, Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India in 1927, announced that steps would be taken to modify the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms in the light of experience gained in its working during the past 10 years. Thereupon the Parliament, after careful consideration, resolved to appoint a Commission consisting of seven members of Parliament representing principal political parties, with Sir John Simon, eminent Advocate, as its Chairman. The Commission was charged with the task of visiting India and learning first-hand the results of the working of Dyarchy during the ten years preceding, by making enquiries and ascertaining the views of the Government and of leaders of public opinion in India and submitting a report embodying its views based on the material so collected. The Commission was appointed by Royal warrant dated 26-11-1927 and sent to India to carry out the necessary enquiry.

1. Simon Seven

Sir John Simon is a leading barrister in England and has made a large fortune. He is also a leading member of the Parliament. A very intelligent man; he has the capacity to carry out successfully any task which he undertakes. He is a first class statesman and is kind and persevering.

With a view to learn things at first hand in India he and his colleagues landed in Bombay in February

1928. The Congress and some other parties in the country were somewhat dissatisfied ever since the Commission was appointed, as it was constituted without the leaders of Indian public opinion being consulted and had not even one Indian on it, while there were several eminent Indian statesmen capable of serving on it. A section of Indians considered this action of the Parliament as an insult to themselves and to India and began to boycott it. They declared that they could not co-operate with the Commission in their task in India and carried on an extensive propaganda in this behalf.

2. The Indian Boycott

Sir John Simon and his colleagues at first landed in Bombay and proposed to visit important cities with a view to meet the Government officials and leading citizens and settle the preliminaries of their enquiry. On the Commission's landing in Bombay, a section of Indians expressed their disapproval by waving black flags and raising unparliamentary slogans such as "Simon go back." The Commission toured through the country from 3-2-1928 to 31-3-1928 with a view to ascertain the progress of the country and the attitude of the people. They then proposed to return to England and visit India for a second time to carry out detailed investigations in regard to their recommendations.

3. Government Co-operation

The Government, with the co-operation of its officials and many men of learning and influence among the Indians, welcomed the Commission and placed all their

resources at their disposal and rendered all other ties to enable them to carry on the enquiry. Commission visited the important parts of India formed an idea of the present situation by coming into contact with representative Indians. Thus while leaders of a large section of the people declined to their co-operation to Sir John Simon and his colleagues the Commission was still very much pleased with the welcome and co-operation accorded by some leading Indians and the Government.

After touring through India, Sir John Simon returned to his country to come back to India a second time and complete the task, he had undertaken.

It must be said that those, who had conceived the idea of the boycott of the Commission, instead of co-operation with it, have really done a disservice to the country. At the same time, the readiness with which some leading Indians came forward to extend their co-operation to a Commission appointed by Royal warrant was a noble and praiseworthy.

IV. INDIAN UNREST & MAHATMA GANDHI

A year after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms came into operation, differences arose between some elected representatives of the people and the Government in respect of the policy of Government. In some provinces, the elected representatives employed obstructive tactics and rendered Government through the Council, difficult and Government had to handle the situation cautiously and carry on the administration.

The non-inclusion of Indians in the Simon Commission was a factor contributing to the Indian unrest. Demonstrations and processions were got up to signify their protest against the Commission's visit and the Government had to employ Police and Military bundobust to prevent such hostile demonstrations. A few people conceived the idea of gaining Independence for India by following the methods adopted by Irishmen and made a beginning in having recourse to violent methods.

Mahatma Gandhi is, by nature, good and kind. He is universally respected. A large majority of Indians follow his lead and carry out his instructions without a word of protest. He occupies an important place in the Congress. During the last few years, he has been advocating Complete Independence. Many people, in spite of their personal regard for him, have not only opposed his creed, but have also declared themselves against it. They felt that he was fomenting unrest and kept away from him.

1. Patriotic Blunder

In his efforts to secure greater political privilege for the country, Mahatma Gandhi has brought misfortune on the people in some cases. Ten years ago he was responsible for a great agitation directed against the Government. He also interfered in religious matters thereby created much misunderstanding. Not only he engaged himself in anti-government activities, he has also instigated others to throw in their lot with him.

To prevent him from fomenting unrest, Government kept him under restraint on several occasions. Nevertheless, he continued to engage himself in anti-government agitation.

He is the author of the present unrest in the country and consequent sufferings of the people. If he can only co-operate with the Government at the present moment, he will be able to make the country happy as he has got great influence. His actions cannot be characterised as harmless when he non-co-operates with the Government and incites people to defy it and bring about chaos. There is a limit to everything. Even nectar becomes poison, if the limit is exceeded. There is no reason to suppose that his love of country as manifested by him at present, will be conducive of any benefit to the country. His thoughtless action in having initiated the present unrest without taking into consideration all circumstances, has brought untold harm to the country. It is a mistake to suppose that Government cannot suppress the present agitation even if Mr. Gandhi should withhold his co-operation from Government.

It must be clearly understood that the *Government will be carried on*, under any circumstances.

2. Viceroy's Diplomacy

To conciliate Indian public opinion as against their opposition to the appointment of the Simon Commission, Lord Irwin, who has the reputation of being a great statesman, in consultation with Sir John Simon proposed to constitute a committee consisting of some leaders of Indian public opinion to sit with the Simon Commission during their enquiry. This proposal was approved of by the Secretary of State and nine leading Indians were appointed to serve on the committee which was named "The Indian Central Committee." It was presided over by Sir C. Sankaran Nair.

3. The Indian Central Committee

The Indian Central Committee and the Simon Commission who arrived in India again on 11th October 1928, visited some important cities in India and Burma and, having completed their enquiry, left India for England on 13-4-1929.

During their stay in England, the Central Committee were afforded all facilities and conveniences by the Secretary of State for India. Sir John Simon and the members of the Central Committee had from 19-6-29 to 30-7-1929 frequent consultations and exchanged opinions. Differences arose between the members of the two Committees and the members of the Central Committee returned to India, having resolved to issue separate

reports embodying their conclusions. Besides, it arose a split among the members themselves of Central Committee.

In pursuance of their agreement with Sir John Simon, the Indian Central Committee then submitted their report to the Viceroy which, however, was unanimous.

4. One-Sided Opinion

The Simon Commission was again boycotted when they visited India for a second time from 11-10-1928 to 13-4-1929. Nevertheless, the Commission completed their enquiry and returned to London. Though the Indian Central Committee and the Commission held their joint free conferences, yet, owing to the difference of opinion that arose, there was room for reproach. As a majority of Indians were opposed to the Simon Commission and refused to place their views before them, it was argued that the Commission could not secure genuine and impartial views and therefore the Commission's conclusions must necessarily be one-sided. Their Report was therefore declared as unacceptable by a large section of the people, who also resolved not to co-operate with the Government in carrying out the Commission's recommendations. An intensive boycott campaign was inaugurated in this behalf with the result that unrest began to grow more than ever.

V. THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

As the unrest in India was on the increase, Lord Irwin proceeded to England in July last year and after discussing the situation in India with the Secretary of State for India, members of Parliament and the Prime Minister, returned to India in the month of October. He also learnt during his conversations with Sir John Simon and his colleagues in London that there might be some delay in the publication of their Report.

As a result of the agreement reached during his consultation with Sir John Simon and the Prime Minister, Lord Irwin decided on a course of action which was intended to conciliate Indian Public opinion. Soon after the publication of the Report of the Simon Commission, it was decided to call for a Conference of leading representatives of the different political parties in India, to meet at London to have a free and frank discussion with a view to arrive at an agreement on the subject of Indian Reforms. Lord Irwin issued a statement embodying these proposals on 1st November 1929. This conference is called "The Round Table Conference."

1. Conference Programme

The Round Table Conference meets in London in November 1930, and will be composed of Indian non-officials who will put forward the view point of the people, Indian Princes, Representatives of Indian States, Representatives of the various political parties in British India and Representatives of Great Britain and these,—will have a free and frank discussion to evolve a constitution based

on Dominion Status. The British Government have agreed to the procedure already chalked out by the Viceroy in his November declaration that the conference will be held without any limitations placed on it. Thus, Indian delegates to the London Round Table Conference will have absolute freedom of discussion and exchange of views. The conclusions thus arrived at will carry weight.

The Report of the Simon Commission or any other report will not fetter their discussion or judgment. It is hoped that an agreed constitution acceptable to all parties and interests will be evolved at this Conference. The British Government will approve of the proposals and place them before the Parliament.

2. Best Opportunity

Now that the scope of the conference has been clearly defined, it is certainly beyond doubt that the Government have not arranged it for mere academic discussion, but with the sole object of enabling the representatives of both the countries to meet and formulate proposals for being placed before the Parliament.

If, in accordance with the present arrangement, representatives of various parties and interests, sincerely attempt to draft an agreed constitution and place it before the Parliament, it will lead to a better understanding between England and India and result in some substantial benefits to the latter. If Indians fail to take advantage of the opportunity now afforded, they may not get a similar chance. Will the intelligent and patriotic Indian Representatives, that are now invited to attend the conference take note of this?

After all God's will must be.

VI. SIMON REPORT

The Simon Commission visited India again in October 1928, and began their enquiries with a view to ascertain the defects of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms in the light of experience gained during the past 10 years of its working. The Commission after elaborate investigation, issued an unanimous report embodying their opinion. It consisted of two volumes—the first volume was published on 10-6-30 and the second on 24-6-30.

1. Summary of Volume I

Volume I contains, detailed information regarding India's extent, its population, languages, religious differences and the consequent social disabilities with special reference to untouchability, the condition of the ryots, child marriage, Hindu Moslem differences and other similar matters. Besides, the report says that, next to poverty of the country, illiteracy is appalling—only 16 in every thousand males being literate. Literacy among females is still less, only two in every thousand females being educated and their general educational attainments being below the average. The Commission, therefore, points out the need for their advancement before greater political rights can be conceded to them. The peculiarities of the individual provinces are discussed and suggestions are made for territorial adjustments and for securing greater facilities for the masses. In regard to the 562 Native States, they point out that the Native States,

though they are virtually independent, have to do on the strength and support of the British. Treaties between the Native States and the Government of India and the consequent obligations of the Government are fully discussed, as also problems relating to Army and Defence.

2. Summary of Volume II

Volume II contains the Commission's recommendations, based on the facts contained in Volume I. More important of the recommendations are as follows:—

The franchise has been trebled with a view to widening the representative character of the Legislative Council and local bodies. To secure closer contact between the Electorate and the Administration, larger provinces and districts will be split up into smaller ones. The franchise for women will be enlarged. Only those who secure the largest number of votes can sit in the Legislative Councils and thus the representative character of the Councils will be increased. The Governor will choose from among the elected representatives his Executive Council Members. These are called Ministers. If the Governor wishes, he can also appoint one or two Ministers who need not necessarily be elected representatives. Nevertheless, the members of the cabinet are responsible to the legislature; when the policy of the cabinet is not approved of by a majority of the legislature, the Ministers will have to resign their office and a new cabinet will be formed. It is therefore obligatory that the Ministers have

to act in accordance with the wishes of the legislature which means that the Electorate will ultimately influence and control the cabinet of Ministers. The Governor will have the power to overrule his cabinet for certain specified purposes such as the preservation of peace and the protection of minorities.

The Legislative Council will be based upon a franchise so widened as to comprise thrice the present number of voters with a corresponding increase in the numbers of women voters. The commission proposes to continue communal electorates for Mahommadans and to secure the representation of the depressed classes and the Indian Christians by reservation of seats. The Legislative Council will be enlarged and the size of the constituencies reduced. No officials will be nominated to the council; but the Governor will have the power to nominate a few members, more particularly to secure adequate representation of women and labour. The Legislative Council will be given certain powers to revise its constitution.

The Commission has made suggestions for enlarging the financial resources of the provinces. The question of of revising the boundaries of provinces has also been recommended for consideration.

Burma is to be separated from India. The Commission recommends a few changes in the Central Government, the most important being that members of the Legislative Assembly—which will in future be called the Federal Assembly—and of the Council of State should be elected by the Provincial Legislative Bodies by the method of proportional representation which will ensure adequate representation of minority communities.

The Army presents an obstacle to the development of responsibility in the Central Government. The Commission suggests that this obstacle may be removed by treating the defence of India as a matter falling within the responsibility of the Governor-General as representing the Imperial Government instead of as part of the responsibilities of the Government of India in relation to the Central Legislature.

The members of the Governor-General's Executive Council who are now appointed on the advice of the Secretary of State by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual, should, in future, be selected and appointed by the Governor-General himself.

These are only recommendations and a final constitution would be evolved based on the agreement reached at the Round Table Conference to be held in November. The recommendations of the Commission contain various suggestions, many of them calculated to benefit India. It is not therefore proper or just that Indians should adversely criticise the Report *in toto*. A careful examination will reveal the truth. It is idle and mischievous to characterise all the recommendations as harmful to India's interest and thus foment unrest. To despise Sir John Simon who has undertaken to carry out His Majesty's Mandate is very unjust.

The Indian National Congress was constituted in 1885 and met in Bombay for the first time in December. Mr. A. O. Hume, I.C.S., a retired official of the Government of India, was the founder; and he founded it with a view to stimulate the political consciousness of Indians and to bring to the notice of the Government the defects in the administration and obtain redress. The Congress has been holding its Sessions year after year and gaining in strength and importance. Lord Landsdowne, who was of opinion that the Congress contained members who held views akin to those held by Advanced Liberals in England, helped the Institution. Sir George Yule, Sir Henry Cotton, Sir William Wedderburn, Dadhabai Naoroji and other eminent politicians identified themselves with the Institution as also the intelligentsia and the leading commercial magnates of India. The Institution thus commanded the confidence of the people and also much good resulted to the country.

As a result of the constructive criticisms offered by the Congress from time to time and the hearty support and co-operation its leaders gave to the Government, the Legislative Councils were enlarged in 1892 and the members thereof secured the right of interpellating Government on their policy and measures and of discussing various matters connected with taxation and budget and expressing the popular view point. The salt tax was reduced from Rs. 2 to Re. 1 a maund. The taxable income was fixed at a higher figure, so as to relieve the poor people and various nation-developing measures such as Irrigation, Education, Famine Relief, Sanitation and Industries

which had all along received their due share of attention at the hands of the sympathetic and well-meaning officials, were now given a great impetus. Eminent Indians were appointed to high and responsible posts. With the sympathetic support and sincere goodwill of the Officials of Government, who had already been much towards the prosperity of the Indian people, the benefits enumerated above were all secured. The Congress which held its session year after year formulated the peoples' demands in a constitutional manner and not by abusing the Government or disobeying it.

1. Internal Split

This great National Institution continued to be loyal and constitutional and promoted more unity. A split occurred in 1907 during the Congress session at Surat. Goondas and Revolutionaries and others of various ways of thinking gave expression to disloyal sentiments and captured the Congress and the intelligentsia and prominent people who had dominated the Congress were treated disrespectfully. In the result, two parties came into being within the Congress: the Moderates who were to act in a constitutional way and the Extremes whose aim was to adopt a forward programme and "such measures as were found necessary" to gain their ends. However, in response to the popular wish, the two parties united together and had the Congress Session the following year. The goal of the Congress was fixed for 1908 as the Attainment of Dominion Status and by 1914 organisations were constituted in the Districts and conducted on Parliamentary lines.

The annual Session of the Congress was attended by more than 10,000 people and the attendance began to grow year after year and delegates from every part of India representing various interests participated in the deliberations.

In 1910, the Revolutionary Movement appeared in Bengal which led to anti-Government activities and unrest throughout the country. The Government suppressed the movement by bringing the offenders to book. A few individuals who belonged to the Revolutionary Party entered the Congress and created internal dissensions and hatred and distrust. Those who did not agree to the adoption of such activities walked out of the Congress. Some remained in the Congress and did their best to prevent the new idea from dominating the people. Nevertheless, the Revolutionary Party gained in strength and influence.

At the instance of that section of people, who advocated Complete Independence from British control, the Congress seriously discussed the suggestion during the last four years. Owing to the strong opposition of the Moderates, the discussion was postponed with the result that the difference of opinion between the two sections became more marked.

2. Independence Movement

Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru was elected President of the Congress which met at Lahore in 1929. He is well educated and has travelled in Europe and other countries. He is the son of Pandit Motilal Nehru, an eminent

lawyer and President of the Congress during the previous year. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru holds more advanced political views than his father in respect of Complete Independence for India and has been gaining strength for his views during the last three years.

When the Congress met at Lahore, there was a spread discontent in the country over the Simon Commission. The Viceroy issued a statement on 1—12 in the course of which he declared that the Simon Commission Report would be discussed at a Round Table Conference to be held in London at which representatives of both the countries would sit as equals with a view to arrive at an agreed constitution which would be passed into Law.

Instead of offering co-operation to the Government which has provided such facilities and securing advancement for the country, some mischievously inclined people followed up Gandhi. On 23—12—29 he and Pandit Motilal Nehru met the Viceroy and told him that India could neither take part in the Round Table Conference nor approve of the recommendations of the Simon Commission. They also wanted the Viceroy to agree to some impracticable conditions. Of course, the Viceroy could not agree to the conditions and Gandhi and Nehru returned disappointed.

The Congress, which met towards the end of December, was dominated by those who were actuated by the ideal of Complete Independence without taking into consideration the prevailing unrest in the country and its consequences; and in utter disregard of the views of the Moderates, — the Extremists in accordance with

views of their young President, passed a resolution calling upon the people to adopt such measures as would secure Complete Independence for India. The Moderates of course, out of disgust, walked out of the Congress. All those who have the prosperity of India at heart will regret the decision of the Congress, which has passed into the hands of Revolutionaries—from a body of sober-minded people, who had been working on constitutional lines and whose capacity for conducting the great National Institution had been acknowledged by Charles Bradlaugh, Dr. Rutherford and other members of Parliament who had personally visited India and seen the Congress in session.

The Moderates pray that the Almighty may give them sufficient strength and wisdom to proceed on constitutional lines and secure benefits, as they had done before.

May God grant their prayer !!

VIII. GANDHI'S GAUNTLETS

In pursuance of the decisions of the Congress were taken to inaugurate a campaign of Civil Disobedience and Gandhi himself chalked out a programme of action to secure the goal of Complete Independence. At this end it was necessary for him to create hatred and disaffection among the people towards the Government. The situation in the country presented a favourable opportunity for him. He put forward eleven demands for immediate solution,—demands most of which have been put forward by the Congress during the last 40 years. Some of these demands cannot be easily conceded to without taking into serious consideration various other international and circumstances as well. Intensive propaganda was carried on both in the Press and on the public platform vilifying the Government and characterising their policy as unjust and responsible for the poverty of Indians. Gandhi sent copies of his indictment against the Government to the Press for publication on 30-1-30 and also wrote to Lord Irwin on 2-3-30, embodying the above with some additions. Therein he also gave a detailed account of his proposed Satyagraha Campaign.

1. Total Prohibition

The Government have been accused of doing harm to the people by raising revenue from drink and drugs. In the first place, it must be pointed out that any kind of levy upon these things naturally makes them harder to obtain and therefore taxation does not encourage but

discourages their consumption. Moreover, every province in India has recently raised its taxation on drink very much with the avowed intention of discouraging its use. It cannot therefore be said that the Government are trying to ruin the people of India by encouraging them to resort to drink. On the contrary, their action clearly proves that they are prepared to sacrifice revenue, because by making it more and more difficult for people to indulge in drink, the total consumption will decrease and with it the net revenue of the Government. The policy of the Government in regard to the use of opium is closely similar. Selling prices have been repeatedly increased in the last 20 years with the result that the quantities consumed have greatly diminished. Further it should be noted that the Government of Madras allotted Rs. 4 lakhs last year and have allotted Rs. 5 lakhs this year for the express purpose of promoting temperance. With the help of this money, committees have been appointed in all districts; leaflets have been distributed in thousands, lectures, demonstrations, magic lantern and cinema shows are being arranged in towns and villages. All this is with the object of inducing the people to give up the use of drink and drugs. It is therefore clearly false to say that the Government are trying to do harm to the people in the matter of drink and drugs.

2. Land Revenue

The next charge against the Government is that the Government has imposed heavy land tax. A dispassionate and critical investigation will show that the Government are not to blame.

The principal occupation in India is agriculture the chief source of revenue for the Government is land tax. It is on this income that Government largely depends for carrying on the administration. Other sources are uncertain.

The Hindu Kings of Ancient India, the Mediaeval Muhammadan Sovereigns and even Emperor Akbar collected a third of the produce in kind from the ryots every year by way of land tax. When the produce was sold for the proceeds fluctuated in accordance with the conditions prevailing then so that the assessment was revised year after year bringing increased revenue for the Government in those days.

The present policy is different. Our Government has fixed the revenue on a cash basis. In some provinces the revenue is collected in a lump sum through the zamindars and in some others through the village headmen. In the Madras Presidency and in some Northern provinces, the Ryotwari system prevails, according to which the revenue is collected directly from the ryots.

With a view to fix the land revenue on a permanent basis, the Government of Madras appointed some years ago, a Committee to survey the lands, to examine their productive capacity, classify them according to the yield and to recommend the rate of assessment for each crop. Land revenue is now being collected in accordance with that committee's recommendations. It has been ascertained that the land tax now collected by the Government is far less than what was collected by our kings in ancient times.

Since then the Government have introduced many improvements for the benefit of the ryots and have enhanced the productive capacity of the land by providing sources of water-supply resulting in increased fertility of the soil and better harvest and increased prosperity of the ryots. When the crops fail to yield the usual harvest owing to the failure of monsoon, the Government, after careful enquiry, grants remission of tax. This policy is in force in every province.

Resettlement of land revenue in the Madras Presidency is undertaken once in 30 years resulting in a slightly increased revenue for the Government. But the ryots have profited to a large extent on account of increased outturn. Only a small fraction of this profit is paid to the Government in the shape of land tax.

If the records of the last 25 years are examined, we find that the ryotwari revenue of the presidency has increased by about $\frac{1}{8}$ or 12½%. This increase is due to the expansion of cultivation and irrigation and is fixed in accordance with the old rates. The Government have not enhanced the rates. On the other hand, during the same period the prices which the ryots command for the produce of their land have more than doubled, in fact have increased to almost $1\frac{1}{5}$ or 120%. It is clear therefore that land revenue has risen far more slowly than the prices of the crops which the ryots grow on the land. This means that the assessment is proportionately lower than it was a generation ago.

If the assessment should be reduced as demanded by Gandhi, not only will it entail a great loss to the Government but will also render the administration

difficult under the prevailing system. Gandhi knows this cannot be done under the circumstances but a view to achieve his ideal, he has raised this question to get the sympathy of the ryots and thus has caused much hatred and disaffection against our sympathetic Government. We ought to proceed cautiously. Perhaps when Gandhi becomes the Dictator of an Independent India, he will completely forego the land revenue!

3. Salt Tax

It is said that the Salt Tax is inequitable and the Government is deriving revenue by unjustly fleecing the people. As this has led to some unrest, it is necessary to know the truth of this statement.

It is sometimes said that the salt tax in India was first imposed by the British and also that it is not levied in any other country. Both these statements are quite untrue. In Europe, France has had the salt tax for a century; in Italy, the Government has a salt monopoly; the German Government derives a large revenue from it and the old Austrian Empire used to raise revenue in the same way. In Asia both the Chinese and Japanese Governments obtain a large revenue from their salt monopoly.

In India the salt tax, far from being introduced by the British Government, dates back to the very earliest times. Mention of it is made in the Shastras. It was levied by Moghul Emperors who made so much out of it that the duty was more than double the cost of production. In the time of Emperor Akbar, salt cost two and a half times as much as some of the principal food grains

and the same was true at the beginning of this century. After the Mogul Emperors, the salt tax continued in one form or another down to the time of the British Rule. The plain truth of the matter is that the British did not introduce the tax but accepted it as an existing source of revenue and overhauled and regularised the whole system. By doing so and by a scientific management of the sources of production they have secured an even distribution throughout India of edible salt of good quality at a more or less uniform price. If the Government monopoly were removed and production left to private dealers, it is quite certain that the public would not be able to obtain it at so low a price or in such good quality.

Salt is an essential article of consumption. A man requires about 5 seers of salt a year for consumption, and the tax on this quantity is only a pice per month. Although the tax is only 3 annas per year per head, because every man eats salt and pays tax, it brings in a lot of money to the Government each year. The Government gets about 7 crores of rupees from this tax which nobody feels because 320 millions contribute to it. If this 3 annas per head is not paid, Government will have to find this very large sum in some other way. But there is no other way in which the government could find the same amount of money with as little trouble. If the attention of the people had not been drawn to it, it would not have been noticed at all, because although every man eats salt every day, the tax paid is only one pice per month and however rich a man grows, he will not eat appreciably more salt.

It must therefore be admitted that the salt tax is heavy or unjust. It is a matter for great regret that much fuss is being made over this innocuous tax.

4. Indian Industry

It is said that India's industry has been on the wane since the advent of British Rule and that Government is responsible for it. Let us examine the truth of this statement.

It is the fault of Indians that they have not improved their ancient industries and not that of Government. Yet the Government in order to develop the indigenous industries and improve manufactures have constituted a Development Department in charge of a Minister who is empowered to render all facilities to those who wish to develop and improve industry and agriculture. Consequently many new industries have been started by the people and have also been subsidized by Government.

Schools to impart instruction in arts and crafts and industries have been started and scholarships awarded to deserving students to proceed to foreign countries being trained in Engineering and Chemistry. Machinery for manufacturing pencils, glass jars and bottles, paper, soaps, matches, textiles and steel and iron are being imported. The ancient Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine have been developed by the opening of Ayurvedic Colleges. Banks have been established to assist industrial concerns and all facilities are afforded for developing indigenous industries. If Indians do not improve their industries, in spite of the good facilities afforded, the blame cannot lie with the Government.

5. Public Debt

India's Public Debt means the borrowings by Government from the people on various occasions. It is said that the people have been put to much loss by these borrowings and it is therefore necessary to examine the truth or otherwise of the statement.

Let us first explain why the Government borrows. In addition to the expenditure incurred in carrying on Government, funds are necessary to introduce various schemes of utility and development for the benefit of the people. This will entail additional taxation. But, our Government without resorting to additional taxation, have, as necessity arose, borrowed from the people and utilised the amounts in the construction of Railways, Irrigation projects and other works of public utility, resulting in profits both to the Government and the people. The investments are safely secured and interest is paid regularly. Four-fifths of these borrowings have been invested in India with the result that civilisation has improved, the produce from the land has gone up, famines have been prevented and the general happiness of the people has been ensured. Let the people therefore understand that Government borrowings have been spent in India for the benefit of the people.

6. Officials' Salary

We shall now see if the statement that the officials are paid very high salaries is true.

It is essential that persons appointed to high and responsible offices should be decently paid as all of them

come of respectable families, are well connected and of unquestionable character. Moreover, unless they are paid decently, they cannot maintain their dignity and command the confidence of the people.

In India the Governor-General, the Governors and other high officials who are all drawn from very respectable families are entrusted with large sums of money, and with a view to place them above temptation and enable them to carry out the trust reposed in them they must be kept above want. In order to maintain the purity of administration and to enable these officers to keep up the dignity of their position, they are paid nearly three times as much as other officers. If high salaries are not offered, men of questionable character only can be secured involving corruption in administration and consequent misery to the governed.

The same principle was adopted during the reigns of the Hindu and the Moghul Emperors and even to-day the same practice prevails in the Native States.

It is therefore clear (considering the present conditions and in the light of above facts) that the argument that officers are paid high salaries, is baseless.

7. Indian Poverty

It is often said that India is growing poorer under the British Rule, but facts do not bear out this statement. It is an admitted fact that India is a most fertile country and that being the case the question naturally arises how she can be poor.

A large number of rich people, instead of investing their money in commerce, industry and other nation-building enterprises, spend it in pomp and pleasure. Besides, the wealth is either locked up or spent on unproductive enterprises, thus greatly preventing the flow of money for the benefit of the masses. On the other hand, Government have opened Railways and Irrigation projects to ward off the effects of famine. The people are more happy, the country is more prosperous and civilised and commerce has been developed resulting in greater credit and flow of money. Also, exports and imports, that is the volume of merchandise that goes out and comes in by sea, have increased enormously. In fifty years the total value of India's exports has risen from 74 crores to 316 crores and in the same period the value of her imports has risen from 53 crores to 240 crores, of rupees resulting in a net profit of 76 crores for India during the last year. This profit is not utilised by Indians for developing trade. With a view to lock their money safely they invest it in unremunerative concerns such as jewellery and silver and gold vessels.

Nevertheless, the people are spending more and more for their amenities and comforts. Thus they spend 10 crores on motor cars, petrol and accessories, 16 crores on sugar, 3½ crores on cigarettes and 6 crores on perfumery, soap, coffee, biscuits and sweets and 8½ crores on silk and woollen piece-goods.—How can people spend so much, if they are not getting good profits?—It must therefore be said that the people are now more prosperous. All people cannot be rich, some must necessarily be poor. At present wealthy people are coming forward to help

the poor people. Moreover, Ceylon and Malay other countries attract increasing numbers of labourers who work for a time there on higher wages than they could get in agricultural work in India and return with their savings and engage themselves in trade. From all this, it is clear that India is growing richer and not becoming poorer. But, unless the rich people do forward and assist in developing the Indian industries, it will take a long time for India to become more prosperous.

8. Violence Party

For the last 20 years, a Revolutionary Party, whose avowed object is to free India from British domination, has been active in disseminating disaffection in several parts of Northern India, more particularly in Bengal, Punjab and Bombay where they have been pursuing their activities secretly. The strength of the party appears to be about one or two hundreds. Some of the party entered the Congress and have organised an Independence League of extremists, whose members are prepared to face all dangers in their attempts to fight the Government for secure Independence. Having strengthened their position in the Congress, they began to engage themselves in secret activities to achieve their ends, but Mr. Gandhi suggested the Non-violent Satyagraha to be offered to achieve the same object. The Revolutionary party accepted the suggestion and promised to refrain from placing obstacles in Gandhi's way for whom they had always very great regard. When the Congress declared Independence as its goal, it also appointed Gandhi as the Dictator. In this capacity he wrote to the Viceroy on 2-3-30 mentioning among other things

that he was launching a campaign of Satyagraha in order to prevent the Violence Party from gathering strength.

9. Mad Risk

"Satyagraha" or "Ahimsa" implies refraining from doing harm in thought, word or deed, and is the ideal of Yogis who must be tolerant, kind and God-fearing.

At present some patriots who are at the bottom of the unrest in India, are credited with the above qualities. Their object is to break the laws and obstruct the good administration as far as possible in order to force the Government to bend to their will. Their creed is, of course, non-violence, even under great provocation from Government. These Satyagrahis have, by their disloyal activities, brought the Government and the people into conflict. But the Satyagrahis, though they claim to be harmless, have caused harm to the opponents' mind—they have embarrassed the Government and besides they have persuaded others to do likewise. Their only virtue is rudeness and none else, and their only asset is patriotism and uncompromising attitude.

It is therefore unwise on the part of Gandhi to have relied on their assistance to achieve Independence. Gandhi himself has acknowledged that he has undertaken "a Mad Risk"—He was aware that his campaign would lead to disorder and chaos but as opportunity arose to put to the test his great faith in Satyagraha, he sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy that he was launching Civil Disobedience with the help of the inmates of his Asram.

His decision and the disorders that followed will be regretted—very much regretted.

IX. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

It is acknowledged on all hands that the laws of a country should be respected in the interests of the people themselves. He who transgresses the law is guilty of disloyalty and not only does he harm himself, but he harms others, thereby spreading disaffection and unrest.

A Government which is established for maintaining peace and order must of course punish seditionists; otherwise administration will come to a stand still and eventually collapse. Thus, it will be clearly seen that the sacred duty of Government to put down Civil Disobedience which is responsible for such disorders, is not therefore fair to decry the Government; on the other hand, people ought to stand by the Government in its task. Those who actively identify themselves with sedition-mongers or otherwise actually sympathise with them also come under this category.

1. Nationalist Spirit

The political consciousness that is now visible among the people is entirely due to the liberal education imparted by the Britishers. It may therefore be considered vain to expect Indians to accept any scheme of Reforms which may place them under the perpetual tutelage of Britain. It is an appreciation of the fact that has led to the appointment of the Simon Commission, who were charged with the task of formulating proposals to enable Indians to secure an increasing measure of responsibility

in the Government of their country and to allay suspicion and distrust. An impartial examination of the recommendations of the Commission will reveal that some very complicated problems have been sought to be solved. If the Commission had failed to express their sincere opinion, as they have done, on the materials before them, they would have betrayed the trust reposed in them, by the Parliament.

The report, of course, has been most adversely criticised by some Educated Indians. Suggestions have also been made to the Viceroy with alternative proposals suited to the peculiar conditions of the country. There is a section whose goal is Self-government within the Empire if possible, or outside the Empire, if necessary. The Congress and a few others, however, are for Complete Independence or "Poorna Swaraj" and have, to achieve their goal, fomented unrest.

On the other hand, the Viceroy, actuated by the best of intentions and by a desire to assist India in securing her legitimate aspirations, has suggested the Round Table Conference wherein there will be a free and frank discussion of India's problems and expressed his hope, and that of the British Government, that Indians will be able to participate in the Conference.

2. Salt Raids

In accordance with his ultimatum to the Viceroy on 2—3—30, Gandhi left Ahmedabad on 12—3—30 with his band of volunteers on foot. Passing through several villages he gathered more and more adherents and told

the people that the Salt Tax was unjust and that laws must be broken by people manufacturing themselves. After traversing nearly a distance of miles, he reached Dandi with his followers on 5-4 and on the following morning led them to the sea six miles away and raided the Government Salt Depot in defiance of the Salt laws. There were 84 Satyagrahis with him then who followed suit and created great disorder.

On the news being flashed forth, people in many parts of the country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin began to manufacture salt themselves, resulting in disorders which grew day by day. The position of officials of the Salt Department became unenviable and the general public too, began to suffer in consequence.

The Satyagrahis began to raid the Salt Depots. They placed obstacles in the way of Government servants in the discharge of their duties and gathered more and more adherents from amongst the rich, the educated, the women and children, students and the ordinary folk. They also publicly auctioned contraband salt and engaged themselves in other unlawful activities.

Nevertheless, the sober-minded and moderate elements have not only kept themselves aloof from the subversive activities, but have stood by the Government in their efforts to preserve peace and order.

3. Subverting Government

Soon after Gandhi's incarceration in the Yerawade jail, the Working Committee of the All India Congress Committee stiffened their programme which included

non-payment of land revenue and social boycott of Government servants. By unfair threats and intimidation people were prevented from rendering these officials ordinary services. Consequently a large number of village officers reluctantly resigned and Government servants were the worst sufferers, many of them narrowly escaping from the great danger to which they were exposed.

The people have also been incited to raid and damage the Reserve forests involving destruction of valuable Government timber.

The people were told to defy the laws and this has led to the breaking of prohibitory orders and ordinances and anti-Government activities. The people ceased to have any regard for Government servants.

Boycott of British cloth was preached. To achieve their object, leaflets were distributed broadcast and meetings were held in every nook and corner. English and Indian merchants dealing in British cloth have incurred heavy losses in consequence. Steps were taken to harm those who refused to fall in line with them. An intensive programme of boycott of British cloth was inaugurated, as also defiance of certain ordinances. Thus, unrest grew day by day. English merchants could not dispose of their stock and the resultant loss is heavy.

Picketing of liquor shops involving breach of peace and loss to Government and contractors, were yet other steps in their subversive tactics.

Attempts were also made to tamper with the loyalty of the troops and the Police by distributing leaflets.

calling upon them to refrain from discharging their duties and join hands with the re-actionaries. Mandates issued to the Provincial Congress Committees to send these leaflets were placed in the hands of the troops of the Police. Besides, the action of the 2/18 Royal Rifles who mutinied and of those who broke through the ranks was publicly applauded.

Loyal citizens were incited to engage themselves in subversive activities and "War Councils" were organized. Persons were specially appointed to embarrass Government servants and to rouse the masses. In the result there have been rioting attended with casualties including deaths in many places.

The rioting in Sholapur involving clashes between the Police and the people and loss of life and the promulgation of Martial law in that City were the result of the Volunteers' activities at the instance of the Congress Working Committee.

Similar disorders occurred in Midnapore, where excesses were committed as a result of a clash between the Police and the people involving loss of many lives. Police Sub-Inspector was murdered in consequence of the Congress volunteers' activities and a rumour was afloat that the British Raj was at its end.

The working committee is primarily responsible for the unrest in the frontier where also disaffection is spread.

It is a thousand pities that they are indulging in anti-Government activities, instead of proceeding on constitutional and peaceful lines.

4. Indian Ladies & National Movement

Perhaps a most surprising and unheard of aspect of the present struggle is the association of women with the Civil Disobedience Movement. During the past few years there has been a great political awakening among women in this country who, as a result of the education received by them, have come forward to work for public good and take their share in the Government of the country. This awakening is visible both in towns and villages and women have been nominated as Honorary Magistrates, Dy. Presidents and members of legislature. Others have been serving on Committees constituted for child-welfare and development of indigenous industries, thus doing their best for the country's welfare.

Some others in their great regard for Gandhi—the man, identified themselves with the raids on the salt depôts, in defiance of the salt laws.

Besides, they have fearlessly come forward to join in other unlawful activities such as picketing of foreign cloth and liquor shops, exposing themselves to risk and spreading unrest. In their zeal they forget their loyalty to the King and have become active Satyagrahis lending their support to the National movement.

Prominent among these are Srimathis Rukmani Lakshmipathi and Durga Bai of Madras, Kamalabai Chattopadhyaya and Aslam Begum of Bombay, Kastur Bai Gandhi and her daughter-in-law at Surat, Kamal Nehru (wife of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress President of Allahabad, the four grand-daughters of the late Dadhabai Naoroji in Guzerat and the world famous Sarojini Naidu

Besides several other women in Andhra and Tamil Districts, Malabar, the Central Provinces and Bengal have similarly joined the movement and their number is on the increase.

It is a tragedy of the times that women, whose primary dharma is to rear up children, who by nurture and good training will prove to be eminent citizens, fit to shoulder responsibilities, that will devolve on them when they grow to be men, should come out like men and associate themselves in politics and all that it implies.

X. GOVERNMENT MEASURES

The developments in India have been carefully watched by the British Government in England and a large number of members of Parliament held the view that the agitation was on the increase owing to the indifferent attitude of the Government in India. They also accused the Viceroy of failing to adopt the necessary measures, to suppress the unrest and brought pressure on the Prime Minister to speedily end the strife through the kind efforts of the Viceroy, and to adopt sterner measures, if necessary. The Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India discussed the position and in consultation with the Cabinet arrived at the decision that some compromise must be arrived at honourable to both India and England. At the same time they resolved to ask the Viceroy to take such measures, as were necessary to cut at the root of the movement, which had for its object the overthrowing of the Government.

Thus the Viceroy was invested with full powers to promulgate such laws as were found necessary and was assured of the support of the Cabinet in his endeavours to maintain the prestige of Government.

Instructions were also issued to incarcerate Gandhi, the author of the movement. Accordingly he was arrested at Karadi on 5—5—30 and interned in the Yerrawada Jail and provided with necessary comforts.

1. Suppressive Steps

The kind Viceroy, who has been sincerely anxious to help the National Movement, paid no heed to the unrest, though some prominent leaders were ordered to be arrested. As, at the outset, the sentences were light the movement assumed serious proportions.

On receipt of orders from the Secretary of State the Provincial Governors were invested with full power to punish law breakers, under the Ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy. Acting under the authority of the Ordinances, the Provincial Governors ordered the arrest of all persons including women who transgressed law.

Several newspapers which aided the movement were suppressed and others were called upon to furnish security. The Haji of Turangzai who raided the frontier egged on by the Congress and the Afridis and the Orakzais were repulsed with the help of the Air Force. Troops were despatched to suppress the risings in Chersada and Mashood territories. The ringleader of the Mutineers of the 2-18, Royal Garwahl Rifles was punished with transportation and others with various terms of imprisonment, according to the gravity of their offence. Two Congress volunteers of Calcutta who threw a bomb in the house of a Police Inspector got 5 years R. I. each. Martial Law was promulgated in Sholapur and the gang that was responsible for the Armoury raid in Chittagong were rounded up.

The Working Committee of the Congress was declared an unlawful association and some prominent members were arrested and imprisoned.

2. Provincial Combat

It became necessary for the Provincial Governors to put down the unrest in their provinces. Breaking of Salt Laws and disaffection spread over the country. Gandhi was applauded and his movement was welcomed. The rumour was set afloat that Government had come to an end. Efforts were made to pacify the people, but to no purpose, and at last it was decided to put down lawlessness by imprisoning the lawbreakers.

H. E. Sir George Stanley

H. E. Sir George Stanley presides over the destinies of the Madras Presidency. He was in the Army and had travelled in India. Since then he had been trying his best to help the country, and in pursuance of this desire he accepted the Governorship.

His Excellency is, by nature and temperament sincere, sympathetic, outspoken and kind, and his genial manners must by now have dispelled any suspicion among the people that a Military Officer was not suited for civil administration. He is also a great statesman and has resolved to put down lawlessness, and help those who work on constitutional lines. When the present campaign was inaugurated, the Governor sent for the accredited leaders including Congressmen and discussed the situation with them. As the people generally identified themselves with the campaign, it became necessary to have recourse to the ordinances promulgated by the Viceroy. Some newspapers had to be muzzled and some Congress Committees also had to

be declared unlawful associations and their offices raided. The powers of the Police were enlarged and all lawbreakers including women were ordered to be imprisoned. All this had to be done to put down the growing unrest.

Great enthusiasm has been visible in respect of boycott of foreign cloth and liquor, involving heavy losses to the merchants and breach of peace and risk to the police employed in quelling the disturbances.

Trade has come to a stand still. Local bodies and Educational Institutions which extended their sympathies to the movement were promptly ordered to desist from doing so.

The effect of these measures is now visible. The Satyagrahis have been prevented from committing havoc and the arrests of some prominent leaders have resulted in return to normal conditions.

In the clashes that had occurred between the Police and the mobs, only necessary force was used and all meetings and gatherings which had the effect of fanning the flame of unrest were promptly dispersed and the malefactors suitably punished. Besides, all those who abetted or otherwise sympathised with anti-Government agitation were likewise chastised with the result that the Civil-Resisters have nearly lost all ground.

Respect for Law and Government has been maintained, and people have come to realise the consequences of unlawful activities in an almost calm atmosphere prevailing after the wave of false enthusiasm has come and gone.

H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes

H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes is the Governor of Bombay. He is a great Parliamentarian. He is also a great statesman and has good insight into men and things. He is amenable to argument and reason and is a perfect gentleman.

The Civil Disobedience Movement had taken a firm root in the Bombay Presidency where Gandhi had very great influence being supported by the "Desa Sevika" Sanga (Association).

Non-Violent Non-Co-operation

Non-Violent Non-Co-operation implies disobedience of laws and self-suffering without retaliation.

Mr. Gandhi inaugurated his Salt Satyagraha Campaign in the belief that non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience were for the good of the country and that thereby no harm would come to the people. But in actual experience it has turned to be otherwise. He declared that the Salt Law was unjust and preached that, if the people broke the law and manufactured salt themselves, the salt tax would be abolished. The people began to manufacture contraband salt and raid the Government Salt Depôts in the course of which clashes occurred between the Government and the people involving great disorders, breach of peace and bodily injuries and loss of life.

Besides, this gave an impetus to thefts, robberies and murders and the protection of property was jeopardised. Government property was publicly looted and Reserve Forests were wantonly destroyed and the villagers

were told that they were the owners of forests and could cut down and take away trees without paying and those who obstructed them were put to great suffering—some were wounded, others killed. Telegraph wires were cut in many places as also coconut and palms. The Court House in Sholapur with all government records was burnt down.

Loyal citizens were also interfered with prevented from carrying on their avocations. Four persons were drowned in Surat. Rowdies committed day-light dacoity in Darala; Ryots were the worst sufferers and it became impossible for them to safeguard their produce. Rogues began to do the people in several ways and non-payment of taxes was advocated under threats of injury.

Consequently the suffering of the people grew. Revenue went down and expenditure on the jail and Police Departments swelled up necessitating fresh taxation. The Legislative Council had resolved to set apart lakhs for the Police and Rs. 7,85,000 for the Jail Department to meet the increased cost.

Alas ! These are the products of Non-Violent Non-co-operation !

Land Tax in Guzerat

In Guzerat, it became difficult for the Revenue Officials to get their supplies and services of the Villagers and other servants such as barber, washerman etc. In short, they were socially boycotted by a rigid phase among the villagers. That was the fate of the local officers and the lot of those who were new to the place

could be better imagined than described. Yet another fruit of Gandhi's Non-Violent Non-co-operation !

The situation is being carefully and tactfully handled by the Governor, in consultation with popular leaders. Confidence had been restored and the propaganda that British Raj was at an end was nailed to the counter by taking stern measures against sedition-mongers. There are definite signs showing a return to normal conditions. The Governor has publicly acknowledged the tact, patience and courage with which the Police have controlled the situation often under very trying conditions. People have been assured of sympathy and protection in their legitimate avocations. Persecutions of the village headmen in Guzerat have been put down and many village officers have been reinstated.

But, though the position in Bombay is still giving cause for some concern, all will be well in the near future.

H. E. Sir Stanley Jackson

The Province of Bengal has a kind, courageous, and sympathetic Governor in H. E. Sir Stanley Jackson. This Province has been in a disturbed condition, since the days of Lord Curzon. In many parts of this Province manufacture of bombs, explosives and fire arms has been freely indulged in. It is in this Province that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms could not be worked. Independence-wallahs who are out for Complete Swaraj by driving out the Britishers from India, have their stronghold in this Province gaining strength day by day. People have no regard for Law. Conspiracies and disorders are of common occurrence.

It therefore requires great skill and courage to administer this Province. As in other Provinces, orders have broken out here also. Bombs and explosions have been freely used and Government servants have been wounded or their lives threatened. A few police officers have been severely wounded and a few others have been killed. Damage to Government property and looting were indulged in; social boycott of Government servants was enforced. Government forests were destroyed and proscribed literature was freely and publicly circulated. The Governor brought into operation new measures which the situation demanded. The Police were invested with greater powers; the press was controlled; seditious meetings were dispersed and agitators jailed and steps were taken to restore confidence once again in consultation with the accredited leaders, the Zamindars and the Intelligensia. All those who were responsible for the disorders and excesses in Chittagong, Dacca, Barisal and Midnapur were brought to book.

Women and students have joined the movement in the province in large numbers and they have also been dealt with according to law. The courage, loyalty and forbearance of the Police have been commended by the Governor and efforts are being made to restore peace and order in the province.

H. E. Sir Montagu Butler

H. E. Sir Montagu Butler is the Governor of the Central Provinces. He is known to be a great statesman, sympathetic, affable and actuated by a sincere desire to help India in her forward march.

He has handled the situation in his Province by a wonderfully novel method. Meetings were mostly orderly and the people returned home peacefully of their own accord. Nevertheless, there have been outbreaks in many places in connection with picketing and defiance of Forest Laws.

The police are putting down the movement with minimum interference, though in some places they have been obliged to adopt sterner measures. The situation is being handled with sympathy but the lawbreakers are not left off. The outbreaks in Nagpur, Sambalpur, Talegaon and other places have been put down and normal conditions are returning. All credit to the Governor who is known to be very patient and popular.

H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey

H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey is the head of administration in the United Provinces. He has vast experience of Indian administration and is known to be just and sympathetic.

As in other Provinces, Civil Disobedience has also been rife in this Province and several unlawful acts were committed by the lawbreakers in pursuance of their mischievous resolve. Tampering with the loyalty of troops and police and social boycott of Government servants were particularly indulged in, resulting in widespread unrest and breaches of public peace in many places such as Allahabad, Almora, Nainital, Lucknow, Muttra, Benares and Meerut. The situation has been handled tactfully by the sympathetic Governor and normal conditions are returning. His Excellency having resigned

with a view to attend the R. T. Conference in active capacity, it may be hoped that his success George Bancroft Lambert, will, with equal tact, unrest at perfect rest.

H. E. Sir Hugh Stephenson

The Province of Bihar and Orissa has H. E. Stephenson as its Governor. Kind and sympathetic a great statesman and has the reputation of being a partial administrator. During the unrest that was about by the Civil Disobedience movement, H. demonstrated his ability to control difficult situations the face of grave provocation. By his patience and reverence, he has been able to instil confidence and order.

H. E. Sir G. F. De Montmorency

The Punjab, where disloyal activities have rampant, has H. E. Sir Geoffrey F. De Montmorency as its Governor. The Satyagraha movement, in this Province has been marked by dacoities, murders, rowdyism and seditious activities. The Police had a very hard time mob violences were particularly marked in Lahore and Simla. It is however gratifying to note that the disturbances have been quelled and peace restored.

H. E. Sir Charles Innes, H. E. Sir E. L. Hammond and the Hon'ble S. E. Pears, have taken the necessary steps to suppress the anti Government activities that appeared in their respective Provinces and restored peace and order.

XI. POLICE ACTIVITIES

It is an acknowledged fact, that the primary duty of the police is to maintain peace and punish offenders. The happiness of the people depends upon the assistance rendered by the Police, whose services are indispensable for the security of Person and Property.

In the present National movement, defiance of law was freely indulged in. The superior officers of the Police tried to disperse unlawful assemblies by persuasion, but the people did not heed. When dispersing peaceful Nationalist processions (behaving with perfect decorum) organized in defiance of prohibitory orders, the Police officers were reluctant to use force against them especially when women and children were among them. Moreover when the dispersal order was not immediately enforced the crowd began to swell with unruly elements in them, compelling the Police to overcome far greater difficulties and thereby use more force than it would have been necessary at the beginning. Therefore the Police Officers, at times of necessity, considering the circumstances of the situation, were forced to take immediate action.

Although the processionists had been non-violent, it was the duty of the Police to disperse the crowd without delay at the initial stage itself to the advantage of the people themselves assembled to witness the procession. The Satyagrahis came forward in large numbers to court imprisonment and embarrass the Government as much as.

they could. As the public peace was threatened Police at the outset were ordered to use their light only, instead of having recourse to the more dangerous weapons such as fire arms, bayonets and batons. In many places the Police parties were heavily stoned and put to incalculable suffering.

Even under exceptionally trying circumstances Police acted with the greatest restraint and patience, using only the minimum force necessary to disperse riotous mobs. In some places, it is said, that the force was used very freely when the situation was threatening. Such exceptional cases are inevitable while engaged in suppressing grave disorders and it is therefore charitable to decry the Police.

Thefts, robbery, murders and other crimes have been committed in consequence of the unlawful activities of the Satyagrahis. It is therefore necessary to give below a brief account of some of the steps taken by the Police, engaged in putting down lawlessness and maintaining peace.

1. Madras Mischief

The latter half of April 1930 was marked by serious disturbances in Madras, on account of the activities of the Satyagrahis. Defiance of salt laws by boiling and carrying salt all along the beach in the mornings and holding of public meetings calling upon the people to engage themselves as volunteers were fully indulged. Processions were organized and led along the principal streets in the business quarters to produce a spectacular effect.

Though the leaders claimed that the meetings and processions were orderly and non-violent, there had been several incidents (though minor in character) which went to show that the rowdy elements who invariably identified themselves with such activities resorted to intimidation and petty tyranny, in the belief that they could do so without interference from the Police. Contraband salt began to be sold publicly in auction and the people were told that in future they could take sea water home and boil it. Assurances were given that, if they did so, the salt tax would be cancelled. At the public meetings wild speeches were made vilifying Government and their officers, especially the Police, often rousing people's excitement and creating hatred for Government and their officers.

The Police, during all this period, confined themselves to the task of preventing breaches of peace and maintaining order. This restraint on the part of the Police was taken advantage of by the Satyagrahis, who often indulged in petty acts of annoyance. The rowdy elements too were not slow in taking advantage of the situation. They went about the streets and business quarters raising revolutionary slogans and intimidating shop and bazaar keepers to close their shops. The effects of the preaching of Satyagrahis soon manifested themselves in acts of violence and defiance of constituted authority. A party of British soldiers, who were engaged in shooting practice on the sands opposite to the High Court were molested by stones being thrown on them. It must be said that, considering the provocation offered,

the soldiers behaved with the greatest patience and bearance. A Satyagraha meeting was going on and attended by a fairly large number of people and was not one word of condemnation from the so-called leaders in regard to the incident. A critical situation might have arisen involving serious consequences if timely action of the Police, who dispersed the hoodlums using the minimum force that was necessary under the circumstances.

Another somewhat serious occurrence took place on 22—4—30. A party of Millhands who had been on their way returning from the High Court Beach after boiling about Noon, gathered numbers on the way. The crowd became tumultuous and noisy and marched along the Esplanade blocking the road. They raised revolutionary slogans and called upon the shopkeepers to close their shops and observe a hartal. Stones were hurled at passing motor cars and peaceful citizens were molested. The situation became very serious and the entire stretch of the road from the Law College to the Parry's Compound was completely blocked. At this stage the Police were ordered to disperse the mob using only necessary force and this was carried with commendable restraint and courage. Law abiding citizens who witnessed the hooliganism were unanimous in their praise of the Police who, under a heavy shower of stones, behaved most gallantly without having recourse to firearms which, if used, would have been fully justified under the circumstances. Here again the so-called leaders of the Satyagraha movement, who were appalled by the disturbances, did not turn up on the scene

dissuade their followers from their mischievous activities. On the other hand, they motored home fast along a different route.

A very serious situation arose on the evening of 27—4—30 on the Beach near the Aquarium. A mass meeting had been advertised to take place on the Triplicane Beach that evening with the ostensible object of expressing public resentment against the police action. Though the meeting was styled an "All Party meeting", leaders of Congress persuasion dominated it and a large crowd of about 10,000 people had gathered. In addition to those that had gathered at the meeting, a large number of people including mill-hands and hooligans collected on both sides of the beach road and indulged in throwing stones on motor cars. Several Europeans were thus molested. Their cars were stopped and the occupants insulted. The entire road was blocked and traffic came to a stand still. Taking advantage of the darkness that was setting in, the mischief-mongers became more turbulent and stone throwing became promiscuous. The leaders who were at the meeting on being informed of the occurrences hurriedly closed the meeting and left the place without attempting to control the situation, for which they were primarily responsible.

Meanwhile, the Commissioner of Police hurried to the spot and the work of clearing the road and of the sands was done under his personal supervision. The mob remained defiant and would not disperse. Stone throwing continued and the Police-Officers on duty at the place from the Commissioner down to the constable were, almost all of them, hit. An Inspector was stabbed in

the back while warding off an attack against the Commissioner, and several officers were seriously injured necessitating treatment and detention in the Hospital. During all this critical period, the Police refrained from using their fire arms, dispersing the crowd with their lathis. It took some time for the crowd to be cleared from the sands, from where they proceeded and stood on the sides of the beach road and continued to throw stones. Parties of mischief-makers, who proceeded to the Town and along the Wallajah Road smashed the electric lights on the road-side and committed other acts of destruction. Having been turned out of the beach section of the mob marched along the Pycroft's Road and blocked the bridge over the canal and continued to shower stones on the police party, detailed to clear the road of rioters. The situation having assumed serious proportions, the Commissioner of Police who personally led the Police-party warned the rioters to disperse. Rioters replied by throwing stones more furiously, so that there was no alternative for the Police than to open fire if the Police-party were not to be subjected to more serious injuries. Altogether seven rounds were fired after due warning and under the personal direction of the Commissioner, who maintained extraordinary coolness and courage under very trying circumstances. Meanwhile a party of British troops reached the spot from the north and the rioters began to take to their heels in different directions. Taking into consideration the gravity of the situation, the casualties among the rioters were very small—a fact which would prove that the police had taken all possible care to avoid unnecessary hardship.

In view of the grave disturbances that followed the mischievous activities of the Satyagrahis, all demonstrations and processions had been prohibited by the Presidency Magistrate. Batches of volunteers, however, went about all parts of the town and disobeyed the order. They were promptly arrested and punished according to law. The head-quarters of the volunteers was raided and all the Satyagrahis including their leaders were likewise imprisoned. Though some volunteers made their appearance in the City after the Satyagraha camp was evacuated, they found the place too hot for them to pursue their activities. All credit for the restoration of peace and order in such a short space of time goes to the Police Commissioner, whose courage and determination were publicly acknowledged by a large number of public bodies and the Government.

2. Vedaranyam Virulence

Vedaranyam was the centre of the Tamil Districts Satyagraha activities. About 100 volunteers led by Srijut C. Rajagopalachari marched down from Trichinopoly gathering numbers on the way. A Satyagraha camp was opened, where the volunteers were housed and fed. Batch after batch was sent to the neighbouring salt-pans to raid them and bring away salt. Prohibitory orders were disobeyed and countless meetings were held at which the people were told that the British Raj had come to an end. Social boycott of Government servants was freely preached and the feelings of the people were roused against the authorities. Though

there was no violent breach of the peace, yet the authorities had to cope with a very serious situation affecting a very large area. In this task, they acted with the greatest restraint under very great provocation. The Satyagraha camp was dispersed and leaders and followers were arrested. All is now quiet and normal conditions have been restored. Among the leaders arrested is Rukmani Lakshmipathi, a prominent member of some of the political and social associations in Madras. She is a graduate of the Madras University and has travelled on the Continent. It is a matter for great regret that such a cultured lady should have identified herself with anti-Government movement, instead of devoting her energies to the upliftment of her own sex, in developing their Education & Cottage-Industries.

3. Bombay Brunt

The situation in Bombay has been giving cause for concern from the very outset. Public meetings, processions and demonstrations in defiance of law, authority and manufacture of contraband salt and picketting of liquor and foreign cloth shops were the principal activities of the volunteers. There have been several clashes between the forces of Government and the law-breakers involving several casualties on both sides. Volunteer parades resulting in obstruction of traffic and breach of peace were a common feature. Pamphlets and news sheets containing appeals to the people to disobey the laws and false statements as to the policy of Government were circulated by road-cast. Owing to the anti-British and boycott

propaganda, trade has come to a stand still and several mills have closed down throwing out of employment thousands of labourers to wander about the streets. Consequently, the Police were obliged to be on duty both day and night involving greater strain on them. In spite of the severe strain, the rank and file of the Police behaved with an amount of restraint and patience, that has evoked the admiration of law-abiding citizens. Ladies including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mrs. Hansa Mehta and their followers have been arrested and though salt Satyagraha has ceased, picketting of foreign cloth shops is still going on. The whole situation is being handled tactfully by the authorities, who are doing their best to restore normal conditions. It must, however, be said that the intensity of the boycott movement has worked so much havoc, that it must necessarily take some more time for normal conditions to prevail.

4. Sholapur Slaughter

The Satyagraha movement wrought incalculable havoc in this town. Nearly 1000 mill-hands joined a demonstration, which was got up to protest against the arrest of Gandhi and indulged in acts of violence. Toddy-tapping trees were cut down; the District court was invaded and burnt down with all its records; the Police station was raided and all arms and ammunition were carried away; a police patrol party was obstructed and molested and the hooligans got the upper hand. The lives of European Residents were threatened. Two police men were tied to a post in public place and burnt alive, the mob enjoying the horrid spectacle. The people were

told that British Raj had come to an end and the Congress was supreme. For about 5 days Goonda Raj prevailed and loyal and innocent citizens were obliged to run for their safety to other places, leaving their homes and property unprotected.

With the arrival of the troops and the promulgation of Martial Law, the situation was brought under control. Ring-leaders and other offenders were punished and those that had fled from the place are now returning having been assured full protection.

5. Lucknow Labyrinth

This City also was the scene of several unlawful activities, during the Satyagraha campaign. Hoisting of the National Flag in public places and holding of public meetings in defiance of orders were the principal forms of law breaking campaign. As in other places, assaults on police, looting and general insecurity of person and property became rife, necessitating the calling in of troops to restore order.

6. Meerut Malignity

During the few weeks in which the salt Satyagrahis carried on their nefarious campaign, the Police Officers had a very hard time. Two police men were locked in a house for several days and a Police Inspector's life was endangered while executing a distress warrant. There were also several acts of lawlessness in the wake of the

7. The Punjab Plot

The Satyagraha activities in this Province were marked by a wide-spread attempt to subvert Government by terrorism. The use of bombs and other explosives was freely indulged in and several bomb factories were discovered. In some cases the revolutionaries so arranged things that, when the Police arrived at a place after an explosion had taken place, they were injured by another bomb, which had intentionally been kept there so as to explode some time after the first.

8. Lahore Conspiracy

The Assembly Bomb incident and the investigation that followed brought to light a deep plot to murder Government officials by bombs and explosives. Cases of bomb throwing occurred in Lyallpur and other places and an Asst. Commissioner and his servant fell victims to another outrage.

Judgment was pronounced by the Special Tribunal consisting of three High Court Judges constituted to try the Lahore "Conspiracy" case and included sentences of death on three of the accused. The pronouncement of the sentence was followed by demonstrations in Lahore where the police had to disperse bands of students and hartals and meetings were also held in several other towns. Whatever may be the motive which prompts these demonstrations, they can hardly fail to give encouragement to the terrorist movement.

9. Delhi Disaster

Following the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, there was a fairly big demonstration in this City. Several hundreds of people marched in procession through the principal Streets in defiance of the orders of the Magistrate. When the Police enforced the order, a Police Party was attacked from all sides necessitating the opening of fire. In the melee that followed several rowdies took shelter in a Sikh Gurudwara wherefrom they showered stones. The Police had necessarily enter the temple to effect the arrest of the offenders. The Congress volunteers availed themselves of this circumstance to rouse the Sikhs on the pretext that the sanctity of the temple had been profaned.

10. Peshawar Pandemonium

The sporadic raids on the Peshawar Frontier by the trans-border tribes under the leadership of the Hazi Turangzai have been due to the designing activities of Congressmen and the members of the Nawjivan Bhan Sabha who encouraged the tribes telling them that the time was opportune for them to invade India. The Royal Air Force, however, have completely foiled the attempts and the marauders have been obliged to retreat and hide themselves in the hills.

Besides, in Peshawar itself there was great rioting following the arrest of some prominent offenders. A mob numbering several thousands made a determined attack on the Police Station to forcibly liberate the arrested offenders. The situation was rendered

dangerous as to need the assistance of the troops. Meanwhile, the mob attacked a military despatch rider and murdered him. An armoured car was burnt and several other violent acts, which caused very grave concern were indulged in. Finally, the situation had been brought under control by the promulgation of Martial Law, and the punishment of ring-leaders.

11. Mardana Murder

Mr. Murphy, a young Superintendent of Police, who proceeded to Mardana to suppress the rising there which was engineered by the "Red Shirts", a revolutionary party, was murdered and several police men were also injured in the course of a clash between the mob and the police.

12. Calcutta Catastrophe

The City of Calcutta, has been in a state of constant turmoil, ever since the inauguration of the Civil Disobedience Movement. Meetings were held day after day and demonstrations and processions arranged on some pretext or other. Merchants and Businessmen were compelled to suspend business and observe hartal as a protest against the arrest of some leader or other or the action of the authorities. Picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops, often involving breach of peace and attended with intimidation and threat of social boycott was freely indulged in. Then again, there were the terrorist activities by the Revolutionaries, who availed themselves of the opportunity provided by the

Police being engaged in putting down the Civil Resistance Campaign. Several acts of violence were definitely traced to the incitement of the Satyagrah Volunteers. Tram Cars were attacked and set fire to. A liquor godown in Howrah was looted and burnt down. Several Police Officers had been marked down for attack and a Sergeant was stabbed, while walking in the public street. Bombs were thrown in the houses of one or two detective Officers. The Commissioner of Police, Sir Charles Tegart, while he was on his way to office, narrowly escaped from being killed by a bomb which was thrown on him.

A most disconcerting feature of the situation in the City is the participation of immature youths in the movement with the result that some Colleges had to be closed and the University Examination postponed.

During this long period of threatening situation, all ranks of the Police, in spite of long hours of work, often under trying circumstances, behaved in a most splendid manner evoking the admiration of the Government as well as of the peace-loving citizens.

13. Dacca Dacoity

A small quarrel between a Hindu and a Muhumadan, in which the latter was killed developed into serious communal fracaos, involving several casualties both among the rioters and the Police. For several days, the City was in a state of panic, and looting and arson had become common. The Government force had a very trying time and in suppressing these disorder

they displayed great courage and devotion to duty, in spite of the risk to which they were exposed. Subsequent investigation disclosed that a gang of decoits took advantage of the situation created by the civil resistance-wallahs and committed the havoc.

Terrorists and Revolutionaries also availed themselves of the opportunity afforded. It was in this City that Messrs. Lowman and Hodson, the Inspector-General of Police and the Superintendent of Police respectively, were shot, while returning from the hospital. The former has since died, while the latter is slowly recovering. The popularity of Mr. Lowman and the great esteem in which he was held have been demonstrated by the universal condemnation, that followed the happenings, from all classes of people. Though Congressmen declare that their programme is based on non-violence, it cannot be denied that their anti-Government and anti-British propaganda have contributed to this most shocking incident.

14. Kishorganj Massacre

The comparatively small town of Kishorganj on the banks of the Brahmaputra was the scene of a looting and pillage in June last, following the Civil Disobedience Movement. Hooligans and rowdies armed with deadly weapons attacked the Police who had been stationed there for the maintenance of peace and order and in the rioting that followed there were several casualties on both sides involving loss of many lives.

15. Anarchy & Armoury Raid

The Chittagong Armoury Raid on the night of 18-4-1930 furnishes unquestionable evidence of the existence of a widespread Terrorist-movement in that part of the country. About 100 Anarchists, most of them young men, headed by one Ananta Singh, raided the Armoury and carried away Government arms and ammunition. The entire raid appears to have been carefully planned for some time past. The Railway line to Chittagong was tampered with resulting in the wrecking of two trains and consequent cutting off the communication. Similarly telegraph and telephone wires were cut, so as to isolate the town and prevent all manner of communication with outside. A fairly large number of looters dressed like Sepoys made their appearance in motor cars in front of the Armoury. They shot down the sentries. One party posted themselves round the place and kept on firing to prevent the Police from approaching. A second party entered the Armoury and grabbed whatever arms and ammunition they could get. When they found that they were about to be surrounded, they made a hasty retreat to the jungles. Search parties were immediately despatched and after several days of wearisome march, the gang was spotted in an uninhabitable jungle. Thirty of these have been taken into custody. The investigation that followed established the existence of an organised conspiracy to kill Europeans in Chittagong and to stock arms for political dacoities. Further enquiries disclosed that a number of these Anarchists had taken refuge in Chandranagore and were passing under assumed names. Sir Charles Tegart, the Commissioner

of Police, Calcutta, carried out a night raid on their headquarters, took into custody some more Anarchists including a woman and secured several documents which proved the wide-spread nature of the conspiracy. A special Tribunal has already been constituted to try this conspiracy case and the trial may perhaps throw more interesting light. It has since been discovered, that those arrested in connection with the Chittagong Armoury raid, belonged to what is known as the "Indian Republican Army" whose avowed object is to free India from British Domination by violent revolution and terrorism. Elaborate investigation has led to the spotting out of the members constituting the gang and stern measures have been taken to put down their activities.

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was recently passed by the Legislative Council, and which will replace a similar Ordinance, furnishes the Executive with special powers to deal with the movement. Its vigorous use will, it is hoped, bring the movement under effective control, but it has wide ramifications, and the difficulties of preventing isolated outrages are considerable.

It is hoped, that those, who believe in violent methods as a means to secure Swaraj, will realise the futility of their attempts. Let us realise that only by constitutional means we can achieve our object. India's traditional loyalty is universally acknowledged and it is therefore now the duty of every Indian to maintain her fair name unsullied by the mischievous activities of a few.

May the Almighty grant our prayer!!

XII. PUBLIC OPINION

It is argued, that Mahatma Gandhi has been sacrificing his all for the good of the country, but a large section of the people has not approved of his Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience Movements. They have not only stood aloof from the agitation, but have also used their influence to prevent others from lending their support to it.

Patriotism, of course, is a natural impulse and quite praiseworthy, but the laws of the land must be respected. This fundamental principle has been realised by the enlightened and thoughtful people in the country, who have not only felt that Gandhi made a mistake in launching the campaign, but have also openly declared that he has plunged the country in chaos and misery.

There has, however, been another section of the people, who have fully endorsed the action of Gandhi and expressed their resolve to lend their support. A few of these, preferred to wait and see and then act, as occasion demanded. They had not the courage either to decry or uphold Gandhi.

Gandhi entered on his public activities in his 24th year and is now 61 years old. He was a staunch loyalist and had rendered invaluable service in the Boer and Zulu Wars. During the Great War with Germany, he demonstrated his loyalty by calling upon the people to enlist in the Army and subscribe to the war fund. The British people, who were in the throes of a Great War held out promises of self-determination for India and

grant of greater political privileges for Indians in the administration of their country. Later, Gandhi felt that the Britishers were slow to translate their words into deeds and so he conceived the idea of Satyagraha. By this means, he also wished to prevent the Revolutionary Movement from gaining ground and thus earn the good will of the Government. Some of those, who had no faith in the present movement thought to pacify Gandhi, and in this task they enlisted the co-operation of those leaders, who had stood aloof from the movement. These felt that the present impasse had placed obstacles in the way of the Prime Minister and others who had been sincerely anxious to secure Self-Government for India.

There are also those, who deplore the activities of Gandhi, which are a negation of all constitutional methods for winning freedom.

Nevertheless, the unrest began to spread. Allegations have been made, that unarmed and innocent spectators were roughly handled by the Police along with Satyagrahis. Sympathy was expressed for Satyagrahis and the Police were mercilessly ridiculed. Even those, who had stood aloof began to associate themselves with the Law-Breakers.

A large number of Legislators resigned and representations were made to the Viceroy and the Governors regarding the doings of the Police; the promulgation of the Ordinances was considered inopportune and unnecessary and the need for easing the situation was urged. There was also a section of the people who felt that the measures taken by Government were not wholly just.

A fairly large number of innocent citizens, who were merely spectators of the Satyagraha activities are said to have suffered; some received serious injuries and some even suffered death.

Hospitals have been opened for the comforts of wounded Satyagrahis and funds collected. The view generally held that, owing to the presence of a few rowdies among the Satyagrahis, there have been troubles. There are others who think that their activities are not advised and do no good. In some quarters they are, however, applauded. In any case, there has been considerable dissatisfaction of the activities of the Police which, however, were calculated to benefit all the abiding and peaceful citizens. There are those, who think that the arrest of Gandhi complicated the situation and others who feel that the unrest will subside with the release of Gandhi. Then again, there are others, who are prepared to join the Satyagrahis and court imprisonment following the foot-steps of eminent Indians, who have already courted imprisonment which, by the way, has now come to be considered an honour. It should also be noted that there is a section of the people, who endorse the policy of the Government of punishing offenders against the law.

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There are thus varied opinions in respect of the situation. If the people had only understood the genuine intentions of the Government and their actions on the one side and the effects of the law-breakers' activities on the other side, the disorders would not have occurred.

The loyalty of the Indians to the British Government was and is still manifest in the regard and attention that they have for it. There is a general feeling, that it is a happy augury that Lord Irwin happens to be the Viceroy at the present moment. Most of the Provincial Governors are anxious to advance the interests of Indians. Hopes are entertained that the Round Table Conference will be productive of much good. Prayers are being offered to the Almighty for a speedy termination of the deplorable impasse, resulting in harmonious and everlasting fellowship between the Government and the people.

"Truth will triumph."

XIII. H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

(delivered on 9-7-30)

—EXTRACTS—

1. Montagu Reforms

I must now address myself to the subject, which constitutes the principal and daily preoccupation of those concerned with the political future of their country. I desire to speak most frankly, for the gravity of the time requires that I should place all those who hear or read my words in full possession of my thought. I would remind you briefly of the background against which recent events are set. During the last half a century, the development of political thought in India has been a continuous process. Particular events, notably the War quickened the pace with the result, that the value of the Reforms of 1919, marking, though they did, a very definite new departure and affording wide opportunity for public spirited men to serve their country, was in some quarters soon discounted in the forward movement of political opinion. One of the joint authors of those reforms had gained the confidence of political India in a way that it has been given to few British politicians to do. But even the position that Mr. Montagu held in the Indian hearts did not suffice to protect from disparagement the scheme associated with his name. Many influences were at work and, of these, the Reforms were not the

least effective to make it certain, that the nationalist spirit in India would develop and that quickly and that such development would be sought upon the lines that British experience and contact of the political classes with British education and practice naturally suggested.

2. Attainment of Dominion Status

Outside India, this movement was imperfectly appreciated and if, in India, criticism of that had occupied more place upon the stage than constructive thought of what might be, Indians might not, without some justice, reply that Great Britain, preoccupied as she is apt to be with pressing problems nearer home, had been slow to apprehend how rapid a transformation was passing over the Indian outlook; and so, bred of impatience, on one side, and lack of appreciation, mistaken for lack of sympathy, on the other, suspicion grew, aggravating, as the years passed, the difficulty of bringing to bear on these matters from either side the dispassionate judgment, that their complexity demanded.

When I came to India, I came with one dominant conception of the work, which, in this generation any Viceroy must set out to try to do amid all his duties of administration as the head of a great Government. No Viceroy, as it seemed to me, could, for one moment, forget that the principal duty, which he owed alike to those, on whose advice he had been called by the King Emperor to his office and to those whom, for five years

it was his duty and his privilege to serve, was to devote all his energies to the maintenance of a progressive, orderly and contented India within the orbit of the British Commonwealth. It is not necessary for me to recall the influences, naturally centrifugal, at work on the other side. Differences, racial with all that they imply in distinction of thought, differences of religion affecting men's minds the more profoundly, because their operation was more frequently in large degree unconscious, differences of environment and history, these and many more combined to make the task of effecting and preserving true unity between Great Britain and India one, which would strain the capacity of the best material on either side. And yet, I could feel no doubt that it was the one supreme purpose for which my effort was disproportionate.

It was also evident that, looking ahead, it was hardly to be expected that India, rightly sensitive of her self-respect and growing every year more conscious of her national feeling, should, of her own free will, desire to remain indefinitely a partner in the political society of the British Empire upon terms which implied a permanent inferiority of status.

It was for this reason, and with the object of removing avoidable misunderstanding on this vital matter, that His Majesty's Government last year authorised me to declare that, in their view, the attainment of Dominion Status was the natural completion of India's constitutional growth. That declaration was made and stands.

3. Civil Disobedience Condemned

I am only too well aware of the degree to which the calm examination of these questions has been prejudiced by the events, that have engaged the public attention during the last few months. It will be remembered that, following upon my refusal to anticipate the discussions of the Conference, Mr. Gandhi, in spite of my declaration of the purpose of His Majesty's Government and of the free opportunity for mutual co-operation and accord which that Conference was designed to provide, decided to launch a campaign of civil disobedience and proceeded to use his great influence to persuade his countrymen to adopt a course of open defiance of law. Before this reckless plunge had been finally taken, I did my best to give a clear warning of the consequences, that it must involve. But the warning fell upon deaf ears. That campaign has now been in progress for some three months and all of us, whatever be our judgment upon it, must be conscious of the damage in countless directions, that has already been inflicted. Those, who have identified themselves with this movement, would have us regard it as a perfectly legitimate form of political agitation to which resort is had only under the pressure of regrettable necessity. I cannot take that view. In my judgment and in that of the Government, it is a deliberate attempt to coerce established authority by mass action and, for this reason as also because of its natural and inevitable developments, it must be regarded as unconstitutional and dangerously subversive. Mass action, even if it is intended by its promoters to be non-violent,

is nothing but the application of force under another form, and when it has, as its avowed object, the making of Government impossible, a Government is bound either to resist or abdicate.

The present movement is exactly analogous to a general strike in an industrial country which has, for its purpose, the coercion of Government by mass pressure as opposed to argument and which a British Government recently found it necessary to mobilise all its resources to resist. Here it has been sought to employ more dangerous weapons even than this.

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4. Unlawful Association

And the recent resolution of the All-India Working Committee of the Congress, insidiously designed to seduce police and troops from their allegiance, leaves no longer room for doubt of the desperate lengths to which the organisers of the movement are prepared to go and gave the Government no option but to proclaim the body responsible for such a resolution as an unlawful association.

5. Noxious Microbes

He would, in truth, be a false friend of India, who did not do his utmost to protect her from acquiescence in principles so fundamentally destructive. I gladly acknowledge that there have been public men who, in the face of strong opposition, have not been afraid to condemn in unequivocal terms the civil disobedience movement. I could wish their example had been more widely follow-

ed. After all, is it not a very dangerous doctrine to preach to citizens of India that it is patriotic and laudable to refuse to obey laws or to pay taxes? Human nature is often reluctant to do either and, if there is anything certain, it is that, if society is once thoroughly inoculated with these noxious microbes, the disease will perpetually recur until one day it paralyses the Indian Government of the future which, by these methods, it is sought to bring into existence.

Therefore, it is that I have felt bound to combat these doctrines and to arm the Government with such powers, as seem requisite to deal with the situation. I fully realise that in normal times such frequent resort by the Governor-General to the use of his special powers would be indefensible. But the times are not normal, and if the only alternative is acquiescence in the result of efforts openly directed against the constituted Government of the King-Emperor, I cannot, for one moment, doubt on which side my duty lies.

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6. Personal Sympathy

I have never been blind to the fact that, in the circumstances which we are considering, there would inevitably be serious clashes between the forces of Government and that section of the public which supports the movement, and that many persons would thereby unavoidably sustain physical injury. From the first, moreover, it was certain that during the disturbances innocent persons must at times suffer with the guilty. Where this has been the case, I deeply deplore it and

tender my personal sympathy to those concerned. it is necessary to consider where the primary responsibility rests.

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7. Police Work Commended

No good, therefore, is done by shutting our eyes where the original blame must lie and whatever criticism there may be of those, whose task it is to put out conflagration, speaking generally, I have nothing but commendation for the servants of Government, both civil and military, who have been doing their duty with steadiness and courage in conditions of the severest provocation and often of direct risk to their lives. Several, I speak of the Police, have been brutally murdered and in many cases they and their families subjected daily to the grossest forms of persecution. I am glad to know that several Local Governments have sanctioned for them allowances for the extra duties which they have had to perform and have not been backward in bestowing rewards for exceptionally meritorious service.

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8. India's Friend

Gentlemen, I have only a short time left of my official term of office and I would anticipate its end by concluding that, what I have sought to say is rather that of a friend than as the Viceroy and Governor-General. And when I look back over the time I have spent in India, I can recall no occasion on which I have consciously sought to work for anything but India's good. I believe

I can claim to have learnt something of the feelings that fill the hearts of many Indians of all classes and all shades of thought, who have been good enough to extend to me a friendship, which I shall hope to enjoy long after I have said good-bye to India and the present troubles are left behind.

9. Greatness of India

India is a country, the scale of whose history and physical features alike condemn those who would take small views. The monuments with which her land is enriched attest the faith and perseverance of her master craftsmen and reprove those who would believe that any other qualities can serve the constitution-builder, who builds not for himself but for futurity.

10. Solution of the Riddle

I believe, as I have said often, that the right and best solution of the riddle of India will be found only by Great Britain and India joining together in the search, but this demands faith, the faith which we are at times tempted to think only a miracle could now give in the measure dictated by our necessities; and many would have us believe that the age of miracles is past. Yet in India, more than elsewhere there is the capacity to apprehend the spiritual power by which things apparently impossible are brought to pass and I at least cannot doubt that, could we but recapture the spirit of mutual trust between our two countries, we should, in so doing, liberate invincible forces of faith to remove those mountains, which have lately hemmed us round.

I am in a better position than others here to know the effect, that would have been produced in Great Britain if the hand of friendship that she extended last November had been generously grasped in the same spirit by those, who could speak for India. Many things said subsequently on both sides would have been said differently or remain unsaid. New misunderstandings would have been avoided and the whole setting of the problem would have been favourable to a more just appreciation of the several points of views, that have to be brought in harmony. It seems therefore an utter tragedy that, at the moment when the chances of settlement were perhaps better than they have ever been, and the stage was set for a free and unbiassed consideration of the whole problem, the party of the Congress should have thrown aside the finest opportunity that India ever had, I would hope that it might yet not be too late for wiser counsels to prevail, by which all the political thought of India might be harnessed to the task of welding into unity the elements that compose her life and in conjunction with Great Britain, devising the best means for giving constitutional expression to them.

11. Partner in a Free Commonwealth

Thus two roads to-day lie open, one leading, as I think to turmoil, disunity, disappointment and shattered hopes; the other guiding those who follow it to the India of our dreams, a proud partner in a free Commonwealth of Nations, lending and gaining strength by such honourable association. India to-day has to make her choice. I pray God she may be moved to choose aright.

XIV. THE PRESENT SITUATION

The present conflict between the Satyagrahis, whose avowed object is to break the laws, and Government servants, whose duty is to maintain peace may appear to spectators as an event for enjoyment, but such enjoyments are surely Satanic, when two parties are engaged in a grim struggle, each determined to carry out its object. Spectators gather in large numbers, when the armed Police are engaged in preventing the unlawful activities of Satyagrahis. It cannot be said that all those, who mingle with the crowds are followers of Gandhi. It is not uncommon that they come there for recreation and unnecessarily expose themselves to risk. Sympathy has been expressed for the Satyagrahis for their self-imposed sufferings in the interests of the country. A feeling of hatred against the Police has been unwarrantedly created by the deplorable events.

The Satyagrahis, who engaged themselves in such a dangerous game are entirely responsible for the consequences that followed, even as the man is, who foolishly sets his own roof on fire and repents for it afterwards. When fire appears in one corner, it must be put out at once; otherwise, it will spread and work havoc. Similarly, one unlawful act is bound to bring in its train many more resulting in chaos. The Satyagrahis also know this. It is therefore unfair and improper to decry the Government and the Police, who are bound to act as

they had, in the discharge of their duties. The present disorders have provided occasions for the people to assess the nature of the love between Gandhi and the people on the one side and realise the evil consequences of activities of the Satyagrahis on the other.

The net result of the agitation has been universal suffering in India, irrespective of wealth or power or caste or creed. And there has also been a general feeling amongst a few biased people, that Government, in the name of law and order, have resorted to unnecessary harsh measures.

But the problems that face the Government at the present moment are innumerable. There is, therefore, no use in blaming the Government for what they do without taking into consideration the situation, that they have to face. It must, however, be said that great constraint and sympathy have been shown by the Government in handling the situation. It is not the aim of Government nor does it please them to imprison or assault or kill the people. On the other hand, they are actuated by a sense of their responsibility to maintain peace and order in the interests of the people.

The Working Committee of the All India Congress was declared an unlawful Association in the United Provinces towards the end of June, and the President and Secretary were then arrested at a meeting held subsequently in Bombay. The Committee showed clearly that they were opposed to the abandonment of the Civil Disobedience Movement and they determined to continue

their lawless activities without regard to the damage, economic and otherwise that it is causing to the country. When they announced their intention of holding a meeting at Delhi, the Committee were accordingly declared an unlawful association in that province and when the meeting was held in defiance of the declaration, nine members and the Secretary were arrested and convicted and sentenced to 6 months' simple imprisonment each. The arrests were carried out on the 27th of August, without disturbance, and although hartals and demonstrations were held in some places, less public interest was shown than might have been expected.

Reports received from the local Governments relate only to particular incidents, and there is little of general interest to record. The educational boycott is losing strength and picketing at the Allahabad University has been abandoned, owing, largely, to the opposition of the students themselves.

Boycott of foreign goods is still effective, and remains the main success of the Congress. The consequent distress of many thousands of Indian dealers is increasing, but their growing discontent with the Civil Disobedience Movement has not yet taken the form of open revolt. The dislocation of trade is responsible for the closure of more mills in Bombay, where the labour situation is serious.

Generally the enthusiasm for the civil disobedience movement is on the wane, but as its failure becomes more pronounced, the activities of those, who favour violence, are likely to increase.

1. Terrorist Outrages

There were attempts to commit terrorist crime in Bengal, the United Provinces, the Frontier Province and in the Punjab and in practically every case, the intended victims have been members of the police. In several cases, innocent members of the public have been killed or injured, and although no fatalities have occurred among the police, several have suffered injuries. In the Punjab two outrages which might have had serious consequences had been attempted. The first occurred at Rawalpindi, when a bomb was thrown in the middle of a party of 50 police, but providentially did not explode. The second was a daring attempt at Lahore to kill the Indian Superintendent of Police, who was engaged in the investigation of the Lahore Conspiracy Case. A number of revolver-shots were fired at his car at short range, and two of the occupants were injured. More than 30 outrages have occurred in the Punjab in less than a year, and although a number of arrests have been made within the past month, it is clear that the terrorist movement is still active. The Police have recently obtained evidence which, it is hoped, will materially assist in disorganising the violence party and in unravelling several important outrages that have occurred within the past year. It is, of course, too much to hope that these successes will bring the movement under effective control, for owing largely to the unrestrained appeals made to youths for some months past and to the exaltation of assassins as national heroes, the terrorist party has obtained a large number of recruits who must remain a source of potential danger.

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General Situation in the Provinces up to 31-10-1930:—

2. The Madras Presidency

The unrest caused by the civil disobedience activities in this Presidency, have become negligible and it may be said to have completely subsided. Several Satyagrahis have tendered apologies and were released and others are excepted to follow suit.

3. The Bombay Presidency

There have been a few cases of breaches of peace in the districts owing to picketing. Normal conditions have returned in Guzerat, but Bombay City continues to give cause for anxiety.

Labour Situation in Bombay City.

In the Bombay city, the labour situation is steadily growing worse. More than 45,000 mill-hands are now out of work, and although the local Government are doing their best to send them at Government expense to their homes in the districts, many of them are unwilling to return as the harvest operations are now well advanced, and there is little work for them to do. * *

Boycott of foreign goods is the main plank of the Congress and in Bombay attempts are being made to extend picketing to provision and other shops. The revolt of the Indian dealers is growing, and several provinces report that foreign cloth is being sold openly in many places, but so far as the purchase of new stocks is concerned, there has not yet been a definite break away

from boycott in the large distributing centres, where trade conditions remain in a deplorable state.

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Only some time back minor clashes occurred between the police and a party of mill-hands in Gujarat. The position shows little change. In one district, the growing tendency towards violence is manifest, and there have been three attacks on the police, in spite of a little improvement in the situation. In Gujarat, the recent election to the legislature resulted in a very small proportion of the total number of votes being recorded for the non-Mahomedan seat. The local Government are taking vigorous action against organised defiance of the forest laws following the declaration of various associations as unlawful. Action has been taken to break up the camps of volunteers and this has led to clashes between the police and the villagers who, in several places, have abandoned all pretence of non-violence.

In many villages of the districts concerned, their headquarters are often established in the finest house in a village, and serve as a centre from which volunteers and other workers incite the people of the countryside to commit breaches of the law and to refuse payment of land revenue.

For some weeks past, a vigorous campaign has been in progress to persuade people not to pay the next instalment of land revenue. The declaration, as unlawful, of associations responsible for these activities and the occupation of the headquarters of the more important of them by the Police should have a salutary effect on the situation.

Chirnar Shooting

In Colaba District, for some time past, local Congress Committees have been organising wholesale looting of forest products and on several occasions they were successful in doing considerable damage to forests. Towards the end of September, a small party of police and forest guards arrested a number of leaders who had engaged in these lawless activities, but were met by a mob of about 5,000 who surrounded them in a narrow valley and from the hill sides above threw boulders and large blocks of wood on them. They also attacked them with scythes and hatchets. The Police were compelled to open fire and kill several of the rioters, but three of their number and a forest guard were brutally battered to death and a revenue officer was accidentally killed by his own friends. This incident illustrates the almost inevitable effects of the appeals to the avarice and credulity of ignorant villagers.

4. The United Provinces

Picketing of liquor shops and educational institutions, which had assumed a serious turn in many of the towns is gradually abating in intensity. There have been many clashes between the Police and the people, involving serious injuries to both.

There are indications of waning enthusiasm but, although picketing of educational institutions has slackened, it is still causing trouble in one or two towns. Active assistance given by certain local authorities to the movement is a matter of some concern.

A collision occurred between the Police and a crowd of Congress supporters in the Bulandshar District. The Police had to fire in order to stop the attack on the police station and in the affray a Sub-Inspector lost his life. During the first half of September, there were several other instances in which violence had been used. It is also found that the type of Congress Volunteers has deteriorated, and they are now largely out-of-work tenants and other persons of even lower status brought in from villages. Recently, there has been much improvement, but activities in some districts have made it necessary for the Local Government to declare unlawful a number of local associations.

5. The Punjab

There have been no serious disorders in this Province, but the Akalis activities are giving cause for concern.

The Government report from the Punjab is particularly reassuring. The movement generally has declined in vigour and with the exception of two or three districts, has reached a stage approaching stagnation. Congress meetings are far less frequent, and in a number of places, Congress Offices have closed down. Whereas a few months ago, loyalists were subjected to insult and abuse, they are now treated with respect. The number of prosecutions has much decreased, while the number of apologies is increasing. Although a hard blow has been struck at the Terrorist movement, there is the danger of further outrages. Efforts are still being made by a student agitation to foment Sikh discontent, although the Sikhs are unwilling to act in co-operation with the Congress.

6. The N. W. F Province

Here also the unrest may be said to have subsided. The situation near Peshawar is returning to normal, owing to the punitive action undertaken by the Royal Air Force against the offending tribes. The Afridis and the Haji of Turangazai have been driven back.

The general improvement in the situation is due largely to the fact that the people are now convinced by hard facts that the stories of collapse of the British power are mythical. At the same time, the influence is increasing of the supporters of law and order.

7. The Central Provinces

The situation in this Province, no doubt, was somewhat serious necessitating the use of fire arms by the Police and some stern measures. A large number of lawbreakers have been imprisoned.

Forest Laws Disobedience

The unscrupulous nature of this propaganda, may be illustrated by certain features of breach of the forest laws for some time past. In several districts, the tale was deliberately spread that the British Raj had ceased, and that Mr. Gandhi had given the forests to the people for their free and unrestricted use. The result was that people did serious damage to the forests, until prompt action by the Local Government convinced them that the British administration was functioning. With their disillusionment on this point, the main influence of the Congress was gone. Recently the agitation is reported to be on the

10. Bengal

There has been much continued improvement in the general situation of the Province. Picketing of Educational Institutions has been definitely dropped and the harm done till now is indicated by the fact that in two colleges alone, more than 9,000 daily units of study had been lost.

this connection, it may be observed that the Civil Disobedience movement has conspicuously failed to impair the working of the Legislative Councils or the administration by the Ministers of the Transferred Departments except in so far as it has weakened the financial resources of the Provincial Government both by reduction of revenue and increase of expenditure, the unfortunate consequences of which have been seriously to curtail the beneficent activities of Local Governments to the grave injury of the public.

The prospects that public opinion will play an effective part in the disruption of the Civil Disobedience movement are now better, than at any time, since the movement began. There are unmistakeable signs that popular resentment is increasing in various directions. The intransigent attitude of the Congress leaders during the peace conversations and their disregard for the sufferings of others have strengthened the position of the Government supporters and have shaken the confidence of many Congress followers. The methods of domination which have been an outstanding feature of the Congress programme have aroused apprehensions of the minority communities, and have stiffened their opposition.

The attempted boycott of educational institutions has created reaction among the parents and students. The boycott of foreign goods and the widespread loss it has caused to Indians are gradually but surely alienating from the Congress the sympathy of an important section of the Hindu middle classes, on whose support the Congress programme largely depends. Most of the Provinces report that it is being sold openly in many places,

but it is not clear whether the sales are of existing or new stocks. In the main distributing centres, there has not yet been widespread and open defiance of Congress although there is reason to believe that in some of them secret sales are being carried on. Lastly, the wrong impression produced by the Congress agents, claiming an assured success for their programme and their early accession to power, is rapidly evaporating. It may still have an ephemeral effect in some rural areas, but it is not a factor, which will seriously postpone the inevitable collapse of the movement.

It is not to be assumed, from what has been said above, that the Congress has exhausted their capacity for mischief. Its leaders have declared their intention to carry on the Civil Disobedience movement with unabated vigour, and there is no reason to suppose that they will not attempt to give effect to their intentions without regard to its evil consequences to the country. There are already signs of a recrudescence of the salt campaign and efforts will doubtless be made to stir up rural areas, where conditions are favourable to non-payment of Government dues and sporadic trouble may occur in consequence. Endeavours will also be made to maintain and even tighten the boycott of foreign goods. It is also possible, that the Congress will try to whip up the flagging enthusiasm by the adoption of new devices, although so many have been tried and failed, that their ingenuity will be put to a severe test. On the whole while there is good reason to take a sanguine view of the future there is no justification for any relaxation of efforts.

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11. Arbitration Committees

There has been some talk in the Congress quarters of an attempt to set up in some directions a parallel system of Government. The idea appears at present confined to the institution of committees of arbitration in Civil and Criminal cases combined with social pressure when recognition is not given to these so-called courts. A similar experiment was tried during the non-co-operation movement in 1921-22, and definitely failed. There is no reason to suppose that, if, it is repeated, it will meet with any measure of success, and it appears not impossible that it has been put forward at this stage as a spectacular move which may revive the flagging interest. The movement has not shown any particular development.

12. No-Tax Campaign

It was after a prolonged and mature consideration of the situation now prevalent in the Bardoli Taluka that the farmers there, have decided to vacate and desert their homes with bag and baggage. In 1928, Bardoli people alone fought for their self redress; this time induced and encouraged by the Congress Committee, two other Talukas, are said to stand shoulder to shoulder with Bardoli,—and that other centres also are getting ready for No-Tax strike.

The effect of these unlawful strikes are not likely to be simple. To the Government it may perhaps cause some slight disorganisation in the beginning and some worry to the Revenue Officials in the discharge of their duties; but to the strikers, it is quite sure to bring, in the

light of the new Ordinance,—endless suffering such as:—distrain warrants, confiscation of property, prosecutions and countless other injuries to person and property.

For weeks past, it is said that the peasants had expected the worst and resolved to quit their own lands, cattle and homes. The plan of evacuation is proceeding silently and it is reported that in some villages, it was carried out so quietly that even the Police were unaware. The Bombay Government have already commenced taking necessary action to realise the revenue.

Crops on Fire

Anticipating pressure from the official side for the collection of arrears as well as revenue, early in October, the Congress Volunteers had instructed the people to gather and realise as much of the crop as possible, before the officials appeared on the spot; whether that work of harvesting is completed or not, the advice from the head-quarters, was to vacate the villages before the arrival of the Police. That advice is being largely adhered to. Where the crops cannot be harvested, some of the ryots have gone to the extreme limit of setting fire to them, so that they may not fall into official hands.

A mad idea indeed!—

Loss of Ten Crores

The extent of the sacrifice these Bardoli people have made to keep up their promise to Gandhiji, is very incredible. It is said that crops on about 1,17,000 acres, will be abandoned and lands and houses valued at about

ten crores of rupees will be vacated, to be disposed of as the Government may think fit. This destructive demonstration of the Tax-Strikers, is sure to create many unexpected losses and dangers not only to themselves, but also to the peace-loving people in general. May God help the Crown and the Country to ward off all such evils.

13. The new Loans

A most redeeming feature, in spite of the present tense situation, is the ready response to the Government of India Loans recently announced. First the entire amount of 30 crores was subscribed by Indians which affords ample proof of the confidence of the people in the Government. There can, therefore, be no question of repudiation of India's debt as Gandhi suggested. Secondly, that the sterling loan of 12 millions floated by about the middle of October, was subscribed for in about half an hour in London is proof positive of the confidence, enjoyed by the Government.

14. Newspapers

One of the measures taken by Government in the direction of suppressing the present unrest is the control of newspapers. Some have been suppressed and others have been called upon to furnish security to prevent them from rousing the people and lending their support to the unrest.

Some newspapers furnished security, while others declined and ceased publication. 140 newspapers have thus been stopped. Madras—18; Bombay—35; The Punjab—

25; Delhi—25; The United Provinces—13; Bengal—9; Burma—5; Assam—4; The N. W. F. Province—3; The Central Provinces—2; Berar—1; total 140.

It is also understood, that securities have been demanded from several other newspapers. In the light of the above facts, the inference is irresistible, that all these papers have given publicity to anti-Government sentiments by advocating Civil Disobedience.

The Press Ordinance has automatically lapsed on 27—10—30. Some securities deposited with the Government are being refunded.

15. Jail - a Hermitage

Some of the Volunteers, who have been sent to jail have courted imprisonment in the wrong belief that it is an honour to follow the footsteps of leaders who were actuated by a sense of patriotism and service to the country. Prison has come to be considered mostly as a place of penance and this unwise idea has captured the imagination of some people. A deplorable feature in the present unrest is the humiliation to which many Indian women have been subjected in their premature desire to ape men in politics. They have deserted their homes and children and have almost cast aside their traditional modesty and are courting imprisonments very willingly.

16. Commercial Crisis

Perhaps a most distressing feature of the present unrest is the serious losses which merchants dealing in British goods were put to by their inability to dispose of the stock on hand. Owing to uncertain political condi-

tions, the exchange was affected and trade had come to a standstill. Many mills have closed down in Bombay involving the unemployment of 70,000 workmen. But recently the situation has changed and there has been a substantial reduction in the number of unemployed mill labourers. Calcutta and Madras have also been affected. Unemployment has spread and the whole situation is gloomy from the point of view of both the Government and the people. These difficulties and sufferings could have been avoided, if Gandhi had only waited with some patience.

17. Peace Move

The statement made by the Viceroy in July last, gave fresh hope and instilled confidence in the people, as to the scope of the Round Table Conference. The need for the presence of leaders representing different political parties at the Conference with a view to evolve an agreed constitution has been recognized. The Viceroy and the Prime Minister have been taking the necessary steps in this direction.

As the presence of Mahatma Gandhi at the Conference was considered to be essential, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar, waited in deputation on the Viceroy for permission to carry on negotiations. The Viceroy acceded to their request and afforded all facilities to carry out their mission. Instructions were issued to the Provincial Governors concerned to afford facilities to the Peace-Makers to interview Gandhi and other leaders and some good progress was made in this direction.

Unfortunately, in spite of the best and sincere efforts of the Peace-Makers for over two months under very great personal inconveniences, the peace-move became a failure. However, most of the Indians are well aware of and appreciate more, the well-meant conciliatory constructive policy of His Excellency the Viceroy, than the destructive dilemma displayed by the democratic Congress Leaders.

18. Apologies & Pledges

Evidence from various sources confirms the decline of popular enthusiasm in the Civil Disobedience movements, and the growth of dissatisfaction against the Congress methods. A sure sign of the declining interest is the growing tendency for convicted persons to obtain remission of their sentences by offering apologies and pledges of future abstention from lawless activities. Despite the efforts made to belittle the Round Table Conference, and hold up to contempt the Indian delegates who are attending it, there is increasing recognition of its importance.

19. The King to open Conference

His Majesty the King-Emperor will formally inaugurate the Round Table Conference at noon on the 12th November in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords. The first meeting will take place on 17th November at St. James's Palace. It is now clearly understood that Indian States' delegation are prepared to support full Dominion Status for British India and

enter a federal union under conditions generally acceptable to the Indian public provided the Princes' dynastic and personal rights are safeguarded.

20. United Front

The prospective agreement of Hindus, Moslems and Princes would enable a substantially united front to be presented at the Conference and as the Government of India also recommend Dominion Status subject to certain reservations Sir T. B. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Sir A. P. Patra and other delegates are becoming hopeful. The prospects of a communal settlement also have increased as the result of preliminary conversations.

God's Help! "All is well—that ends well."!

XV. BLESSINGS OF THE BRITISH RULE

Even to-day we sometimes hear of the troubles our forefathers suffered and the sad condition of the country before our present benign British Government came into possession of India.

In those days there were no good roads. The common foot-paths throughout the country which often lay through valleys and tablelands and dense forests, were infested with wild beasts and unscrupulous robbers. There was no little anxiety about the person that had gone on journey, until he or she came back safe. There were tolerably good roads only in the vicinities of large towns. Now under the British administration, wild forests have been converted into smiling fields of verdure yielding plenty and a net work of roads connecting different parts of the country has made travel easy, and safe as well, being guarded by the police.

The Thugs and the Pindaris have been put down, who have now settled down as quiet farmers. Communication from one part of the country to another was very difficult in those days; but now, the man at Peshawar in the North acquaints himself with the welfare of his friend or relative at Cape Comorin in the South, several hundreds of miles away from him, in a day or two by means of a half anna post-card, or in such a short period as an hour or two, by means of a twelve annas Telegram. There again is the telephone for those who desire to meet a distant relative or friend in direct conversation. Steamships serve as highways of communication along the seas and

passage of passengers and imports and exports are facilitated by them. Railways and Aeroplanes and Motor Cars have been introduced to convey people and transport goods from one part of the country to another at considerably cheap cost. Dams and embankments have been thrown across large rivers and their water is being conveyed to feed lakes and tanks or along channels for irrigation direct, instead of their emptying themselves into the sea uselessly. Dry and barren lands have been converted into wet and cultivable lands, wherever possible. This has contributed in no small degree towards the material prosperity of the people, who, in consequence, have become highly rich and commercial and civilised.

By these means has, the danger of long and frequent famines from which the Land suffered and spoken of in the Puranas, been averted. The severity of famines is easily averted by articles of food stuffs available in plenty in other parts of the country being conveyed to the affected areas. Thus, there can be almost no danger of utter dearth of any article of consumption in any locality, though there may be a naturally be slight rise in prices. Many barren deserts have been converted into smiling fields yielding plenty. Produce has thus been increased and the ryots are able to send to other places their surplus produce. There have been no such facilities in those days as we now have, and a province had to suffer its own loss or enjoy its own profit. But now wealth is almost equally distributed in the land that losses or profits do not affect particular parts only, but all people share them in due proportion.

Human sacrifices, Infanticide, Sati, and other similar cruel practices have all been put an end to. To ensure

administration of Justice impartially, without any distinction as to wealth or birth or caste. Laws have been enacted, and Judges have been appointed throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Machinery to manufacture cloth, to press oil seeds, to produce sugar and to hull rice as well as to smelt and cast iron and other metals, are easily available. There are also innumerable kinds of machinery for other manufacturing industries. The rare wisdom of this ancient land embedded in manuscript on palm leaves has all been transferred to beautiful books with glazed papers, ornamental types and attractive pictures with the aid of Printing Presses, thus making them most easy to be read and available for all. Electricity, which is said to have been known to the people of India as far back as the time of King Nala, is now applied to turn out immense work. Medicines for Small-pox, Plague, etc., are freely administered to the sufferers in charitable Hospitals, established all over the land. Schools have been established for the spread of Education.

It is a fact well known to all that, under British administration, the people of India belonging to diverse religions are allowed to follow their own observances and beliefs, without the least interference either from the Government or from any other conflicting religionists. Freedom of speech is allowed and training in the art of Government is given to the people by the grant of Local Self-Government in large Municipalities, some of whom are subsequently made members of Legislative Councils and some others members of the Executive Councils also. Thus a taste has been created in us to interest ourselves

in administration, so that, after efficient training under prudent control, we may be fit to render greater assistance in the Government of the country and gradually to govern ourselves under the benign and beneficent control of the British.—The present Royal Commission is intended to achieve this object.

May God grant long lease of life to the British Raj that has thus conferred untold blessings on the millions of her Indian subjects, whom she has been fostering with maternal care and sympathy!—

XVI. OUR DUTY

The present unrest has been marked, not only by unlawful activities, but also by active support to those engaged in anti-Government movement. A large number of family women and students have identified themselves with anti-Government activities, forgetting their primary responsibilities. All these are, of course, seditious activities and they are opposed to India's honour and our ancient ideals and traditions.

I invite Indians to carefully go through the following pages and dispassionately judge my observations. I am one like you and am sincerely anxious about India's prosperity and welfare. When you know the realities, I am sure, you will not go astray.

1. Royal Magnificence

"Friends!—The results of the Civil Disobedience Movement are extremely deplorable. It were much better if events had not taken the turn they have. Ignorance of one's duties is the cause of all these mishaps. Man has diverse functions to perform towards his parents, his brothers, his teachers and disciples, his neighbours, his God, and the Sovereign of the realm. Of these, the duty he owes to his sovereign stands pre-eminent. Man's indebtedness to another is finite;—but his indebtedness towards his sovereign is infinite. Hence to man on earth there is no man higher than the King."

Of millions of living beings that come into the world, how insignificant is the number of men? Among those born as men, how small is the number of those born free from the taint either of ancestral infamy or bodily impurity? And even among those born as such, is there that blessed being only one, who, pre-eminent among all, is invested with the sacred function of protecting all the rest? As the result of infinite good deeds in former births, he is born to the splendours of royalty. Being invested with the responsibility of guarding the subjects, he might well be regarded as the very incarnation of Mahā Vishnu. Thus all the east of the world should do him service and watch over his interests, be subject to him, over to his control, and be punished or pardoned by him; and that every atom on the face of the earth belongs only to the sovereign—these, you shall understand clearly. If, in spite of these, men breed confusion in the land against the wishes of the sovereign and bring him into contempt, they will become enemies of God, and suffering shall be their lot. This is a patent fact. A region without the king is like unto a desert. It is therefore, absolutely essential that every man born to that high position should act in conformity with the wishes of the sovereign and promote the prosperity of the land.

2. Laudable Loyalty

"Loyalty to the sovereign is the foremost of one's duties. The English, the Mahomedans and all other renowned nations on the face of the earth are agreed

that loyalty is the cardinal duty of man. The Vedas and the Shastras—the Manavadharma Shastra, the Code of Manu, and the Code of Sukra, and such other Shastras—declare that Disloyalty is the worst of all sins and that the traitor to the sovereign will be punished both in this birth and in the next. That one cannot become a sovereign without something divine in him should be familiar to everyone. Under a wise sovereign, people, free from bondage, enjoy their respective privileges; life and wealth, the elixir of life, are protected; disorder and injustice are suppressed and order and law maintained; education, trade, and civilisation receive an impetus; and everyone may indulge in free discussion and be loyal to his religious creed. To the State that can confer such blessings on us, it is our duty to be ever grateful. There is no sin more heinous than Ingratitude. He that has committed a crime of any other kind may go unpunished; but he, that is guilty of the crime of Ingratitude can never hope for immortality. The traditional Indian Loyalty, towards our King Emperor and his representatives,—must be manifested clearly in all our actions."

3. Citizens' Civility

"The total population of India according to the last available census is nearly 320 millions, or about 1-5th of the whole world. There are no less than 2,300 different castes with many sub-gradations, using 222 different languages. Out of these, nearly 217 millions are Hindus; 69 millions are Mahomedans and 34 millions are other castes, including Christians, Buddhists, Jains,

etc., with only 16 in every thousand males, and 2 in every thousand females, being literate."

"Hinduism differs from the Religions of the West in that it aims to regulate the every day life of the Hindu and makes his outlook fundamentally different from that of any other creed known to man. It comprises one-eighth of the population of the globe and one half of that inhabiting the British Empire."

"At present, our country is passing through a critical period in her history. In the political field a bitter struggle is in progress and in trade and industry there is wide-spread depression. Great-hearted men and women are at all times needed, but perhaps never before was there such need for the application of courage, character, judgment and toleration. It is true, we are not now so fanatic and intolerant as to persecute others, because their religious opinions differ from our own, but we have still amongst us causes for estrangement due to this difference and we must remove them altogether. It is only when these conditions entirely disappear and we feel we are all one in spirit, that we can have real unity. But let us remember that unity cannot be real, if it is based on political considerations calculated to benefit any one community. Trying to keep down any community, or working to further the interest of one community, to the detriment of another on the ground of differences of creed or what is known as caste, must be considered as great a crime, as the persecutions of the medieval times. No people or community can prosper by such a crime and no success can be a compensation to any community for the wound inflicted on another by denying the usual common human rights."

"Under these circumstances and considering the present situation of our country, I would earnestly appeal to all Hindu and Moslem friends to think and act as common citizens of this great country, in spite of their religious differences, since the interests of both the communities and the common good of the country demand mutual co-operation; and real unity is very essential in all our undertakings."

"Creation of good understanding between the rulers and the ruled constitutes another important duty; what is essential to effect this is Education. Without education one cannot realise the significance of State affairs, or how one should conduct oneself in regard to them. Ignorance in these matters will not be conducive to harmony between the ruling authority and the subjects. Out of this ignorance manifold evils arise. An educated man should make it his constant duty to interpret the real views of the people to the Government and the beneficial or evil results that flow from the doings of the Government to the people, by means of sober and discriminating newspapers and well-regulated meetings."

"It is heinous crime for one devoid of ample education and experience to assume the onerous office of Editorship, and, with confident egotism, to publish in newspapers matters that are likely to estrange the rulers and the subjects and thus bring about much harm. It is therefore an important duty of a wise man to establish concord between the Government and the subjects, whenever possible and save the land from evil consequences."

"When the Sovereign, whose duty it is to guard the interests of his subjects against their aggressive neigh-

bours, foes, thieves, dangerous beasts, etc., demands taxation, it forms part of the duties of his subjects to pay up regularly their respective dues to the Government, without any murmur. It may sometimes seem that the taxes levied as such, or certain measures adopted by the Government are not after the hearts of the people; on such occasions, instead of vainly setting themselves up against the state, it should be their duty to act up to the laws and awaiting a fitting opportunity to represent their grievances and obtain constitutional redress for them. To stand in opposition to the State, and, in consequence, to court ruin on oneself and on others is monstrous."

4. Ladies' Legitimate Duty

"Giving a stimulus to Education in the land is another important duty. If it is essential for men to be educated, equally so is it for women. If mothers lack knowledge, children are bred up in ignorance and remain unwise. Experience shows us that the educated section of a country is in every way better than the uneducated. If the son be learned, self-respecting, benevolent, and capable of bringing renown to the family of his birth and that of his relations, and if he is patriotic besides, there is not a woman more blessed than she who begot and reared up such a son. An educated woman is better fitted to manage the family with prudence than one who has no education. She alone will be considered educated who is able to manage the family properly, has a clear knowledge of her husband's financial resources and spends the money in righteous ways, is chaste and obedient to her husband's will, and rears up

children filled with love to God, love to the Sovereign, love to the Guru and love to Ancestors. To acquire this efficiency is the main object of Female Education. It is but reasonable to point out that, when there is unrest in the land and want of harmony between the rulers and the ruled, it is possible for the women of the land, by their virtues or vices, to allay or intensify the misunderstanding."

"It is authentically believed that some wicked men, anxious that their disloyal actions may soon materialise got into the confidence of credulous and innocent women and sowed seeds of unrest in the land by inducing them to disloyal activities. This has obliged some of the Indian ladies, not only to desert the sacred duty of rearing up their innocent and loving children, but also neglect to look to the conveniences and comforts legitimately due to their beloved husbands and to other dependents, in their sweet homes."

"Just like males, they have come forward boldly to the arena of politics to put up an open fight. Imitating the actions of their sisters in some other parts of the world, they got themselves unnecessarily mixed up with the Civil Disobedience movement, heedless of their hereditary family prestige and their proverbial Indian modesty, and were miserably punished for disobedience of the laws. It is therefore, the duty of every woman who has had the benefit of education to refuse to be drawn into activities that have never been theirs."

"India needs to-day ladies, who understand their own legitimate duties and what real love of country means, and act upon that understanding without letting

themselves to be carried away by fitful emotions or by the social or political currents of the present-day movements. Their mature wisdom should teach them to co-operate with the Government and help them as well as their own people, by keeping themselves abreast of the times, and taking note of the circumstances of the country. Now it will be the Golden duty of an educated Indian woman to impress the youths of both sexes in their charge, from their very infancy as to the impropriety of their taking part in controversial political matters, and to point out clearly the evils likely to happen to the country and to themselves, by such actions on their part. Besides, she should also teach them that it is always their sacred duty to be loyal and make them correctly understand the advantages accruing therefrom by reciting many instances from Puranas and current topics thus befitting them, when they arrive at years of discretion, to follow the affairs of State with intelligence. If women were to act in conformity with this principle, they would certainly realise the benefits of education; and, of a certainty, the children of the land would all be loyal to the core."

"Even as Lord Jesus has said in his sermon on the Mount, Duty and Piety are the two first things to be sought after by all women, and Beauty and Goodness will then be added to them."

5. Students' Responsibility

"To those of you children that may happen to read or hear this, a few words about you may not be out of place. The good or evil that may accrue to the country

through you—the younger generation—is more potent than that through us, the older generation. You, that are young to-day will, become the citizens of to-morrow. This is the Kali-Yug. In this connection a great poet says as follows:—

"The time when mothers' counsels will be contradicted, the father to whom reverence is due, will be spurned, the venerable Guru will be blamed, the real God will be most disregarded, and the demon will, instead, be propitiated.—This is the time most beneficial to the vicious. The time when the wife is allowed to indulge in unrestrained abuse of her lord, the time when grey hairs will not be respected, the time when the great will lose their merit and the base will become renowned, the time when those defeated in battle will be respected, the time beneficial to tale-bearers—this is the genius of the Iron-Age suited only to the unjust and the vain."

"Therefore, in evil days like these unless you conduct yourselves with care and wisdom, no good will come to you. Remember a great burden rests particularly on your shoulders. Through your good or evil conduct, good or evil to the country will ensue. With a clear knowledge of this and, in obedience to the saying, "the words of the aged are as Nectar" not disregarding the words of the aged, distinguishing right from wrong, steadfast in the paths of virtue, should you really take part in, and direct the affairs of, the State prudently when you have arrived at the age of discretion and have the proper measure of wisdom, it is then you will reap the fruits of your birth."

"During your youth when you are not in a position to understand the mysteries of State organisation and the secrets thereof, it will not become you either to discuss or to take part in them. At the first stage, the secrets of the State may not, in all likelihood, be evident to you, youths as you are; they may all appear positive evils to you. Relying on the management of the great who excel you in wisdom, age and experience, and without intermeddling in affairs, that do not belong to you, you should, at this age, stand aloof and watch the current of events and the issues thereof."

"It is possible that a deed done to-day may bear fruit ten years hence; therefore—Oh ye young! you should watch the ways of the great silently and grow wise in their wisdom. Knowledge acquired through experience, is certainly superior to that acquired through study of various books. Knowledge not gained through experience deserves not to be styled 'Wisdom'. You should therefore patiently understand the affairs around you, their causes and their results. After the acquisition of such knowledge alone, will you be in a position to take part in the affairs of the State. If a man's personal affair miscarries, that single man will be ruined; if the affairs of the whole family go wrong, that one family will be ruined; but, if matters of grave import connected with the State should fare ill, then, the whole country will be ruined. If, therefore, you always adhere to, and support the State, conducting yourselves as though you were ministers helpful in times of need, you will be instrumental in benefiting the country; if, on the other hand, you have a rupture with the State and are out of joint

with it, you will lose your own prestige and wreck the country irredeemably into the bargain."

"At this stage, Education is the only matter that must engage your attention. It is most essential for the acquisition of greatness, in this world. To men whose span of life is but small, there is no help save education. Youths should not mingle in high affairs before they have acquired sufficient education. Oh ye youths!—It is very essential that you should show obedience to your parents to your teachers who impart education, and to your elders; and, keeping your senses from wandering in diverse ways, you should concentrate them on the one virtuous way alone i.e., "Constancy".

"Therefore, you youths!—bind the elephant of passions to the pole of thought with the stout cord of wisdom....If you subdue your passions similarly, you will create for yourselves name and fame, comforts and wealth in this birth, and supreme bliss in the next. If, instead, you give free reins to your passions, you will be ruined,—even as an elephant in rut, free from its pole, will destroy everyone falling in its path, and run blindly on without distinguishing path or fence, and fall into a dreadful pit in the long run and itself perish. Therefore, obedience is the first step in all improvement and progress for nobody can command, that has not learnt to obey. I fully believe that all of you will take a firm hold of all that I have said, and, without going against the words of the great, will ever walk in the paths of virtue, full of piety, loyalty, and patriotism."

"If you agree, as I am sure you must, that youth is the period of preparation for Life, and such prepa-

ration lies in the formation of good habits, that would last thro' life,—for 'Habit is second Nature',—in the equipment of knowledge, that should guide you safe away from the Shoals and Eddies of life, in coming under strict discipline, than which perhaps nothing is more sacred or essential in the making of a nation, do you not easily see how acts of ill-discipline, that you indulge in, at the instance of a few Elders, who seem to be out to do you incalculable harm, without their being able to envisage it, will result in taking away from you the opportunity to learn and prepare yourselves for efficient citizenship and even leadership, if need be, in instilling in you wrong ideas of patriotism and independence and in disturbing the equilibrium of your immature minds by emotional and touchy appeals? The wearing of Khaddhar Caps must signify simplicity, purity, self-sacrifice, devotion to duty and a number of kindred virtues, which Gandhi is credited with. If your wearing of the caps should tend to instil in you those virtues, none can possibly object to them. But, put yourselves the question and get an honest answer. If you care for Truth,—than which no greater Religion exists,—you cannot help admitting that you abused the caps by wearing them to create disorder, to disobey rules of conduct, to flout constituted authority and to indulge in acts, which quite unbecome students."

"As students, you have nothing else to do than to learn the valuable lessons of obedience, love, devotion to duty, Regularity and Punctuality and come under perfect Discipline, which we Indians are often said to be lacking in."

6. Teachers' Task

You teachers that have the honour of educating the youths! There is not a profession more respectable or more beneficial than yours. I am not going to address you on a subject unfamiliar to you. However, allow me to address you briefly; excuse me and do listen to me. In the present state of affairs, there is room to believe that there is not that wholehearted loyalty and supreme confidence which ought to characterise the relations between the rulers and the ruled. At this stage, there is much that you can do for the benefit of your country. You are the custodians of the youths of the land, and you alone are responsible for the good or the evil of the youths, committed to your care. It is your duty to prevent the minds of the youths from straying into evil ways, and ever so to direct them in the paths of virtue as to promote their welfare. If you aim at prosperity to your country, then it is your duty to teach the youths to be subject to authority. It is most essential that youths should cultivate faith in God, faith in the Gurus and faith in the Elders. True faith in God will surely lead to faith also in the Sovereign, the representative of God, Maha Vishnu. It is your duty to direct the youths along such lines of action as will strengthen their faith in the Sovereign, and it is your duty also to mingle with them and be alert in the doing of noble actions."

"During days auspicious to the Sovereign, such as birthdays, and on occasions of rejoicing for the Sovereign it would be well to celebrate these festive occasions by

offerings etc., to God, and by Bhajana gatherings and so forth. We should stimulate ideas of loyalty by arranging gatherings of youths to send up prayers to God, so that he may continue to vouch-safe that joy to the King for ever. Likewise, we should display our loyalty and sympathy, whenever any shadow or gloom is cast on the Royal household. We should feel for the sorrows of the King as keenly as we would for our own griefs and offer prayers to God, so that such sad events may not cloud his life again."

"It will also become us, as loyal subjects, to hold dear and near to our hearts the Royal Family by hanging in our homes pictures of sovereigns renowned for their good deeds, and of their descendants, as also those of the present reigning sovereign; and, on joyous occasions to send up prayers to God that bliss may come to the sovereign in ever increasing measure for all the good, that he has done unto us and for any good, that he may have in store for us. It also becomes our imperative duty to protect the interests of our youths whenever, by way of protest against any small changes that take place in the state, they, without understanding the causes or the objects thereof, collect together in small bands in streets or organise secret meetings in homes against established law and authority, thus causing untold evil to others as well as to themselves. In the course of imparting instruction to youths, no opportunities should be neglected to introduce lessons on Loyalty. When any symptom of disloyal thought appears in a misguided youth's mind it must at once be uprooted from his mind by means of artful

persuasion and narration of incidents, that will convey lessons of loyalty. If we should guide the youths in such proper ways, and ourselves act in conformity with high principles, we should be doing a great service to the country. To you who know much, I believe I need not say any more."

7. Mass Manifestation

"Friends:—To act in obedience to the laws of the land, to help the State as far as possible in punishing injustice and upholding justice, to regard the good or evil of the State as our own, and, whenever necessary, to co-operate with the officers of the Government in serving the country—these constitute the essence of loyalty. In the interests of the country, it is most indispensable that everyone should be actuated by this beneficent spirit."

"We, Hindus, ever since the days of Manu, Mandhatha and other Emperors, have been renowned and respected for loyalty. To lose this heritage of ours or to sacrifice it through our folly is gross unwisdom. Is it not our duty to preserve this great wealth of fame which we have thus acquired? If you would but pause and look into the history of the past and some of the ancient systems of our laws, it will be quite evident that we are unequalled for loyalty. Is it not because Bharata, the Emperor, ruled our land in strict adherence to the laws of Manu and looked after the lives of his subjects as his own, that the people have immortalised his illustrious name by naming the country after him 'Bharata Khanda'? Is not that name an household word in our country?—Further, do not our Puranas show how the

people of Ayodhia, unable to brook separation, followed Sri Rama, who, in obedience to the Commands of his mother, forsook the state and wandered as an exile for 14 years in lonely forests and pathless jungles? While the Pandavas lost their country to the Kauravas in gambling, and dwelt in forests for 12 years, did not many of their subjects keep company with them during all those 12 years, feeling their life cheerless without their sovereign? Even to-day is not time reckoned as "Vikramarka Sakhabda," in the country north of the Narbada, and as "Salivahana Sakhabda" in the country south of that river? What do all these testify to, but to the love of the subjects towards their sovereigns?—If you but examine our ancient histories, you will come across numberless examples of loyalty which establish beyond a shadow of doubt that we have ever been a loyal and law-abiding nation."

"It is a great degradation for us, who have been famed for our traditional loyalty, to be now called 'traitors' and be despised as such. Moreover, according to the words of a sage,

'He that is ever truly faithful to the Sovereign, that partakes of the duties of Maha Vishnu by guarding the subjects, enjoys fame in this world and eternal bliss in the next. He, that is a traitor and an enemy to the Sovereign, will suffer miserably in this world and go to cursed hell in the next.'

"The loyal subject enjoys comfort and the disloyal one suffers misery. I trust, therefore, that you will fully bear in mind all that I have said and will conduct yourselves in such a way, as to ensure the prosperity of the country, and never swerve from loyalty to your Sovereign."

8. Industrial Improvement

"It is no doubt necessary that those, who sincerely desire the advancement of the country should make every effort to develop the indigenous industries. But, in this there can be no compulsion or forcing one's opinion upon others. Each must have freedom to do as he pleases. Nor can there be militant advocacy of the boycott of foreign goods. Government have constituted a special department for developing home and indigenous industries and it is up to our people to avail themselves fully of the encouragement and aid offered by it."

"No good will accrue by denying ourselves the use of really good articles and by alienating the sympathy of Englishmen. On the other hand, we must endeavour to produce such goods without placing any restriction on the import of really useful goods. It must therefore be our duty to develop our own industries, instead of wasting money and energy on doubtful and unprofitable efforts."

9. Philosophic Piety

"As a result of the spread of modern civilization, a large majority of Indians have gradually been forgetting their time-honoured tradition, dress and customs followed by their ancestors. The mother tongue has paled into insignificance and the divine language has almost been forgotten. The Bhagavat Gita, the Upanishads, the Bhagavatam, the Ramayana and the Mahabaratha and the sayings of great savants are sinking into oblivion. More attention is paid to the attainment of foreign culture, even from a very early age.

The spiritual teachings of eminent Rishis have been forgotten and a spirit of aggressiveness is spreading among the people who are getting imbued with materialistic ideas to obtain wealth, pomp, position and power."

"The aim of human life should be to attain salvation. One should always be prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to him in pursuit of this quest. Position, Power and Wealth are the enemies. Live in the world and yet out of it. Humility and Kindness are the two real friends for paving the path to attain salvation. For attaining salvation, one should constantly cultivate spiritual knowledge and find out the Truth. Truth is the goal of knowledge—pure and simple. Truth is God. Search after Truth without renouncing all—desires and attachments,—is very impossible. Contentment and Love are the two inseparable qualities necessary (like the two sides of a coin), to reach the goal. Philosophy, Faith and Piety are the real means and Truth is the final aim, by the practice of Yogas."

"Every human being must read his religious tracts and obtain that knowledge, which will secure him heavenly bliss. Sincere devotion to God will bring in its train Tolerance and Kindness. A spirit of returning good for evil will then dominate every individual resulting in universal happiness."

"Only those, who sincerely love God will secure happiness both in this and the other world. Loyalty combined with Patriotism is very noble and praiseworthy. Hence, one should always try and devote his attention, at least for a short time during his life, in the service of God, Crown, and Country."

"And no greater service of God, Crown or Country is possible than pooling up all available resources to educate the masses of the country, now steeped in ignorance, dirt, squalor and poverty, which present formidable obstacles in the way of progress of all kinds."

"To bear the torch of Education to the dark and dingy corners of village homesteads, is a noble task for it will easily erase man-made distinctions, and tend to unite all into a common brotherhood. This social work of village Re-construction is best done by organising Village Social Clubs, Reading-Rooms and Libraries and Night and Seasonal Schools for labourers, young and old."

"Again to help the poor peasant to add to his scanty income during off-seasons, when he is out of work, cottage-Industries may be revived, which the Government are anxious to support and help. Our women, particularly our Moslem sisters were in the past custodians of some of the finest of Indian Fine Arts. Through neglect they have lost their skill; can we not give a new impetus to them and bring them back to life? Does not this open up a rich field for Social Service?"

"The treasures imbedded in Our Vernacular Literatures we are now sadly neglecting. They are priceless. They were for centuries sources of inspiration for our forefathers. A movement should be set on foot to revive a careful study of them, so that they may not be lost to us and to posterity for ever."

"These and many similar lines of work demand our earnest attention and honest service. People that are imbued with an earnest desire to serve the cause of the Country, to advance National interests and get Swaraj

within easy reach cannot do better than render Social Service in any one or more of the avenues open, of which a few have been mentioned. Mention may here be made of the scope there is of developing agriculture and other industries by co-operation and village Banking."

"Here is splendid chance for both man and woman to serve in causes both patriotic and loyal. Alas! It is indeed an irony of Fate that these should be abandoned and ways adopted leading the Country to rack and ruin. Shall we all take in real earnest these noble tasks and **Trust in God and Do the Right**? I hope we shall."

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My countrymen and Friends! Please do not, for one moment, think that I am preaching something new and that in a patronising spirit. I am one amongst you and trust that I will be forgiven my shortcomings, for I have such firm faith in your intelligent capacity to understand things aright, that you will not allow your emotions to sway your judgment nor your loyalty swept away by mere sentiment.

XVII. INDIA'S DESTINY

India being a dependency of Britain, any assistance that India can get in her onward march to progress can only be from the British nation and not from any others. Therefore, if we alienate their sympathy and goodwill, it will be difficult for us to secure the political privileges, that they can give. Any attempt to work on unconstitutional lines or to decry the Britishers will only result in disappointment. The prosperity of India depends on Britain's goodwill.

1. Have faith in Britain

A large number of members of Parliament who visited India and learnt things at first hand have expressed their sympathy for India. There are others, who have been advocating greater political freedom being conceded and are actually working for it. Owing to the influence and advocacy of the above mentioned sections, a fairly large number of parliament members have been converted to their view-point on the Indian question. Then again, there is the Labour party, which is waiting for a favourable opportunity to translate its sympathies into action.

At no time in the history of the world there has been universal satisfaction. History has it that, even under Sri Rama's rule, there were malcontents. The British Parliament which is the final arbiter will grant self-Government immediately or by stages, taking into consideration the various interests.

If we pin our faith in the good intention of Britishers, who are noted for their statesmanship and love of Freedom, India will progress, bringing in greater happiness to the people.

2. Peace & Happiness

That those Indians, who have gone to attend the Round Table Conference will return fully satisfied admits of no doubt. It is believed, that England is prepared to demonstrate her love for India by conceding a larger measure of freedom. The New Reforms, when they come into operation, will secure greater happiness to the people. The bond of friendship between India and England will be strengthened and the present bitterness and misunderstanding of a section of the Indian people will be forgotten. It only remains for India to work the future constitution in a spirit of co-operation with the Government and to the lasting good of the country. May the Almighty grant the necessary wisdom!

3. Long Live the King-Emperor

May the Almighty grant long life and prosperity to our King-Emperor and the Royal Family. May He also be pleased to see the British Empire expand and India growing happier and contented!!! Amen!!!

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