

[ Confidential. ]

**CALCUTTA RECORDS 1.**

**1910.**

**GOVERNMENT OF INDIA:  
HOME DEPARTMENT.**

POLITICAL—A.

**Proceedings, February 1910, Nos. 132—135.**

Issue of a notice by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, in connection with the interdiction of the October 1909 issue of the *Review of Reviews*, which contained extracts from B. C. Pal's article "the Aetiology of the Bomb."

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**PREVIOUS REFERENCES.**

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**LATER REFERENCES.**

# NOTES.

POLITICAL—A., FEBRUARY 1910.

Nos. 132—135.

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ISSUE OF A NOTICE BY THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY, IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERDICTION OF THE OCTOBER 1909 ISSUE OF THE *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, WHICH CONTAINED EXTRACTS FROM B. C. PAL'S ARTICLE "THE AETIOLOGY OF THE BOMB."

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TELEGRAM FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, NO. 109 M., DATED THE 5TH NOVEMBER PRO. NO. 132. 1909.

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Submitted for orders. We may ask that similar action be taken in Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon as has been taken in Bombay, but the action is not likely to have such effect as all subscribers to the *Review of Reviews* must have already received their copies.

A. L.,—6-11-09.

I think that Madras, the two Bengals, Burma, the United Provinces, the Punjab and the Central Provinces might be asked to warn booksellers that the October issue of the *Review of Reviews* contains a reprint of this article, and that the Bombay Agent of the *Swaraj* was convicted in respect of it.

Poll. A., Decr. 1909, nos. 92—105.

P. W. MONIE,—6-11-09.

Until we see exactly what has been done I would not issue any warning, but if Mr. Stead has defied the Government and the Courts we can prohibit the importation of the *Review of Reviews* into India.

H. A. STUART,—6-11-09.

H. H. R[ISLEY],—6-11-09.

A copy of the *Review of Reviews* for October 1909 has been obtained and is placed below. The article referred to is printed at pages 348 and 349. Paragraph 4 of the article on page 348 seems to be a clear defiance to the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay. The Chief Presidency Magistrate's judgment is at page 8 of Political A, December 1909, nos. 92-105. The *Swaraj* of June 1909 (Nos. 6-7), which contains the original article "the aetiology

\* *Vide* unprinted papers.

of the bomb" is also placed in this file. The High Court of Bombay upheld Mr. Aston's judgment and confirmed the sentence, and from an extract in the *Times of India* the High Court seems to have also considered the article to have been seditious. Mr. Stead's defiance and remarks apply, therefore, to the High Court of Bombay as well. We have asked for an official copy of the judgment, but up to the present have not received it. We have also

Poll. A., Decr. 1909, nos. 92—105.

asked Bombay whether they consider B. C. Pal could be prosecuted for publishing this article in the event of his return to India, please see our letter no. 1484 Poll., dated 11th October 1909.

Poll. B., Dec. 1909, nos. 35—36.

A. L.,—9-11-09.

The Director, Criminal Intelligence's office must have a newspaper report of the High Court judgment. Please get it at once.

H. A. STUART,—9-11-09.

Extract from the *Times of India*, dated the 7th October 1909, placed below. Both Judges of the High Court considered the article seditious.

*Vide* unprinted papers.

A. L.,—10-11-09.

Mr. Stead republished only a few extracts from the original article, and his reprint contains only one of the passages mentioned in Mr. Justice Chandavakar's judgment. I doubt whether the *Review of Reviews* extract comes within the terms of section 124A, and I do not

*Vide* unprinted papers.

think any action is expedient. All we could do would be to prohibit the entry of the *Review of Reviews* into India, but as it an English publication it would be necessary first to consult the Secretary of State, who is not likely to sanction any such action. His Excellency should see, and then Director, Criminal Intelligence. (The Magistrate's judgment will be found at page 8 of Political A, December 1909, nos. 92-105.)

H. A. STUART,—10-11-09.

I quite agree. The *Review of Reviews* has many subscribers in India, being regarded as a short cut to much general information, and by this time it must be scattered all over the country. On the other hand, the booksellers do not keep many copies and those they have are probably sold out by now. It would be absurd to take any action in respect of unsold stock. As for prohibiting the entry of future issues of the *Review* on the strength of the publication of extracts which, as Secretary points out, do not by any means certainly infringe section 124 A, it seems out of the question. If I remember right, the Secretary of

Poll. A, January 1908, nos. 38—42.

State demurred to the prohibition of *Justice*, which has no circulation worth speaking of anywhere. There is not the faintest chance that he would consent to action being taken against Mr. Stead. To my mind the worst thing in the number is the reproduction of the nastiest anecdotes in Lady Cardigan's book. These will be copied by Bengali papers, which will point the moral (as the *Amrita* has often done) "behold the morals of our rulers, how much purer is Hindu family life."

H. H. R[ISLEY],—10-11-09.

It is not for the publications from the article in question that the *Review of Reviews* is so much to blame, but for its remarks on Mr. Aston's judgment which are clearly mischievous defiance of his finding and intended to do harm. I do not think, however, it would be wise to take action against Mr. Stead in the present case.

M[INTO],—16-11-09.

I do not know whether Secretary noticed the paragraph at the foot of page 319 of the *Review of Reviews* in which Mr. Stead threw out the suggestion of publishing an Indian edition of his paper to take the place of the *Swaraj* if the latter is suppressed. The entry of

Poll. A, October 1909, nos. 137—141.

the *Swaraj* into India has been prohibited, and there is every probability that Mr. Stead's friends in India will urge him to take the step contemplated. It is needless to say that such a paper would have a most pernicious effect.

2. It would perhaps be advisable to ask the India Office to ascertain whether the paper suggested is likely to be published, and if its publication actually takes place to give us a telegraphic summary of the contents of the first issue in order that action may be taken, if necessary, to prohibit its importation into India.

H. C. WOODMAN,—20-11-09.

Director, Criminal Intelligence, could perhaps arrange to get early information of such a publication, but I doubt if it would be published in London before being sent to India. I don't believe we shall have any *Swaraj* edition of the *Review of Reviews*, but Mr. Stead is such a fanatic that nothing is impossible to him.

H. A. STUART,—24-11-09.

Director, Criminal Intelligence.

I have arranged to do this.

C. J. STEVENSON-MOORE,—2-12-09,  
Officiating Director, Criminal Intelligence.

Home Department.

For information.

A. L.,—9-12-09.

H. C. WOODMAN,—9-12-09.

Pro. No. 133

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, NO. 84, DATED THE 7TH JANUARY 1910.

For information, Director, Criminal Intelligence, may see. The Government of Bombay have not taken any exception to the December issue of the *Review of Reviews*, which contained

Vide unprinted papers.

references to that Government's action in suppressing the October issue.

A. L.,—13-1-10.



The Bombay Government have placed their local news agents (and possibly themselves) in a somewhat difficult position. Director, Criminal Intelligence, may see.

H. C. WOODMAN,—13-1-10.

I don't think the Bombay Government (or its officers) did more than warn news agents of the risk they ran by selling a publication which reprinted extracts from an article declared by the courts to be seditious. We might perhaps ask them, so that we may be ready with information if the Secretary of State requires it. His Excellency should see.

H. A. STUART,—14-1-10.

Yes, I think we ought to have a copy of the notice actually issued by the Commissioner of Police and referred to in the enclosures of the Bombay letter, dated 7th January 1910.

H. H. R[ISLEY],—15-1-10.

His Excellency agrees.

H. A. STUART,—19-1-10.

LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, NO. 131, DATED THE <sup>21ST</sup>/<sub>22ND</sub> JANUARY 1910. **Pro. No. 134.**

Director, Criminal Intelligence.

Seen and returned with thanks.

J. C. KER,—25-1-10,

*Personal Assistant to Director, Criminal Intelligence.*

C. J. STEVENSON-MOORE,—25-1-10,

*Officiating Director, Criminal Intelligence.*

Home Department.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF BOMBAY, NO. 622, DATED THE 2ND FEBRUARY 1910. **Pro. No. 135**

Submitted for information.

A. L.,—10-2-10.

H. C. WOODMAN,—10-2-10.

The "order" was only a suggestion, though of course a suggestion from such an officer would naturally carry great weight. At the same time the firms in question were free to take legal advice and were in no way compelled to accept the Commissioner's suggestion.

H. A. STUART,—12-2-10.

Director, Criminal Intelligence.

Seen and returned with thanks.

J. C. KER,—17-2-10,

*Personal Assistant to Director, Criminal Intelligence.*

C. J. STEVENSON-MOORE,—17-2-10,

*Officiating Director, Criminal Intelligence.*

Home Department.

Exd,—J. L.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, FEBRUARY 1910.

Interdiction of the October 1909 issue of the *Review of Reviews*. [ Pro. No. 132 ]

ISSUE OF A NOTICE BY THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE, BOMBAY, IN CONNECTION WITH THE INTERDICTION OF THE OCTOBER 1909 ISSUE OF THE *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* WHICH CONTAINED EXTRACTS FROM B. C. PAL'S ARTICLE "THE AETIOLOGY OF THE BOMB."

Telegram no. 109-M., dated the 5th November 1909.

No. 132.

From—The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Judicial Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

The article "aetiology of the bomb" for which the Agent of the *Swaraj* newspaper was recently convicted in Bombay has been reprinted in the October issue of the *Review of Reviews*, together with strictures on the Magistrate's finding and suggestion. If the importation of the *Swaraj* into India is prohibited it is proposed to print a *Swaraj* edition of the *Review of Reviews*. Instructions have been issued to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to warn booksellers of its contents and the risk they run in distributing it and to invite them to hand over their unsold stock. It would appear advisable to take similar action at Calcutta and elsewhere.

No. 84, dated the 7th January 1910.

No. 133.

From—J. H. DuBOULAY, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Judicial Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In continuation of this Department telegram no. 109 M., dated the 5th November 1909, I am directed to forward herewith, for the information of the Government of India, copies of correspondence between Messrs. Thacker and Company, Bombay, and their London Agents, Messrs. William Dawson and Sons, regarding (a) the interdicted October issue of the *Review of Reviews*; and (b) the December issue of that periodical containing references to the action of the Indian authorities in suppressing the October issue.

2. I am also to attach copies of a letter, dated the 16th December 1909, received by Messrs. Dawson and Sons from the India Office, and of a reply no. 83, dated this day, given by the Bombay Government to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, who forwarded the correspondence in question to Government.

Dated the 10th December 1909.

From—J. R. WOORRALL, Esq., Secretary and Manager, Thacker & Co., Ltd.,

To—F. A. M. H. VINCENT, Esq., Bombay,

The "*Review of Reviews*," October 1909.

We beg to hand you copies of letters received from London relative to the above.

(Letter from "*Review of Reviews*," to our London Agents.)

Dated the 24th November 1909.

From—EDWIN H. STOUT, Esq., Manager,

To—Messrs. William Dawson & Sons, London, E. C.

We are in receipt of your letter of November 23rd enclosing another from Thacker & Co., of Bombay. I am sorry that any news agency in India, including your client's, should have been put to any inconvenience with reference to the article which appeared in the October *Review of Reviews*. You will, I am sure, understand that personally as the Business Manager I am most anxious to avoid any similar difficulty in future. I think you may take it from me that this will not cause any further trouble, and if the Editor should

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, FEBRUARY 1910.

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Pro. No. 133 ] Interdiction of the October 1909 issue of the *Review of Reviews*.

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on any future occasion deem it necessary to publish any similar article (which, by the way, I do not think is likely) I will undertake to acquaint you with the fact so that you will be free to refuse to send out the magazine if you wish to do so. Although I say this in order to make matters plain to you, please understand I do not think for one moment any such difficulty will occur. I assume that you will inform Messrs. Thacker & Co. to this effect and that it is unnecessary for me to write to them. I prefer to retain the letter from Thacker & Co., if you have no objection, so that we may have this matter always before us.

(Letter from our Agent to us).

Dated the 26th November 1909.

From—WM. DAWSON & Sons, Limited,

To—Messrs. Thacker & Co., Limited.

We have received your letter relative to the *Review of Reviews*, which we forwarded on to the proprietor of this magazine. We enclose reply thereto which we trust will prove satisfactory to you. We would draw your attention to the Manager's promise to advise us if any similar article were to appear in a future number, and would like your instructions regarding stopping despatch to your subscribers in the event of such advice being received. Of course failing such advice we cannot accept responsibility for the despatch of any issue containing objectionable matter, as we are not competent to judge what would prove objectionable to the Indian Authorities.

• Dated the 3rd December 1909.

From—R. BICHERSTETH, Esq., Director, WM. DAWSON & Sons, Limited,

To—Messrs. THACKER & Co. Limited, Bombay.

We beg to acknowledge receipt of your favour of the 9th ultimo, regarding the October issue of the *Review of Reviews* and the notice from the Acting Commissioner of Police, Bombay, in connection therewith, a copy of which was enclosed.

2. As advised in ours of last mail, we duly communicated with the proprietor of the *Review of Reviews*, and in reply we received his Business Manager's promise to advise us should any further article be contemplated similar to the one to which exception was taken. Should such advice be given, we shall of course refrain from despatching to your subscribers.

3. Much as we desire to aid you in avoiding any similar trouble with regard to this and other periodicals, we regret we cannot see our way to provide you with a guarantee that no papers containing seditious literature, paragraphs or articles will be posted to your subscribers, and that all papers, magazines and books be scrutinised for anything of the kind before being posted. The short time that often elapses between delivery from publishers and the departure of the mails absolutely precludes any such action on our part; nor do we think it necessary, seeing that, in this country, and in such a case of libel, it is not usual to proceed against a news vendor until after the offending article has been brought to his notice. The issue of the Acting Commissioner's notice in the present case, leads us to suppose that a similar course will be pursued in India.

4. We trust you will see our position in this matter as it arises not from want of interest but from inability.

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N.B.—We will of course be on the watch, as we realise the political importance of supporting the police: but in the rush of the Indian Mail day it is, believe us, impossible to scrutinise every publication.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, FEBRUARY 1910.

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Interdiction of the October 1909 issue of the *Review of Reviews* [ Pro. No. 33 ]

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Dated the 10th December 1909.

From—Messrs. WILLIAM DAWSON & Sons, Limited,

To—Messrs. THACKER & Co., Limited.

*Review of Reviews—December.*

In accordance with his promise, the Manager of the *Review of Reviews* sent us advance sheets of the December issue containing references to the recent action of the Indian Authorities in suppressing the October issue. Having some doubt whether the issue would be interdicted on its arrival in India, we have submitted the sheets to the India Office for an official opinion thereon before mailing copies to your subscribers. We are expecting the issue in to-day, but shall hold up all your copies until we receive a favourable report. We enclose copies of the articles in question, and of our letter to the Under Secretary of State for India.

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Dated the 9th December 1909.

From—Messrs. WILLIAM DAWSON & Sons, Limited,

To—The Under Secretary of State for India.

We shall be obliged for your advice on the following matter.

The Bombay Authorities raised some objection to the circulation of the October issue of the *Review of Reviews* in that Presidency: we are acting for Messrs. Thacker in the matter, and are instructed by them to hold supplies of the November, and subsequent issues, if there is anything in them likely to prove objectionable to the Indian Government.

We enclose herewith advance sheets supplied to us by the Publishers, and should be much obliged for your ruling as to whether these are permissible or not. Meanwhile we are retaining the copies here.

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Dated the 16th December 1909.

From—COLIN J. CAMPBELL, Esq., India Office, Whitehall, London, S. W.,

To—Messrs. WILLIAM DAWSON & Sons, Limited, Cannon House, Bream's Buildings,  
E. C.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, with which you forward advance sheets of certain pages of the November issue of the *Review of Reviews* and ask the Secretary of State for India to inform you whether they contain anything likely to prove objectionable to the Indian Government.

In reply I am to say that it is for the authorities in India, and for the Courts in that country, to decide whether any publication contravenes the Law, and Viscount Morley must therefore decline to advise you on the subject.

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Dated the 17th December 1909.

From—Messrs. DAWSON & Sons, Limited,

To—Messrs. THACKER & Co., Limited, Bombay.

We have this day received a reply from the India Office to our communication of the 9th instant, a copy of which we enclose. You will see by this that the Home Authorities decline to give an opinion in the matter. Under the circumstances we shall continue to hold back the December issue of the *Review of Reviews* pending further instructions from you. As we sent you copies of the doubtful articles last mail, you will have had an opportunity of

PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
HOME DEPARTMENT, FEBRUARY 1910.

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Pro. No. 133] Interdiction of the October 1909 issue of the *Review of Reviews*.

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forming your own opinion on the matter before this. Should you decide that the copies should go forward, we would suggest that you advise us to that effect, by cable, using the code word "Sendrev."

No. 83, dated the 7th January 1910.

From—J. E. B. HORTON, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Judicial Department,

To—The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter no. S.B.-1129-P.-55, dated the 31st December 1909, and in reply to request that Messrs. Thacker and Company may be informed that Government do not object to the distribution of the December number of the *Review of Reviews*.

No. 134.

No. 131, dated the <sup>21st</sup>/<sub>22nd</sub> January 1910.

From—H. C. WOODMAN, Esq., Additional Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Judicial Department.

With reference to your letter no. 84, dated the 7th January 1910, I am directed to request that, with the permission of the Governor in Council, the Government of India may be furnished with a copy of the notice by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, issued in connection with the interdiction of the *Review of Reviews*, to which reference is made in the letter of the 3rd December 1909 from Messrs. William Dawson and Sons to Messrs. Thacker and Company, Bombay.

No. 135.

No. 622, dated the 2nd February 1910.

From—J. H. DUBOULAY, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Judicial Department,

To—The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

In compliance with the request contained in Mr. Woodman's letter no. 131, dated the 21st January 1910, I am directed to forward herewith the copy desired by the Government of India of the notice issued by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, in connection with the interdiction of the *Review of Reviews*.

No. <sup>752-754</sup>/<sub>P. 55</sub>, dated the 6th November 1910.

From—S. M. EDWARDS, Esq., I.C.S., Commissioner of Police, Bombay,

To—MESSRS. THACKER & Co.

COOMBRIDGE & Co.

A. H. WHEELER & Co.

It has been brought to my notice that the *Review of Reviews* for October contains extracts from an article in the *Swaraj Magazine* in connection with which the local agent was recently prosecuted and convicted, the article being held seditious and decision upheld by the Bombay High Court.

In view of this fact the sale of this number of the *Review of Reviews* is undesirable as such sale might lead to further criminal proceedings.

I would therefore suggest to you the advisability of reshipping all such magazines as you may have in stock or may be expecting.

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Erd.—J. D. L.

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DOUBLE SUMMER NUMBER.

OM  
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*unprinted papers. connection*

*Roll A. February*  
*nos. 132-135.*

# SVARAJ

THE  
INDIAN  
NATIONALIST

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BIPIN  
CHANDRAPAL

A  
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of  
INDIAN NATIONALISM  
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GENERAL PHILOSOPHY  
of NATIONALISM as a  
NECESSARY ELEMENT  
in the  
EVOLUTION  
of  
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VOL. I.

No. 6-7

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# THE HIND NATIONALIST AGENCY.

During the present year there have been many significant occurrences in our country, and it is becoming increasingly manifest that the Indian Nationalist Party, though it has suffered heavily by the exile or incarceration of its leaders, has been steadily gaining ground, and has already become a very powerful factor in shaping and determining the destinies of India. But the attitude of the British Government has made it almost impossible to conduct even an honest Nationalist journal in India, while the suppression of our leading organs, such as *Bande Mataram*, has left a great gap which must be filled. It has, therefore, become eminently necessary that a journal should be published from Europe or America in the interests of Indian Nationalism, and we think this an exceedingly opportune moment because we have among us here in England not only many well-known Nationalists, but one man, in particular, who has rendered conspicuous and meritorious service in the Nationalist cause. It is proposed to form a Limited Liability Company, called the Hind Nationalist Agency Ltd., with the undermentioned objects, and the following gentlemen have undertaken to establish and organise the Company as soon as the present appeal has received the necessary encouragement and support.

Shrijut GANESH SHRIKRISHNA KHAPARDE.

Shrijut BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

The Registered Offices of the Company will be situated in London, and the nominal capital will be £5,000, divided into shares of £1 each.

## OBJECTS.

(1) The publication, from Europe or America, of a journal to be called *Svarāj*, which shall serve as an organ of the Indian Nationalist Party, with Shrijut Bipin Chandra Pal as editor for the first three years. In the event of Mr. Pal's declining or being unable to edit the journal, his successor is to be elected by the Committee of Reference mentioned below.

(2) The printing and publishing of Indian Nationalist Literature dealing with the past, present and future of the different peoples and communities composing the present Indian Nation, in regard to their religion, politics, art, literature, history, commerce and industry.

(3) The collection and circulation of commercial and other intelligence that may be needed from time to time by the peoples of India for the development of their national life.

(4) To organise measures for the establishment of international relations for the commercial, industrial and educational advancement of India.

(5) To adopt suitable measures from time to time for spreading correct knowledge about India and current Indian affairs among foreign peoples.

The Committee of Reference shall help the Directors to appoint the editor of *Svarāj* and of any other publications of the Agency, and advise them in matters connected with the policy of the Agency and in such other matters of general interest as may be submitted to them from time to time. The leading Nationalists of India representing every province will be requested to become members of the Committee of Reference.

We request you to be good enough to give the proposed scheme your most earnest consideration, and to return the enclosed form duly filled up, so that we may know the extent to which we may rely upon your kind support. The Company will be registered as soon as the necessary encouragement has been received from our countrymen.

I shall be happy to answer any enquiries that you may wish to make.

VIRENDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA, *Provisional Hon. Secretary.*

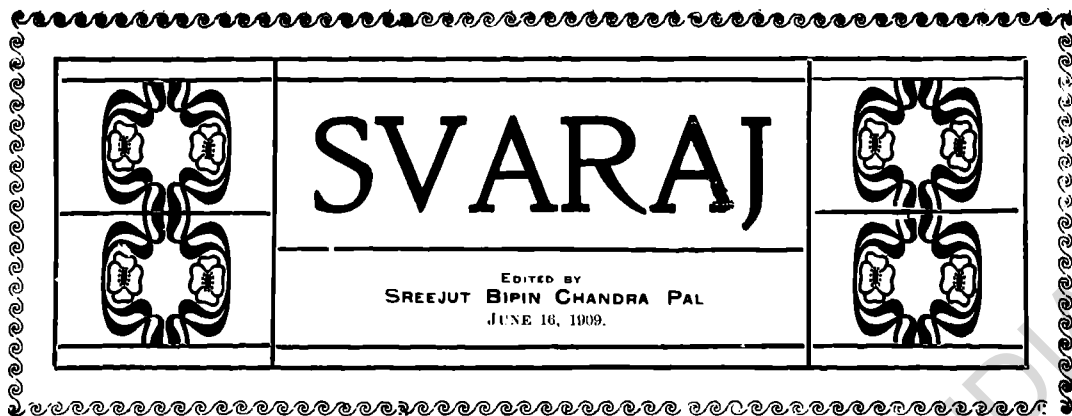
140, Sinclair Road, West Kensington, London, W.



OM  
BANDÊ MÂTARAM



SREEJUT ARAVINDA GHOSE.



## TOPICAL NOTES.

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### THE ACQUITTAL OF ARAVINDA GHOSE.

The general satisfaction with which the verdict of the Sessions Judge in the Alipur Bomb Conspiracy Case has been received by the Indian public is very largely, if not entirely, due to the acquittal of Sreejut Aravinda Ghose. Few Indians believed that he had anything to do with the "toy-revolution," as Mr. Das, Aravinda's counsel, put it—said to have been so cleverly discovered by the Calcutta Police. His acknowledged intelligence and culture were prima facie evidence against such allegation. That he advocated absolute autonomy cannot be denied. That he fully recognised in the prolongation of the existing form of government in India, a mortal menace to the life and progress of its multitudinous peoples, need not be concealed. These are about all that Aravinda, or any other Indian Nationalist, may be said to have in common with the authors and advocates of the bomb-propaganda. But Aravinda has, at the same time, a wide knowledge of history. He is endowed with a historic imagination without which a mere copy-book knowledge of history is always very misleading. His writings in the "Bandê Mâtaram"

fully established his claims to very superior statesmanship. He is not a copy-book politician. In one sense that has been his misfortune. His refusal to accept the imitative and mendicant creed and methods of the Convention School of Indian politics has been the cause of all his troubles. On the other hand, those very opinions which brought all these troubles on him were themselves a guarantee against his advocating in any way the fatal folly of a "toy revolution."

Aravinda's arrest did not come, however, as quite a surprise upon the public. He was a dangerous man, in the eye of the Indian bureaucracy. They were anxious to shut him up. They tried to get him in for seditious libel; but could produce no evidence of his responsibility for the publication on which that prosecution was started. His first prosecution had immensely increased his influence in the country. A prominent and powerful preacher of the Nationalist Cause, Aravinda now became one of the recognised leaders of the Nationalist Movement. The bureaucracy wanted to put him out of harm's way. From their



point of view, they were right. The discovery of what was described as a widespread Bomb-Conspiracy, in the Manik-tala Garden, gave them a plausible plea to do this. Aravinda was part proprietor of this garden. His younger brother, Barindra Chandra Ghose, was the head of the organisation alleged to have been responsible for the bomb propaganda. All these gave a handle against him to the Police, which they had been so eagerly searching for. In view of it all, no one was surprised at the arrest of Aravinda. But no one, at the same time, believed him to be in any way guilty of the crime with which he was charged.

In fact, from the very beginning the prosecution failed even to establish a plausible case against him. Had Aravinda been charged with a non-political offence, even of the most serious character, no magistrate would have committed him to the Sessions upon the kind of evidence produced against him by the prosecution before Mr. Birley, the Alipur Magistrate. The inevitable results of bureaucratic administration have developed a tendency in the Indian Magistracy everywhere to always lean towards the prosecution in every Crown case. This leaning is naturally increased in political cases, involving racial sentiments and racial interests. The events that led to the Alipur Bomb Case had accentuated all these. Almost every Anglo-Indian, official or non-official, was more or less in a panic. This panic increased as the investigation proceeded. The lengthy yarn of the Approver Gosain, the truth of which could not, and will never be known or tested, dragged the names of a number of prominent and influential public men into this case. It indicated—whether truly or falsely, God and the Police alone know—an extensive revolutionary movement in Bengal. This considerably increased the prevail-

ing panic. It more or less affected every section of the Anglo-Indian community, official and non-official, the executive and the judiciary, the bench, the bar, and the police, alike. In times of panic and popular excitement personal irritation and private grudge readily assume the appearance of sacred public duty, and vindictiveness seeks justification in the garb of relentless justice. This is the psychology of the indecent indulgence shown to the prosecution, in this case, by the investigating magistrate at Alipur.

But, in spite of it all, it was seen from the very beginning that there was absolutely no case against Aravinda Ghose. Yet he was not let out even on bail. And all this created the impression in the public mind that whatever might be the character of the evidence against him, Aravinda would not be let off. British justice might not take it as quite complimentary, but the fact is undeniable that even after the able speech of his counsel, who literally tore to shreds the bad law and worse logic of the case sought to be made out against him by Mr. Norton, the whole country awaited with painful apprehension the final verdict of the Judge. Everybody wished, but none dared to hope for, a verdict of acquittal. The unexpected has happened. Judge Beachcroft has not only done fair justice to Aravinda, but has, to some extent, really saved the situation in Bengal.

The first feeling, on the announcement of the verdict, has naturally been one of mere exultation. Aravinda is held in such affectionate regard by almost the whole country that the intense relief with which the news of his unexpected acquittal has been received by the people has, for the time being, paralysed all analytic thinking and critical judgment.

**The Death Sentences.**

But the sentence of death passed by the Sessions Judge on Sreemân Bârindra Chandra Ghose and Sreemân Ullâskar Datta, if actually carried out, will soon create a revulsion of feeling, and destroy whatever soothing effect the acquittal of Sreejut Aravinda Ghose and others may have produced. In Bengal, which is directly affected by this trial, public opinion is said to have been shocked by the enormity of these sentences. While no one expected the acquittal of any of the accused, neither did anybody ever dream that any one of them would be sentenced to death. Not having as yet the full text of Mr. Beachcroft's judgment before us, we cannot say on what grounds he has justified these sentences. The case was one under sections 121 and 122 of the Indian Penal Code: waging war against the King and attempting and abetting the waging of war. The highest punishment under the first of these sections is death. But the prosecution had completely failed to establish this charge. The only facts actually proved in this case are that some of the accused, on their own confession, manufactured bombs, and collected a few revolvers and learnt and taught shooting, and some attempts were made to kill some officials. None of these facts constitute the offence contemplated by section 121. We think the Assessors did not bring in a verdict against any of the men, under that section. On what grounds, then, have these convictions and sentences been supported we cannot imagine. That ground must, in any case, be very weak; and we are told that Mr. Beachcroft's judgment leaves room for clemency. It has been so wired by Reuter. The announcement seems to have been inspired. It is evidently meant to prevent any agitation here, either in or outside Parliament,

against these shocking sentences. It is meant to create the impression that these sentences will not really be carried out. But what is the meaning of this "room for clemency?" If the verdict and sentence are supported by strong and valid evidence, justice has been done; and there can really be no room there for any clemency. If the Judge thought that a lesser punishment might well be given to these young men, why has not he himself done so? Why has he left room in his judgment for the High Court to reduce their sentence? The Penal Code provides the maximum punishment for every offence, but has left it to the courts in every case to decide whether the highest punishment should be given or whether a lesser punishment would serve the ends of justice. Even if he felt compelled to bring in a verdict under section 121, he was not bound to give a capital sentence. Even in waging war against the King, there are differences in degree. Bârindra had stated, in his so-called confession, that they were preparing for "a far-off revolution." Some day in the distant future, they might wage war against England: this is the clear meaning of his statement. Many things might happen between now and then to prevent this consummation. There might, for instance, be a complete transference of the ultimate political power in the country from the hands of the present foreign bureaucracy to those of the people, by a gradual process of peaceful evolution; and this would prevent altogether that far-off revolution. Their own opinions might change with time, and the "physical-force-Extremist" of to-day might be a loyal Moderate, a member of Lord Morley's reasonable third-class, to-morrow. All these are reasonable contingencies, and any of these would prevent these people from carrying out their far-off revolu-

tionary project. And a crime is not a crime until it is committed or attempted to be committed. These people did not wage any war as yet. Neither did they make any attempt to do so. They manufactured a few explosives, but that was an infringement of another law, and not of section 121 I. P. C., and one of these two, Ullâskar, has already been tried under that law. They made two attempts on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but that was not waging war against the King. As counsel for the defence pointed out, to kill an officer of the Government is not an offence under section 121. When asked if they had planned to kill any other official, Barindra replied that they had not. Neither the Viceroy nor the Commander-in-Chief was on their black list. They had a specific grievance against Sir Andrew Fraser, who had lent his support to the Partition of Bengal, and had sanctioned the prosecution of popular publicists. They had a specific grievance against Mr. Kingsford, who had inflicted vindictive sentences on political offenders, and who had sentenced one of their number to whipping. These are not offences under section 121. Even if violently construed as such, the offence would not be of the highest degree justifying the maximum punishment provided under it, but of the lowest degree, so to say, for which even transportation for life would be unjustly severe. These facts must have weighed with the Judge, or he would not have left room for clemency in his judgment, as Reuter says that he has done. This shocking sentence, with this room for clemency, lends, it seems, a strong political tint to this judicial verdict.

### **The Judge and the Statesman.**

But this suspicion of political motives

in judicial verdicts always tends to lower justice without helping politics. True statesmanship would always try to keep the administration of justice absolutely free from all political taints. It is conceivable that "Reasons of State" may sometimes demand special treatment of either individuals or groups of individuals. Such necessities, whether true or false, arise more in irresponsible and despotic administrations than under free and popular political institutions. But wherever these necessities arise, they should be met directly by the politician, and not by diverting the course of justice to political ends. In India such a course is especially condemnable; because here the Government have a statutory right of imprisoning persons without any public accusation or trial, for special political reasons. In the next place it is of the utmost importance in a country where a mere handful of foreigners hold absolute political sway over its teeming populations, that not only the strictest justice should be done, but that people should have absolutely no ground or even shadow of a ground to think that it has not been done. A very large portion of the present unrest in India is entirely due to the growing belief of the people that fair and impartial justice cannot be had from the British Courts in political or quasi political cases. The leniency with which European juries and European judges deal with European criminals of every class, as compared to the severity with which Indian criminals are treated; the vindictive sentences on political offenders, the notion, whether right or wrong, that a good deal of executive influence is exercised over the judiciary in political or quasi-political cases, an impression which has been largely fostered by the mischievous combination of the judicial and executive functions; all these

have shaken people's confidence in what is called British justice. With the decadence of people's faith in justice, disorder and anarchy rise everywhere as a necessary result. Those who wish to fight this disorder and so-called anarchy, must first of all set their own house in order, must recreate people's faith in justice. It will not be sufficient to meet the present situation, we know. But this must be the first step.

Mr. Beachcroft may have taken that first step. But he has not done so. The High Court may render fairer justice to these men. But it is the lower courts that require a thorough reform of spirit, the High Court, though it lost in recent years a good deal of the old place in the confidence of the people, can be more easily reformed. The presence of Sir Lawrence Jenkins as Chief Justice has already put a new spirit, it seems, into the Calcutta High Court. There is a general feeling even among retired Anglo-Indians here that the death sentences will not be carried out. But the question before statesmanship is whether the High Court should do so, or whether the King, on the advice of his ministers, should, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, save these men? It is needless to say that politically, there would be a very wide difference between these two courses.

#### **Room for Royal Clemency.**

Sir Henry Cotton and others have been persistently urging for a general amnesty to all political prisoners, as a proof of the earnestness of the recently promulgated reforms. That such a general act of clemency would have a profound effect on a very large section of the people cannot be denied. But whether such a general amnesty may or may not be granted to people who have been definitely sentenced by the Law Courts, and

whose cases have been closed already, the wisdom of granting a general pardon to the men sentenced by Mr. Beachcroft may well be considered. Their case has not yet been definitely closed. Their offence was waging war against the King: at the utmost the criminality was not in any definite overt act of rebellion, but in the intention to perform such acts in the far distant future. They sought to organise a mere toy revolution. None of the men are directly involved in any of the actual crimes committed so far for political reasons in Bengal. To grant them a general pardon would not interfere with strict justice. These are exactly the class of cases where mercy may be more just than justice itself. Such an act of mercy will have a deep effect upon the public mind. It will prove, not the weakness, but the conscious strength of the Government. To punish with such savage rigour school-boys and young men, whose patriotic zeal got the better of their wisdom, would indicate to the imaginative Indian, not the conscious strength, but the nervous break-down of the Government. In the face of such vindictive sentences, all this talk of "our strength and our resolution" would sound as empty bluster.

#### **A High Stroke of Policy.**

We are as anxious as any British politician or statesman to see an end of this campaign of political violence. It is a criminal waste of the best lives and the highest energies of the nation. It is a blight on the ethical and spiritual character of our race. In the name of nationalism it has a distinct tendency to denationalise our movement, and impart to our cause the coarse and vulgar garb of the European revolutions. The desire that this campaign of violence should stop—is the one thing that we have in common with the British politician and

statesman. Despite vital differences of ultimate ideals, this is the one thing of supreme immediate importance that exists in common between the Indian Nationalist and the Indian State Secretary. And it is in the interest of this common end that we press the consideration of this policy of royal clemency upon the responsible authorities here. It would, indeed, be a high stroke of superior statesmanship at this critical juncture in the Indian situation.

We do not make the wild suggestion that these men should be at once set at liberty. The King, while granting them a general pardon, so far as their conviction and sentence are concerned, may well direct their detention, like the deportees, as first-class misdemeanants, until such time when it might be thought consistent with public policy to let them out. Such an act will absolutely reconcile the royal clemency with the real object of the punishment inflicted on these men by the Court of Justice.

#### **A Mystery that Requires Clearing Up.**

Before we close our brief and fragmentary comments on the Alipur trial there is one matter which seems to us to deserve more than a passing notice. The police made many arrests. That a very fair percentage of these arrests were without due justification, Mr. Beachcroft's verdict has completely proved. Application for bail was refused in the case of each and every one of the men arrested by the police; but only one man was released by the magistrate. We do not know on what ground that man was arrested, nor do the public know what statements he made either to the police or the magistrate, and nothing has yet transpired as to why he was so readily let out. All sorts of rumour had circulated in the town upon his arrest. He was said by

some to have been the real leader of the whole movement. It was said that he had taken upon himself the entire responsibility of the whole propaganda. He was the "Guru"; the young men arrested were his Chelâ, or disciples. That he was at one time very closely associated with Bârindra Chandra and others is generally known. That was, of course, some time before the discovery of the bomb. All these must have led to his arrest. His arrest caused no surprise. But his release has thrown a veil of mystery over the affair. Now that the trial is over the public may well want to know the reasons of this strange release. Did the magistrate record any statement made by this man? Did he record the reason why he was so mysteriously let out? These are questions that want an answer. It is not wise to leave the people to form all sorts of wild conjectures in a matter of this kind. This mystery, if it is a mystery, wants clearing up in the interests of all concerned.

#### **The Indian Cotton Industry.**

We reprint in another column an interesting article on this subject recently published in the "Financial and Commercial Supplement" of "The Times" (May 21st, 1909). It shows the growth of mill industry in India for the manufacture of cotton yarns and cotton fabrics during the last fifteen years. In 1882-83 there were only 62 mills working, 1,654,100 spindles; 15,100 looms; and employing 53,600 labourers in all. The capital was 4,457,000 in pounds sterling. As against this, there were in 1907-8, 227 mills, 5,763,700 spindles; 66,700 looms; 225,400 labourers, and represented a total capital of £13,160,000. One of the features of this increase is the proportionately larger additions to the



looms than to the spindles. The looms have increased during the last five years by 23,000, while during the twenty years ending 1902-3 the total increase was by 28,600. That this increase is largely due to the Svadeshi Movement, even the writer in "The Times" has not been able to ignore.

It is all very well to talk of pure Svadeshi. Lord Minto called it "honest Svadeshi"—but can it be denied that this so-called "pure Svadeshi," that is, Svadeshi dissociated from Boycott, could never have contributed so materially to the development of the loom industry in India? The Boycott, as we have repeatedly said, is economically a mere movement of protection. And it is this protective tariff supplied by the Boycott to the Indian mill industry that has led to this development. When the Boycott was started less than four years ago, the estimated home production of cotton goods was less than one-fourth the total imports of these goods. And in this estimate of home-production, the produce of the mills, as well as of the hand looms, were included. The home production of unbleached goods is now equal to about one-third of the imports of these goods. This is significant in more ways than one. It not only indicates the increased production of grey goods, but is also a fair index of the class of population who have been influenced by the Boycott. Unbleached goods are used more by the poorer than by the richer classes, and this increased production of unbleached cotton goods in India shows that a fair percentage of the consumers of these goods come from the poorer classes of the community.

#### **Indian Svadeshi and European Industrialism.**

But while congratulating ourselves upon these recent developments in the cotton-mill-industry of India, as an evi-

dence of the economic potentialities of the Svadeshi and Boycott Movement, we cannot shut our eyes to the serious moral, and even economic, dangers of the development of capitalism and the factory system in our country. Indian politics had for many years past sought to imitate British methods of political agitation, and pursued the British ideal of state-socialism, ignoring the fundamental difference of the two countries in their respective political life and institutions. This imitative politics is largely responsible for the failure of our past political efforts—and for the unreality and feebleness of a good deal of our public life. It is only during the last few years that Indian politics have commenced to direct its ideals and methods in the light of the realities of Indian life and the cruel actualities of the existing political status and relations of the Indian people. India is gradually finding her true self out in her political life and aspirations, But the prevailing economic thought and aspirations of a large section of the English-educated community are still following the lines of economic development of the European peoples. Industrial progress in Europe has been associated with the growth of capitalism and the organisation of huge factories. As a result, the interests of humanity have been increasingly sacrificed in almost every European country to the necessity for increased production of commodity. European capitalist-industrialism is on its last legs to-day. It stands aghast before the enormity of the problems both social and economic that it has created but cannot solve. "With all this experience of European industrialism before us, it will be culpable folly to follow in the footsteps of Europe, and import a foreign and almost inhuman industrial system into a primitive and morally superior social life. The problem before

India is how to devise measures for the industrial and economic advancement of the people without in any way destroying their higher humanity. This humanity has grown around our domestic life and social relations. The domestic life has, so to say, grown around our hereditary homestead and our culturable fields. To take large proportions of the Indian population away from their home and their lands, and concentrate them in factories in town or suburban areas, is to strike at the very roots of their higher humanity. It is to deprive them of those opportunities and advantages for the cultivation of the higher life which the simple and more primitive life and appointments of the village invariably offer. When our manufactures compelled the admiration of the world, and our trade relations extended from Egypt to China, we were not a manufacturing people in the European sense of the term. A few artisans did congregate in capital towns, and thereby imparted the spirit of refinement of urban society to their arts and crafts, but the general body of their brother artisans lived in their hereditary homesteads and were universally attached to the land. This state of things continues largely even to-day. The weaver is not exclusively occupied with weaving. In the villages he is both a farmer and a weaver. This combination of agriculture and handicraft secures a certain amount of economic freedom to the artisan, and protects him from the slavery of the capitalist or the consumer. This freedom gives him a real interest, when he has the necessary intelligence, in his special art and craft, and leaves his mind free to apply itself to his special work or profession according to its native impulses. The finish and perfection of commodities produced under the pressure of physical wants and necessities, are not supplied by the producer

really, but by the consumer. And as the producer has to consult, in his own interest, the tastes and ideals of the largest possible number of constituents that he can secure, the room for individual initiative is entirely closed up by the degrading ideals of the market-place. All these evils are avoided by a healthy combination of agriculture and handicraft such as existed in India when India was a large manufacturing country, and such as exists there even to-day. Our industrial evolution must be based upon this healthy alliance. Not big factories, but an extensive system of home industries supplemented, where necessary, by co-operative labour, and even in some cases, where the use of machinery may be desirable, by co-operative capital subscribed by the artisans themselves—this must be our special industrial method. Without the adoption of these homely methods, the rage for industrial development that has possessed the people will work inevitable ruin.

### **The India Councils Act and the Bengal Partition.**

Lord Morley has lost one more opportunity of appeasing public opinion in Bengal to some extent. When the proposal for the institution of Executive Councils in the Provinces, now administered by a Lieutenant-Governor, was put forward, it was generally believed that it would lead to the re-union of the two Bengal provinces under one administration, with a Lieutenant-Governor and Council at its head. The new law authorises the formation of an Executive Council in Western Bengal, but Lord Morley refused to repeal the Partition and bring the Eastern districts under the new arrangement. The institution of an Executive Council in one half of divided Bengal, leaving the other half to be administered in the old

way by a Lieutenant-Governor, adds to the injury done by the original Partition. It widens the administrative difference between two parts of the same province, and, thus, aggravates the old wrong. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that even so-called Moderate opinion in the country has risen up once more in arms, not only against the Partition, but even against the new reforms. "The Bengalee," Babu Surendranath Bannerjee's organ, says:—

"The feeling is universal that Lord Morley has flouted Bengalee sentiment in so decisive a manner that nothing is to be hoped for, so far at any rate, as he is concerned. Our countrymen will bitterly reflect that the Secretary of State has chosen the moment of the passing of the Reform Bill to wound Bengalee feeling at its tenderest. He not only chose the wrong moment to blast our people's hopes, but in his manner of doing it he has betrayed a degree of littleness and melancholy meanness we never suspected Lord Morley was capable of."

Babu Surendranâth went into raptures over the "Reforms" six months ago, even before they had taken any definite shape. He has now discovered the hollowness of the whole thing, and says:—

"The Bengalees have got the reforms; but the Partition remains. That was Lord Curzon's bargain, or rather Lord Morley's bargain with Lord Curzon. We cannot admit for one moment that either of these Noble Lords has the right to bargain away our people's national existence, solidarity or future growth. If the alternatives are fairly presented to the Bengalees, they would prefer the re-union of their people to acceptance even of the reforms, with sham electorates and all the tremendous implications of the recognition of special privileges of Moslems. Nothing can be more injurious to the cause of the reform than that the impression should go forth that they have come in such questionable shape. But it is Lord Morley's doing, and he must take the responsibility for it."

### **The Bahra Dacoity Case.**

The decision of the special tribunal, constituted under the new Crimes Act in Bengal, on the Bahra Dacoity Case, will help to reassure public mind in the province to a very large extent. The tribunal was composed of the new Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, and two puisne Judges of the Calcutta High Court. They have unanimously acquitted all the accused, on the ground that the evidence produced by the police was absolutely unworthy of any credence. A strange dacoity was committed in the village of Bahra in Dacca district. The dacoits numbering, we think, twenty attacked the house of a rich man, and carried away properties to the value of twenty-five to thirty thousand rupees (£2,000). They came by boat, and this boat was followed by crowds of villagers for nearly twenty-four hours, and the police were also on its track. At one time a serious attempt was made to capture it, but was repelled by the fire arms with which the dacoits had provided themselves, and as a result one man was shot down, who died subsequently. The dacoits, though followed closely for 70 miles, were able to escape in the end, under cover of a north-wester. For weeks the police could discover no trace of the men. From the very first, the police wanted to involve the Nationalist leaders and workers in this crime; and at last got up a few men and placed them for trial before the special tribunal. The Chief Justice and his colleagues have unanimously acquitted all these. Sir Lawrence Jenkins' judgment in this case throws considerable light on the character of the Bengal police. His lordship distinctly says that the witnesses in this case have been tutored. The principle question in the case was one of identification, and the three judges were unani-

mously of opinion that the identity of the accused has in no way been established by the evidence produced before them, and, consequently, the crime with which they have been charged has not been brought home to any of them at all. This judgment deserves a more detailed notice than what the present space at our disposal would allow.

### **The Midnapur Bomb Case.**

The excellent effect produced by Sir Lawrence Jenkins' judgment in the Bahra dacoity case, has been considerably enhanced by his decision in the Midnapur Bomb Conspiracy Case, which has just been wired to this country by Reuter. In this case the police got up a huge conspiracy, and made a big haul, placing more than two dozens of people, including the Râjâh of Nârâjole and many other leading men of the district, for their trial under sections 121 and 122 of the I.P.C. The Advocate-General came to conduct the case for the Crown, but the approver having withdrawn the statements he had made to the investigating officer, he was compelled to enter a *nolle prosequi*, as regards twenty-three out of the twenty-six accused; and these, including the Râjâh of Nârâjole had, consequently, to be discharged. The case proceeded, however, against the remaining three accused. The Sessions Judge convicted and sentenced all of them. The matter came up on appeal before Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Justice Mukherjee. Their lordships have disbelieved the whole of the police evidence and quashed the conviction and ordered the release of all the three convicted men. A Central News telegram says:—

"In delivering judgment the Court declared that the confessions which the defence alleged were extorted by the police, were not voluntary, and were obtained by highly irregular procedure, the recording magistrate comply-

ing neither with the spirit nor the letter of the law. As to the finding of a bomb in the house of one of the prisoners, the judges said they were unable to waive aside altogether the theory of the defence that the bomb was placed there by the police, in view of the methods pursued by them in the case.

"This is the third important case recently in which the High Court has quashed convictions, rejecting police evidence wholesale, and censuring their methods, and the matter has created a profound sensation amongst all sections of the community.

"It is understood that the Lieutenant-Governor will hold a searching inquiry into the whole of the Midnapore affair, and in the meantime he has given orders that none of the officials concerned are to be allowed leave under any pretext."

### **Babu Surendranath Banerjee.**

Whatever some people might think of Surendranâth's present-day politics, there can be no question as to his being; practically, the father of the present political life in India. No man has done more to create this life, not only in Bengal, but all over India, than Surendranâth; and there is no man who is held in more sincere love and affection by the educated classes all over the country. Others have their own following and their sectional admirers—men holding the same views and pursuing the same ideals with them. But Surendranâth's admirers belong to all sections and all schools. In Bengal he is really the Guru of every politician of any position, in any party. The Indian residents of England are all united in giving him a hearty welcome to this land of their exile. As a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference he does not command our sympathy. He will himself, we are afraid, soon discover the awkwardness of his position there. But that is, perhaps, the greater reason why his friends and fellow-countrymen should, by their loving welcome, try to relieve the unfortunate position in which he will find

himself among the representatives of British Imperialism, in this Imperial Press Conference.

### **The Two Empires.**

We reproduce in another place a very important article published by "The Times" on the so-called Empire Day, under the above heading. The Indian Nationalist has every reason to congratulate himself upon this honest declaration of the real British policy in India. It is a clear rejoinder to the candid and honest statement of the Nationalist ideal of Svarāj. The Indian Conventionists, with their loyal creed of Colonial Self-government, will also find much healthy food for reflection here. There are two British Empires—one self-governing, the other dependent. Each is necessary for the other. The self-governing Empire cannot subsist without the dependent Empire. The implications of Lord Morley's pronouncements have been made explicit in this article in "The Times." The Indian Nationalist had no delusions about England's Imperial policy. To him "The Times'" article comes as a testimony to his correct readings of the situation. The copy-book politicians in India, however, should read, mark, and inwardly digest what "The Times" says. Had we the authority to reprint this article and publish it in a book form, we would dedicate it to the Hon. Gopāl Krishna Gokhale.

### **"The Gray's Inn Mystery."**

The action of the Benchers of Gray's Inn in regard to two Indian students, alleged to be associated with the so-called seditious propaganda in their country, created some sensation in journalistic circles in London. These students had passed their final examination, and expected, in due course, to be called at the beginning of May, and return home next month. But the Benchers re-

fused to call them, unless they cleared themselves of certain charges that had been brought against them, concerning their connection with certain propaganda against the Government of India. One of them has since been notified that the Benchers have decided to call him to the Bar next call-day, in June. The case of the other gentleman is still under consideration, and it is rumoured that the Benchers have been so worked up against him that it is almost certain that he will not be called. But the matter will not end here. The decision of the Benchers, in a matter like this, is not absolute. There can be an appeal against it to the House of Lords, and the matter is worth fighting to the end.

This action of the Benchers of Gray's Inn is not only unprecedented, but absolutely inquisitorial in its character. Have they any right to sit in judgment on a man's private or even public opinion? If there is any criminality in these opinions, there are the courts of law to judge and punish him; and when he is so punished, the Benchers may perhaps legitimately refuse to call him to the Bar. But even in that case the crime of which he may be convicted must involve serious moral turpitude. But in no case can they constitute themselves into a secret judiciary.

### **A Crusade against Indians in London.**

The India Office, or its intriguing hangers-on, seem to have started a regular crusade against the Indian residents in London. Not only are their movements constantly watched by a swarm of detectives, but even London house-owners seem to have been approached with a request not to lease out any house or flat to them unless they agree to have no political meetings there. We hear that Mr. Manmatha Mallik, who was a Parliamentary candidate at the last



General Election, has refused to take a house because of the insertion of this condition in the lease. Another Indian gentleman, who gives lessons here to private students in Hindustani, wants to take a flat which will combine private dwelling with a small school accommodation; but every house-agent whom he has seen wants an assurance that political meetings will not be held in the premises, and even then some of them have refused to lease out any flat to him. We wonder if those who are manœuvring these dirty tricks, realise what the success of their efforts will mean. Would the Indian Government feel more easy if the seven hundred young Indians now residing in the British Isles, or any large percentage of them, were to seek their education in France, or Germany, or even in America? It is foolish to count too much upon the language difficulty. The attitude of the Benchers of Gray's Inn will drive many people away from the Bar. And for scientific and technical studies, France, Germany, and America offer advantages which England cannot as yet offer.

### **The Candour of Lord Curzon.**

Whatever may be said of it from the point of view of British diplomacy or British statesmanship, as British statesmanship goes to-day, to us Indians, his candour has always seemed to be the most refreshing characteristic of the late Indian Viceroy. Lord Morley once warned the House of Commons against speaking too loudly about Indian affairs, for whatever was said there would be heard by those whom his lordship honoured with the epithet of "our enemies." But Lord Curzon never paid any heed to his Indian auditory, either when he was Viceroy out there and made stately pronouncements in the Council Chamber, the Durbar Hall, or at the friendly festive boards of Anglo-Indian exploiters, or when he has been in Eng-

land, addressing British audiences at the Guildhall, or from his place in the House of Lords. While he described the glorious heritage of the Britisher in the work and opportunities of the Indian Administration, at a great banquet at the Guildhall, during the time he was the Viceroy-on-leave of India, and pointed out how India had turned out the greatest of British Generals and British statesmen and engineers, and some of the most successful leaders of trade and industry—his lordship did not consider that there were others who also were listening to his utterances across the extensive waters, and who would put their own interpretation and value on them. That speech, remarkable equally in its eloquence and its candour, revealed with a cruel clearness the intellectual and moral implications of British domination in India to the people of that country. It was an eye-opener to many of our people. But the wind must blow, and the bird must sing, and the orator orate, under the irresistible impulse of their respective inner natures, regardless of what their activities might result in, to the outer world. This supreme impulse for self-expression seems once more to have possessed Lord Curzon recently. Speaking at a function at the Royal Asiatic Society, his lordship said that in thinking of a career for his son, he would first think of India, because—

"If I sent him there he would be doing something definite, practical, and of positive value to a large mass of human beings at a time of life when in any other country, in any other profession, he would be occupying a secondary place."

"It is open to any young man of character and ability who went to India, from whatever class he belonged, to rise to a position in that country, before he reached the age of 50, where he would be ruling with almost single authority a territory larger than that of many European kingdoms, and exercising authority greater than that of many European kings. India was the only country in the world of which that could be said."

# LEADERS OF THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

SREEJUT ARAVINDA GHOSE.

## I.

The youngest in age among those who stand in the forefront of the Nationalist propaganda in India, but in endowment, education, and character, perhaps, superior to them all—Aravinda seems distinctly marked out by Providence to play in the future of this movement a part not given to any of his colleagues and contemporaries. The other leaders of the movement have left their life behind them: Aravinda has his before him. Nationalism is their last love: it is Aravinda's first passion. They are burdened with the cares and responsibilities of large families or complex relations: Aravinda has a small family and practically no cumulative obligations. His only care is for his country—the Mother, as he always calls her. His only recognised obligations are to her. Nationalism, at the best, a concern of the intellect with some, at the lowest a political cry and aspiration with others, is with Aravinda the supreme passion of his soul. Few, indeed, have grasped the full force and meaning of the Nationalist ideal as Aravinda has done. But even of these very few—though their vision may be clear, their action is weak. Man cannot, by a fiat of his will, at once recreate his life. Our Karma follows us with relentless insistence from day to day and from death to death. To see the vision of truth and yet not to be possessed by that supreme passion for it which burns up all other desires and snaps asunder, like ashen bands, all other ties and obligations—this is the divine tragedy of most finer natures. They have to cry out with St. Paul at every turn of life's

tortuous path—"The Spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." But blessed are they for whom this tragic antithesis between the ideal and the real has been cancelled: for whom to know the truth is to love it, to love the truth is to strive after it, and to strive after the truth is to attain it: in whom there is no disparity, either in time or degree, between the idea and its realisation:—in whom the vision of the idea, by its own intrinsic strength at once attunes every craving of the flesh, every movement of the mind, every emotion of the heart, and every impulse of the will—to itself: who have to strive for its realisation, not within, but without: who have to struggle not with their own Self but with the Not-Self, who have to fight and conquer not themselves but others, in order to establish the Kingdom of God realised by them in the relations of their own inner life, in the outer actualities and appointments of the life of their own people or of humanity at large. These are, so to say, the chosen of God. They are born leaders of men. Commissioned to serve special ends affecting the life and happiness of large masses of men, they bear a charmed life. They may be hit, but cannot be hurt. They may be struck, but are never stricken. Their towering optimism, and the Grace of God, turn every evil into good, every opposition into a help, every loss into a gain. By the general verdict of his countrymen, Aravinda stands today among these favoured sons of God.

Birth is not an accident. "Accident of birth"—is the language of infidel

empiricism. Nature has no room for accidents in her schemes. It is only man's inability to trace her secrets that has coined this word to cover his ignorance. Man's birth is no more an accident than the rise and fall of tides. There can really be no accidents in evolution, the law of natural selection has killed their chance altogether. But does the operation of natural selection start only after the birth of the organism or does it precede it? Is it only a biological, or also a psychological law? Like the problems of biology, those of psychology also are inexplicable, except on this theory. The inference is irresistible that there is such a thing as natural selection even in the psychic plane. The spirit, by the impulse of its own needs, must choose and order the conditions of its own life even as the physical organism does. This is the psychic significance of heredity. Life from this point of view is not a lottery, but a matter really of determined choice. The needs of the organism supply the organs in the lower kingdom: the desires of the heart collect and create their necessary equipment and environment for the human being. On no other hypothesis can the riddle of the human life be explained more satisfactorily. It may not explain everything, but it explains many things absolutely un-understandable and inexplicable on any other hypothesis. This at least has been the Hindu view from time immemorial. A crude intuition at first, it became a settled conviction with the people subsequently, with a fundamental philosophy of causation behind it. And this theory stands curiously verified in Aravinda Ghose.

Two strong currents of thoughts, ideals, and aspirations met together and strove for supremacy in Bengal, among the generation to which Aravinda's

parents belonged. One was the current of Hindu Nationalism—of the revived life, culture and ideals of the nation that had lain dormant for centuries and had been discarded as lower and primitive by the first batch of English-educated Hindus, especially in Bengal. The other was the current of Indo-Anglicism—the onrushing life, culture and ideals of the foreign rulers of the land, which, expressing themselves through British law and administration on the one side, and the new schools and universities on the other, threatened to swamp and drown the original culture and character of the people. The two stocks from which Aravinda sprang represented these two conflicting forces in the country. His maternal grandfather, Râj Nârâyan Bose, was one of the makers of modern Bengal. A student of David Hare, a pupil of De Rozario, an alumnus of the Hindu College, the first English college that had the support of both the Hindu community and the British rulers of the Province, Râj Nârâyan Bose started life as a social and religious reformer. But while he caught as fully as any one else among his contemporaries, the impulse of the new illumination, he did not lose so completely as many of them did, his hold on the fundamental spirit of the culture and civilisation of his race. He joined the Brâhmo-Samâj, under Maharshi Debendra Nâth Tagore, but felt repelled by the denational spirit of the later developments in that movement under Keshub Chunder Sen. In fact, it is difficult to say, to which of its two leaders—Debendra Nâth or Râj Nârâyan, the Âdi or the older Brahma Samaj, as it came to be called after Keshub Chunder Sen seceded from it and established the Brahma-Samaj of India—was more indebted for its intense and conservative nationalism. But it may be safely asserted that

while Dêbendra Nâth's nationalism had a dominating theological note, Râj Nârâyan's had both a theological and social, as well as a political emphasis. In him, it was not merely the spirit of Hinduism that rose up in arms against the onslaught of European Christianity, but the whole spirit of Indian culture and manhood stood up to defend and assert itself against every form of undue foreign influence and alien domination. While Keshub Chunder Sen pleaded for the recognition of the truths in the Hindu scriptures side by side with those in the Bible, Râj Nârâyan Bose proclaimed the superiority of Hinduism to Christianity. While Keshub Chunder was seeking to reconstruct Indian, and especially Hindu, social life, more or less after the British model, Râj Nârâyan's sturdy patriotism and national self-respect rebelled against the enormity, and came forward to establish the superiority of Hindu social economy to the Christian social institutions and ideals. He saw the on-rush of European goods into Indian markets, and tried to stem the tide by quickening what we would now call the Svadeshi spirit, long before any one else had thought of it. It was under his inspiration that a Hindu Mêlâ, or National Exhibition, was started a full quarter of a century before the Indian National Congress thought of an Indian Industrial Exhibition. The founder of this Hindu Mêlâ was also the first Bengalee who organised gymnasia for the physical training of the youths of the nation. Stick and sword plays, and other ancient but decadent sports and pastimes of the people that have come into vogue recently, were originally revived at the Hindu Mêlâ, under Râj Nârâyan Bose's inspiration and instruction. Râj Nârâyan Bose did not openly take any part in politics, but his writings and speeches did a good deal to create

that spirit of self-respect and self-assertion in the educated classes that have since found such strong expression in our recent political activities.

A strong conservatism, based upon a reasoned appreciation of the lofty spirituality of the ancient culture and civilisation of the country; a sensitive patriotism, born of a healthy and dignified pride of race; and a deep piety expressing itself through all the varied practical relations of life—these were the characteristics of the life and thought of Râj Nârâyan Bose. He represented the high-water-mark of the composite culture of his country—Vêdântic, Islamic, and European. When he discoursed on Brahma-Jnân or Knowledge of God, he brought to mind the ancient Hindu gnostics of the Upanishads. When he cited verses from the Persian poets, filling the ear with their rich cadence—with his eyes melting in love and his mobile features aglow with a supreme spiritual passion—he reminded one of the old Moslem devotees. And when he spoke on the corruptions of current religion, or the soulless selfishness of modern politics, he appeared as a nineteenth century rationalist and iconoclast of Europe. In his mind and life he was at once a Hindu Maharshi, a Moslem Sufi, and a Christian theist of the Unitarian type; and like Râm Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brâhmo-Samâj, of which Râj Nârâyan Bose was for many years the honoured president, he also seems to have worked out a synthesis in his own spiritual life between the three dominant world-cultures that have come face to face in modern India. Like Râm Mohan, Râj Nârâyan also seems to have realised in himself, intellectually and spiritually, that ideal of composite nationhood in India, which the present generation has been called upon to actualise in the social, economic, and political relations

of their country. Rāj Nārāyan Bose was also an acknowledged leader in Bengalee literature. A writer in the "Modern Review" (Calcutta) calls Rāj Nārāyan Bose the "Grandfather of Indian Nationalism." He was Aravinda's maternal grandfather; and Aravinda owes not only his rich spiritual nature, but even his very superior literary capacity to his inherited endowments from his mother's line.

If his maternal grandfather represented the ancient spiritual forces of his nation, Aravinda's father, Dr. Kristadhan Ghose, represented to a very large extent the spirit of the new illumination in his country. Dr. Ghose was essentially a product of English education and European culture. A man of exceptional parts, he finished his education in England, and taking his degree in medicine, entered the medical service of the Indian Government. He was one of the most successful Civil Surgeons of his day, and, had his life been spared, he would have assuredly risen to the highest position in his service open to any native of India. Like the general body of Indian young men who came to finish their education in England in his time, Kristadhan Ghose was steeped in the prevailing spirit of Anglicism. Like all of them, he was a thoroughly Anglicised Bengalee, in his ways of life. But unlike many of them, underneath his foreign clothing and ways, he had a genuine Hindu heart and soul. Anglicism distorts Hindu character, cripples, where it cannot kill, the inherited altruism of the man, and makes him more or less neglectful of the numerous family and social obligations under which every Hindu is born. Like the original Anglo-Saxon, his Indian imitation also lives first and foremost for himself, his wife and children; and though he may recognise the claims of his relations to his

charity, he scarcely places his purse at their service as an obligation. But Kristadhan Ghose was an exception. Though he affected the European's way of living, he never neglected the social obligations of the Hindu. His purse was always open for his needy relations. The poor of the town, where he served and lived, had in him a true friend and a ready help. In fact, his regard for the poor frequently led him to sacrifice to their present needs the future prospects of his own family and children. He had his sons educated in England; and so great was his admiration for English life and English culture that he sent them out here even before they had received any schooling in their own country. But his charities made such constant and heavy inroads into his tolerably large income, that he could not always keep his own children, living in England, provided with sufficient funds for their board and schooling. Sons of comparatively rich parents, they were brought up almost in abject poverty in a friendless country where wealth counts so much, not only physically, but also intellectually and morally. Keen of intellect, tender of heart, impulsive and generous almost to recklessness, regardless of his own wants, but sensitive to the sufferings of others—this was the inventory of the character of Dr. Kristadhan Ghose. The rich blamed him for his recklessness, the man of the world condemned him for his absolute lack of prudence, the highest virtue in his estimation. But the poor, the widow and the orphan loved him for his selfless pity, and his soulful benevolence.

When death overtook him, in the very prime of life, there was desolation in many a poor home in his district. It not only left his own children in absolute poverty, but destroyed the source of ready relief to many helpless families among his relations and neighbours.



His quick intellectual perceptions, his large sympathies, his selflessness, characterised by an almost absolute lack of what the man of the world, always working with an eye to the main chance, calls prudence, as a matter of personal calculation—these are Aravinda's inheritance in his father's line.

As a boy, Aravinda received his early education in a public school in England. The old headmaster of this school is reported to have said, when Aravinda's name came prominently before the British public in connection with the State trial of which he was made the principal accused, this time last year—that of all the boys who passed through his hands during the last twenty-five or thirty years, Aravinda was by far and above the most richly endowed in intellectual capacity. From this school he went to Cambridge, where he distinguished himself as a student of European classics, and passed the Indian Civil Service examination with great credit. Failing, however, to stand the required test in horsemanship, he was not allowed to enter the Covenanted Service of the Indian Government. But returning to India, he found employment in the Native State of Baroda, where his endowments and scholarship soon attracted the notice of the authorities, leading to his appointment to the post of Vice-Principal of the State College. Had Aravinda cared for earthly honours or wealth, he had a very splendid opening for both in Baroda. He was held in great respect by the Mahārāja. He was loved by the educated classes in the State. He was exceedingly popular with the general public. All these opened very large possibilities of preferment before him in the service of this premier Native State in India.

But there was a new awakening in the

country. A new school of thought had arisen, demanding a thorough reconsideration of the old and popular political, economic, and educational ideas and ideals of the people. It abjured the old mendicant methods of prayer, protest and petition. It proclaimed a new gospel of self-help and self-reliance. It called out to the spirit of India to come to its own, to stand upon its own inner strength, and put forth its own native efforts for the realisation of its true native life. It called aloud for leaders and workers—for the poet, the prophet, the philosopher, the statesman, the organiser and man of action, to help the sacred cause. It laid on all who would accept the call the heaviest self-sacrifice yet demanded of any public man in modern India. It wanted men who would not only, as hitherto, give to their country their leisure moments and their idle pennies, but who would consecrate all their working hours and their hard earnings to the service of the Motherland. The call went home to the heart of Aravinda. His own native Province called for him. It laid on him the vow of poverty. It offered him the yoke of the saviours of their people and the uplifters of humanity—the yoke of calumny, persecution, imprisonment and exile. Aravinda obeyed the Mother's call, accepted her stern conditions, and cheerfully took up her chastening yoke. He gave up his place in Baroda, worth £560 a year, to take up the duties of Principal in the College started at Calcutta under the new National Council of Education on a bare subsistence allowance of £10 a month.

This movement of National Education owed its origin to the latest education-policy of the Indian Government, who sought to turn the institutions of public instruction in the country to distinctly political ends. The old education had

given birth to wide-spread disaffection. It had called into being "the discontented B.A.'s." The new educational policy initiated by Lord Curzon was directed towards curing this evil. Its aim was to manufacture loyal citizens—men who would be eternally content to remain loyal to the autocratic government in their country, without any desire for free citizenship. The movement of National Education was the people's reply to this official policy. It took definite shape and form as a result of the persecution of schoolboys, by the Executive in Bengal, for their participation in the new political movements in the country. But it had a more fundamental need. The officially-controlled education had been condemned by both friends and foes alike. It was shallow and rootless. It imparted the shadow, but not the substance, of modern culture to the youths of the nation. It was artificial, because foreign in both its spirit and form. It led to a fearful waste of youthful time and energy by imposing the necessity of learning a foreign language, to receive instructions through its medium in all the higher branches of study. It was controlled by an alien Bureaucracy, in the interests, mainly, of their own political position, and only secondarily in those of the real intellectual life of the pupils. It was excessively literary, and detrimental to the industrial and economic life of the country. The movement of National Education was started to counteract these evils of the officially-controlled system of public instruction. It proposed to promote—"Education, scientific, literary, and technical, on National lines, and under National control." But though owing its initiation to the threats of the Government to close the doors of the official schools and colleges and universities against those who would take any part—even to the extent

of simply attending—in any political meeting or demonstration—the National Education Movement in Bengal sought to avoid all open causes of friction with the authorities, and professed to work *independent of* but not in *opposition to* the Government. Political in its origin, it tried to avoid all conflicts with the authorities by assuming an absolutely non-political attitude.

The school of thought to which Aravinda belonged did not support this declaration of the National Council of Education, and could not appreciate this needless dread, as they thought, of offending official susceptibilities. But they had to accept the verdict of the majority. One of the most unfortunate things in modern public life is the dependence of all large public movements on the help and support of the wealthy classes in the community. Large and organised movements in our times cannot be carried on without large and substantial financial support; and the rich are not willing, as they were in the more primitive times, to lend their support to any institution without seeking to control it. This unfortunate condition lowers the intellectual and moral tone of many a public institution, which, though financed with the monies of the richer classes, would have been able, without their personal intervention or control, to keep up a very superior intellectual or moral standard. This is particularly injurious in comparatively primitive communities, where realised wealth has not yet had time to ally itself with high culture, and where, owing to the absence of a vigorous and free national life, it has but little incentive and lesser opportunities for cultivating such an alliance.

The Nationalists are a poor party in India, and the National Council of Education, though it owed its initiation to

their efforts, passed, almost from the very beginning, beyond their sphere of influence, and Aravinda's position as the nominal head of the National College, practically controlled by men of different views and opinions, became almost from the very beginning more or less anomalous.

This was, from some point of view, very unfortunate. Aravinda had received the best modern education that any man of his country and generation could expect to have. He had for some years been a teacher of youth in Baroda, and had acquired considerable practical experience in his art. He had clearly realised the spirit and actualities of the life of his nation, and knew how the most advanced principles of modern pedagogy could be successfully worked into a thoroughly national system of education in India. He went to Calcutta as an educationist. He knew that the foundations of national independence and national greatness must be laid in a strong and advanced system of national education. He had a political ideal, no doubt; but politics meant to him much more than is ordinary understood by the term. It was not a game of expediency, but a school of human character, and, in its turn, reacting upon it, should develop and strengthen the manhood and womanhood of the nation. Education could no more be divorced from politics than it could be divorced from religion or morals. Any system of education that helps such isolation and division between the various organic relations of life, is mediæval, and not modern. It is the education of the cloister—abstract and unreal; not the education of the modern man, eager to realise his fullest manhood in and through every relation of life. Aravinda is an apostle of modern education. Indeed, his ideal of modern education is even higher than what is

understood by modern education ordinarily in Europe. It is a supremely spiritual ideal. Its aim is to actualise the highest and deepest God-consciousness of the human soul, in the outer life and appointments of human society. It was the temptation of having an open field for the realisation of this lofty educational ideal, which brought Aravinda to Calcutta. Had he been given a free hand in the new National College there, that institution would have opened an altogether new chapter not only in the history of modern education in India, but, perhaps in the whole world. To work the realism of the spirit of modern culture into the mould of the idealism of ancient theosophy, would not only secure for India her lost position as teacher of humanity, but would, perchance, even save modern civilisation from total collapse and destruction under the pressure of a gross and greedy industrialism.

But, unfortunately, neither individuals nor communities can easily break away from their own past. Most of the members of the new National Council of Education in Bengal were products of the old university. Some of the leading men in the new organisation had been closely associated, for many years, with the actual working out of the old vicious system. Steeped in the traditions of this old education, they could hardly be expected to thoroughly enter into the spirit of modern pedagogy. They were willing to give fair room to the new principles, as an experiment; but could hardly give them their absolute and whole-hearted support, as truths. It seemed to them like jumping into the unknown. While accepting the principle of National Education as education "on national lines" and "under national control," and, consequently, pledged not to accept any official aid, they were

not free from the fear of possible official opposition, which, if once aroused, would make their work, they thought, absolutely impossible. They had a real dread of the Bureaucracy, and no strong confidence, really, in their own people. The dominating and declared ideal of the new Council, consequently, came to be not in any way to *supplant*, but only to *supplement*, the existing Government-and-University-system of education in the country. A timid, temporising spirit, so galling to the reformer and the man with new visions and large ideas, generally guided the work of the National Council, and it made it almost impossible for Aravinda to throw himself heart and soul into his educational work in Calcutta. His place in the National College, though he was its nominal Principal, was not really that of organiser and initiator, but simply of a teacher of language and history, even as it had been in the Maharajah's College at Baroda. He had left Baroda in the hope of finding a wider scope of beneficent and patriotic activity in the new college in Calcutta. That hope was not realised. Almost from the very beginning he saw the hopelessness of working out a truly modern and thoroughly national system of education, through the organisation at whose service he had so enthusiastically placed himself.

But the man possessed by pure passion creates, where he cannot find them ready-made for him, his own instruments for the realisation of his supreme end in life. And wider fields of public usefulness were soon opened before

Aravinda. The Nationalist School in Bengal was without a daily English organ. A new paper was started. Aravinda was invited to join its staff. A joint stock company was shortly floated to run it, and Aravinda became one of the directors. This paper—"Bande Mataram"—at once secured for itself a recognised position in Indian journalism. The hand of the master was in it, from the very beginning. Its bold attitude, its vigorous thinking, its clear ideas, its chaste and powerful diction, its scorching sarcasm and refined witticism, were unsurpassed by any journal in the country, either Indian or Anglo-Indian. It at once raised the tone of every Bengalee paper, and compelled the admiration of even hostile Anglo-Indian editors. Morning after morning, not only Calcutta, but the educated community almost in every part of the country, eagerly awaited its vigorous pronouncements on the stirring questions of the day. It even forced itself upon the notice of the callous and self-centred British press. Long extracts from it commenced to be reproduced, week after week, even in the exclusive columns of the "Times" in London. It was a force in the country which none dared to ignore, however much they might fear or hate it, and Aravinda was the leading spirit, the central figure, in the new journal. The opportunities that were denied him in the National College he found in the pages of the "Bande Mataram," and from a tutor of a few youths he thus became the teacher of a whole nation.

# THE INDIAN STUDENT IN ENGLAND.

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The presence of so large a number of Indian young men, in the formative period of their life, without those healthy guidance and restraints that the family and society supply to youths everywhere—in the midst of an alien and by no means too spiritual a civilisation, constitutes a very serious problem, the reality of which we have more than once emphasised in these columns. We recognise the gravity of it far more than the India Office or its Anglo-Indian advisers can possibly do. We are anxious to save these young men as far as possible from the unhealthy influences that surround them here. But our standpoint is different. The Indian bureaucrat recognises in these young men a serious menace to England's political over-lordship in India. We see in the way in which they are compelled to live in this foreign land a serious menace to the special ideals and character of their race and culture. But though their viewpoints are so fundamentally different, there is one thing common between the India Office and its Anglo-Indian associates on the one side, and the Indian Nationalists on the other: it is the desire of both parties to save these young people from coming under the brutalising ideals and methods of the ordinary European revolutionary.

And our strongest objection to the methods that are being adopted to meet this situation, either directly by the India Office itself, or by intriguing Anglo-Indian pensioners who hang on its outskirts, is that these are best calculated to increase where it already exists, and create where it is as yet absent, that very evil which is sought to be controlled and cured. In the first place, the Anglo-Indian official does not command the sincere respect of the class whom he is trying to influence. He is

almost universally viewed with secret suspicion. His suavity is interpreted as cunning, his generosity as diplomacy. Some of them may be absolutely sincere, but they are not judged on their own individual character, but by the general character of the class to which they belong. When they approach Indian young men, their motives are always thought to be political, and the suspicion prevents the growth of any sort of healthy moral relations between the two parties. But the result is worse than of this merely negative type. These attempts exert a most baneful moral influence upon the young men themselves. They make them almost universally insincere. Hypocrisy, whether real or imaginary, in ordinary persons, breeds contempt in those on whom it is practised, and only injures the hypocrite: but in men in authority capable of doing personal harm to those with whom they seek to cultivate any particular relation, hypocrisy creates a sort of counter-hypocrisy in others. It becomes really a degrading game, in which either party tries to deceive and take advantage of the other. Such a game, whatever influence it may have on the character and morals on the members of the Diplomatic Corps, who play not with personal but national stakes, is absolutely soul-killing in young men playing with petty personal stakes. It destroys the natural candour and idealism of youth, the root-force in the young of all progress, whether intellectual or moral. It makes them contemptibly selfish and self-seeking at a period of life when Nature meant that they should, above all things, be unselfish and altruistic. These are the inevitable results of the methods that are being pursued under fatuous Anglo-Indian inspiration, to meet and solve the problem of the proper training of Indian

young men residing in England. There are two classes of young men who come from India to England for educational purposes. One class come for qualifying themselves for admission into either the covenanted or the uncovenanted service of the Indian Government. The other class for qualifying themselves for the learned professions. There are a fair number in both these classes who receive a stipend from the State or the Universities. The continuance of these scholarships is practically dependent upon their evading the displeasure of the India Office authorities. These scholarship holders, as well as others who are looking forward to enter the service of the Indian Government, must be naturally anxious to ingratiate themselves with the India Office and its hangers-on. This is a condition which cannot be said to be wholly conducive to the development of that healthy self-respect which is the sheet-anchor of all lofty character. Every scholarship-holder in every country holds and enjoys his stipend on the condition of his being diligent in his studies, and of good behaviour in his personal dealings and relations. But what is regarded as good behaviour under normal conditions in the natural and healthy relations of life, fall much short of the standard of good behaviour under abnormal conditions in unnatural and unhealthy relations, a standard that is arbitrarily imposed by those who profit by and control these relations. The good behaviour of a scholarship-holder in England or America is judged by quite a different standard from what is usually sought to be applied to scholarship-holders under the control of the Indian Government. An English foundation-scholar has no fear of losing his scholarship through attending socialist meetings or subscribing to socialist journals, advocating even extreme views. But an Indian scholarship-holder fears, and not

without reason, that his scholarship may be stopped any day by the Indian Government or the Indian Universities, which are practically Government Bureaus, on a report from the India Office that he attends nationalist meetings or subscribes to nationalist papers. Any propaganda of violence under the cloak of patriotism, or for working out political freedom, is a criminal propaganda, and every State has the right of suppressing it. Those who join a criminal propaganda are liable to punishment; and the law makes no distinction here between a young man and an old man, between a State scholar and an independent student. This is both the law and the fact in all free countries. But India is not a free country. The Government there consequently can punish its own scholars and pensioners for acts and associations that are not recognised as criminal by the Penal Code. This is what constitutes such a vital difference between British and Indian scholarship-holders, even in an English university.

And this difference exerts a most demoralising influence on Indian State-scholars in England. They come to this distant country depending oftentimes entirely on their scholarships. To lose them would strand them in a foreign and friendless land. The loss of their scholarships would not only mean the loss of the chances of a superior education and the prospects of a high career in life, but untold physical sufferings, and the social disgrace consequent upon the loss of sufficient means of subsistence. To live in a perpetual fear of losing what one holds necessary and valuable is not conducive to moral growth either in young or old. It almost kills every possibility of a virile manhood in the young. Such conditions are bad enough in India; they must be infinitely worse to

an Indian living in the free atmosphere of England. The contrast between the position of the British and the Indian scholars in these respects makes the position of the latter infinitely more degrading. Unconscious submission to a wrong is a hundred times better, morally, than a conscious and deliberate acceptance of it for private and personal ends. This is the tragedy of the position of the Indian students in England who hold a Government scholarship, or has to seek admission into Government service.

This state of things did not exist ten or twenty years ago. The earlier generations of Indian students lived then, in their own way, a far healthier life in the English universities. They were not made to feel any difference of treatment between them and their British fellow students, whether scholarship-holders or not, in regard to any matter. They enjoyed the same free life as the others did. And this equality of treatment and this enjoyment of freedom created in them a profound regard for the character and institutions of the land where they came to receive or finish their education. In India itself, the state of things was different. The national consciousness had not been quickened. The English-educated classes were still under the hypnotic spell of their political masters. The masses were conservative in regard to their own traditions and beliefs, but generally indifferent to the new illumination. The Government was condescending and friendly to the English-educated classes, and somewhat fearful of the masses. All these have changed now. The racial conflict has become keener. The national consciousness has become stronger. There is a spirit of self-assertion in the people, and a desire for suppressing it in the Government, that has contributed to the acuteness of the situation. The first sign of self-assertion is

the quickening of the critical faculty, and the Indian views of life have assumed not only a distinctly critical, but even a positively hostile attitude to British ideals and institutions. The old appreciation is gone. The old respect is killed. The worm has turned. The "Native" has turned on the "Feringee." The "Nigger" has turned on the "Mleccha"—the black in colour has turned on the unclean in mind and manners. The old adulation was uncritical and unreasonable; the new contempt is equally so. But the question is not whether it is right, reasonable, and just, but whether it is true. Reasonable or unreasonable, just or unjust, right or wrong, this is the atmosphere from which the present generation of Indian young men come to England. They are steeped in the spirit of racial conflict and racial hatred.

It is not a healthy spirit. It may be a potent motive force for working out grave political problems concerning national freedom—in the masses, in those that have to be cured of their verminosity before they can be moved to any great political or social effort. But it is fatal in those who are to be the future leaders of their people. Masses may be pardonably moved by blind passion towards immediate ends, but those who have to guide and control them must have a clear and firm grasp of ultimate objects and universal ends. For the Particular always passes away, the Universal alone persists. The leaders must be guided by reason, must be moved by far-off visions. For the leaders of any large movement to be guided by unreason or controlled by prejudice, is to leave the movement entirely at the mercy of the angry passions of the hour and the brutal impulse of the populace. It is to re-act the French Revolution.

There is racial conflict in India. We may regret it, but cannot deny that it is



there. Racial hatred is the inevitable result of racial conflict. This hatred cannot be cured as long as the conflict lasts. Whether it may even survive the conflict will and can only be determined by the actual methods through which the conflict may be finally overcome. That, with all the future, is in the hands of God. But there is one present duty which we owe to ourselves, our country, and humanity at large; and this is to cultivate that lofty spirit of aloofness from the passing passions and prejudices of the hour, which has been the essential characteristic and the eternal glory of Indian, and specially of Hindu, culture and character, and to view the situation and the complex problems before us with as much dispassion as possible.

And the greatest advantage of being for a time away from the actual scenes of this keen racial conflict, where it touches us at every point, in every walk of life, almost every hour of the day—consists in making the cultivation of this lofty attitude of aloofness and dispassion easier than it otherwise would be. It is of the greatest advantage in the youthful and formative period of life when human nature is at once extremely sensual and supremely idealist, when it is at once both excessively egoistic and overwhelmingly altruistic. The sojourn in England and other western countries of the pick of the intellectuals of the nation in their early youth, the seed-time of their life, offers this advantage to them. If the opportunity could be properly utilised, it might make an excellent substitute, under modern conditions, for the lost culture of the Brahmacharya, or the order of the student in ancient Hinduism. But to import the racial conflicts and the irritating political issues that have commenced to so violently disturb the serenity of Indian life and manners, to the conditions of life of the Indian student in England, is to strike at the

root of all the possible good that his sojourn in this country and residence in a British university might be expected to do. To create invidious distinctions between the British and the Indian members, either of the universities or of the Inns of Court, is not likely to remove, but, on the contrary, increase the bitterness of racial feeling and strengthen the spirit of revolt in the latter. It will not draw them away from, but rather drive them faster into undesirable revolutionary ideals and methods. Prudential considerations may counsel reticence, but will not prevent or cure the natural sense of resentment which, on the contrary, being cherished in secret, will gain in intensity more than what it may lose in expression. This, it seems to us, will be the inevitable result of the methods that are being pursued at the present moment, under evident Anglo-Indian inspiration, for controlling the life and activities of the Indian students in England.

The education of youth is no easy task. Mere imparting of knowledge may be easy, but the training of character is infinitely more difficult. Not a knowledge of mere books, but extensive acquaintance with human nature, and particularly of that special type of it to which the youths to be trained may belong, is the supreme qualifications of the teacher here. And to be successful in his work, he must guide and control the tendencies of the young people under his charge, so to say, from within, and not from without. No leader can actually lead any following without following their lead to a certain extent. There must be a genuine bond of sympathy between the leader and the led, the teacher and the taught, the trainer and those whom he wants to train. None of these conditions are fulfilled by those Anglo-Indian gentlemen who are trying to guide and control the thought and activities of the Indian youths in England.

The older generations of Indian students in England had almost exclusively personal ambitions as the motive power in their life and character. These were honourable ambitions. In some, they may have assumed the character even of patriotic aspirations, but their ideal was to advance the cause of their country by securing for themselves, and thus clearing the way for others to, high and responsible positions, either in the service of the Government or in the learned professions of law and medicine. It was easier for liberal-minded Englishmen to sincerely sympathise with these personal and even patriotic aspirations. There was no vital conflict of ideals between the Indian youths coming to receive their education in England in those days and their Anglo-Indian and British friends and sympathisers. But the character of Indian patriotism has undergone a radical change in the course of the last few years. Personal ambition stands absolutely differentiated to-day from national aspirations, and the new patriotism demands not larger employment under the Government, but greater freedom for the people. The old ideal was British citizenship, and however preposterous the claim might appear to intelligent Anglo-Indian or Britisher, it appealed at least to their national conceit and held out no threat of a final separation between England and India. It might be an impracticable, but not, from their point of view, a necessarily troublesome, much less a seriously harmful ideal. The new ideal is national autonomy, which at once arouses the worst fears of the Anglo-Indian and the Britisher alike, and is therefore regarded as not only preposterous, but positively dangerous to the public peace, which means only the perpetuation of the present absolute political authority of England in India. The young men of to-day are dreaming of a new and rejuvi-

nated India, that shall take her legitimate place as an equal among equals, a free nation among free nations, in the future federation of the world. They are moved by a passionate love of their country, born of a profound consciousness of her degrading actualities and her glorious possibilities. They are constantly chafing under the unnatural conditions of their social, economic, and political life. The older generation were always more or less ashamed of the degraded condition of their country. The new generation are proud of their race. The older generation were grateful to their English friends for their kindness and sympathy, the new generation resent these as patronising condescension. There were many things in common between the older generation of Indian young men, in the British universities or the Inns of Court, and the Anglo-Indian and English ladies and gentlemen interested in the progress of religious and social reform in India. The religious reforms followed more or less closely along the lines of European rationalism of the middle of the nineteenth century. They were closely allied to Christian rationalism. The advocates of religious reform in India found, therefore, a ready sympathy from the school of advanced religious thinkers in England. There was not only community of ideals, but absolutely no conflict of interests between the two. The English Unitarian was ready to claim, as his associate, the Indian Theist; the English Freethinker was proud of his Indian comrade. They were, indeed, something either more or less than associates or comrades. They were the product of English education, the fruit of British Administration and British civilisation in India. The Indian religious reformer indirectly fed thus the natural conceit of the British religious reformer and freethinker. There was thus really nothing between

the two classes to disturb the pleasantness of their associations or the harmony of their intellectual and social relations. The social reformer also was a pupil of England. His ideal was to transplant as much as possible British ideals and institutions to the Indian soil. There was no suspicion of any sort of intellectual or moral conflict between him and his Anglo-Indian friends and British acquaintances. And all these things made it not only easy, but exceedingly pleasant for the British and Anglo-Indian friends of India to freely mix with the Indian students of the older generations, and to guide and control, to some extent, their thoughts and activities while they were here.

Miss Carpenter, Miss Cobb, and latterly, Miss Manning, exerted considerable influence on the life and character of the Indian youths that came to receive their education in England, during their time. In India the Brâhmo-Samâj, with its propaganda of religious and social revolt, was exceedingly popular then among the English-educated classes. Hindu orthodoxy was rigid and uncompromising in its attitude towards religious and social heterodoxy. Sea-voyage was still under the old social and sacerdotal ban. To cross the "black waters" was to stand for ever out of the orthodox social communion. Fewer people consequently risked a visit to England in those days. Those who did so were more or less in open revolt against popular faiths and customs. They were either members of the Brâhmo-Samâj or in sympathy at least with its social aims and ideals. Miss Carpenter and Miss Cobb belonged to the most advanced wing of religious and social reformers in England. They and their friends were in sincere sympathy with the movement of religious and social revolt and reform in India,

and naturally could exert considerable influence over the Indian youths who came to England in those days. The National Indian Association, founded by Miss Carpenter, was in close touch at the other end with the growing body of social and educational reformers in every Indian province, and was at this end in close association with advanced British thinkers and workers. The number of Indians in England was small. Information regarding actual life in England, and specially at the different educational centres, was scanty in India. The National Indian Association offered to supply these informations. It also offered to take charge of Indian young men coming over to England for their education. It was the only social centre where Indians could meet one another and British ladies and gentlemen interested in India. Miss Manning, who took up Miss Carpenter's work, was thus able to actually stand for some years almost in the position of the local guardian of many young Indians who came to finish their education here.

Two things soon happened, however, to change this state of things. In India, there set in a strong tide of social reaction and religious revival, which helped to considerably undermine the hold of the Brâhmo-Samâj and the allied movements of social reform upon a large section of the English-educated classes. On the other hand, this reaction unconsciously liberalised orthodox thoughts and attitudes to a certain extent, and made room for a certain degree of social reform within the pale of the old society itself. In theory it worked up numerous apologetics in support of Hindu ceremonialism and Hindu caste, but in practice it actually made room for certain types of spiritual religion within the ceremonials themselves, and largely tolerated the violation of caste rules in

private and personal intercourse. But the most notable work associated with this movement of reaction and revival was the creation of a large and influential body of opinion even in orthodox circles in favour of sea-voyage. Orthodox Hindus commenced to advocate "the crossing of the black waters" for educational purposes, and offered to take people who had done so back into the orthodox communion, on condition they underwent certain ceremonies of expiation. People who had come to England commenced to be received back into their caste: some went through the ceremony of expiation, others were readmitted even without it. All this combined with other causes, some intellectual and some economic, to throw the passage to Europe wide open to a much larger number of young Indians belonging to the different provinces, and coming from families representing almost every shade of religious and social opinion, than had previously been the case. The older generation of Indian students in England were more or less of one particular type, mentally and morally. The new generation included many types. The older generation were practically homogenous, and could therefore be easily brought together upon some common platform and under some common influence. Their successors were a heterogeneous mass, and could not therefore be so easily brought together upon any common platform or under the influence of any particular set or class of Englishmen and women. This became an initial difficulty in dealing with them.

Another difficulty, and a more serious one, was created by the capture of the old organisations that had for their object the promotion of intellectual and social intercourse between Indians and Englishmen by retired Anglo-Indians.

The East India Association was originally started by Mr. Dādābhāi Nāoroji to promote intellectual intercourse among Indians resident in England, and between them and liberal-minded and educated Englishmen and women. It was endowed with Indian money, but the control soon passed out of Indian hands, and it was gradually converted into so thoroughly an Anglo-Indian institution that Mr. Dādābhāi Nāoroji was driven to practically leave it alone, and start the London Indian Society upon an exclusively Indian basis. The National Indian Association, started by Miss Carpenter for the advancement of social reform, and principally of female education, and the promotion of social intercourse between Englishmen and Indians, also came within a few years to meet with a similar fate. This was exceedingly unfortunate. Few Anglo-Indians are able to treat the Indians as their equals. With every desire to be friendly with the Indian residents in England, they cannot help being more or less obtrusively patronising. It is not their fault, but perhaps their misfortune, that they have not the same manners that the stay-at-home Britisher of their own class and education almost uniformly has. It is the result of their official life in India. But whatever be the explanation, the fact is undeniable that few Indians find it possible to enter into free and friendly social intercourse consistently with their sense of self-respect, with retired Anglo-Indian ladies and gentlemen. The decadence of the influence of the National Indian Association was almost entirely due to the increase of Anglo-Indian control over that body. It is for the same reason that the Northbrooke Indian Society was dead almost before it was born. The same cause contributed to the collapse of Dr. Leitner's Indian Home at

Woking. A large sum of money was collected in India for this Woking Institute, but the property, whatever its present value, does not belong to the public, and it is said that it is impossible to fix any legal responsibility upon anybody to render a public account of it.

Those who are concerting fresh measures for helping the large body of Indian students in England to reap the largest possible amount of benefit, both intellectually and morally, from their sojourn in this country, might well profit by all this past experience. They might well inquire before starting any new scheme into the causes of the failure of the Northbrook Institute, and the undeniable decadence of the influence of the National Indian Association. Miss Manning was endowed to a certain extent with a magnetic personality, and her death may partly account for the decadence of the association of which she was the very life and soul. But the decline had commenced even in her own life-time, and was due entirely to the preponderance of Anglo-Indian influence in its counsels. No new attempt under the same influences have the least chance of success.

In the next place, it is exceedingly doubtful whether attempts of the kind, under the auspices of any class of Englishman, will succeed at the present time. Both the political and the social ideals in India have undergone almost a radical change in the course of the last few years. The English home had an attraction to the earlier generations of educated Indians, who wanted to build up their own homes after the English pattern. But that old spirit of imitation is entirely killed in the country. Even England-returned Indians now refuse to adopt English modes of life. The desire of almost every parent or guardian who sends his son or ward to

England for finishing their education, is that they shall, as far as possible, keep to their own national ways of life and thought. The halo that surrounded the British character is also more or less completely dispelled. Close and intimate association with Englishmen and women has no longer, in the estimate of the Indian people to whatever class they may belong, that value which it had a generation ago. The Indian who comes to England now, comes not in search of any great moral good, but simply to advance his material prospects in life. His main object is, at its highest point, intellectual culture and professional equipment. Beyond this personal concern, the Indian students in England at the present time are more or less possessed with the new national spirit in India. They have, perhaps, a feebler ethical note in them than the Indian students of the older generations. As a body they lack, perhaps, even the humanitarian idealism of their predecessors. Nor can they claim any firm and clear grasp of the spiritual ideals of their race. But they have one thing, a strong sense of resentment against what they conceive to be the political wrongs of their people, and a strong desire for political freedom for their country. These are the dominating emotional factors of their life.

This excessive political emphasis is not a healthy thing. It may have to be cured, but cannot be ignored. And the cure of it can only come through a free and full recognition of the essential elements of truth that lie underneath these excesses of patriotic sentiment. Their natural love of their country is not an evil. To deny reasonable scope to this patriotic sentiment would increase and not cure any elements of unreason that may lie involved in it. Their natural desire to see their country like other countries, absolute and supreme master

of its own life and destiny, is not a criminal desire. To treat it as such would not prevent those revolutionary excesses which the attempt to repress these desires has universally led to in every part of the globe, but, on the contrary, would strengthen the forces of anarchical revolution in them. This desire must be respected. The end and the ideal of national autonomy must be accepted as reasonable and legitimate. There must be a preliminary and fundamental understanding on these points between these young men and those Englishmen or Anglo-Indians who are anxious to offer friendly help and guidance to them, and influence their education and training in this country.

Unfortunately, however, not to speak of retired Anglo-Indians steeped in bureaucratic habits of thinking and in the prejudices of their class, even pure Britishers, without the least suspicion of the taint of bureaucratic narrowness or arrogance, would, in the present state of the intellectual and moral temper of their people, find it exceedingly difficult, if not absolutely impossible, to accept with a fair mind the full logic of the spirit and ideals of the present generation of Indian young men residing in this country. When even a Radical politician like Lord Morley finds it impossible to recognise the justice or reasonableness of India's demand for absolute autonomy, and does not hesitate to allow those who cherish and preach this ideal to be crushed under the heels of executive authority, what hope is there that this ideal and this spirit shall meet with any sort of sympathy from any influential body of Englishmen and women? In the absence of this sympathy what chance is there of any body of Englishmen exerting any beneficial influence on the life and conduct of these young men?

Modern pedagogy has absolutely repudiated as futile, and condemned as harmful, all hothouse methods of the training either of the intellect or of character. Freedom is the watchword of modern education:—freedom of development through free and unrestricted use and exercise of the powers and capacities of the individual student. These have to be directed, but not restrained or suppressed. This freedom is allowed, to the largest possible extent, to British students both in schools and universities. Even theological seminaries, having a definite creed and propaganda, are finding it increasingly difficult to impose any rigid test of faith on their pupils (who are being professedly trained for the preaching of particular creeds and beliefs) without injuring the very root and foundation of their character. As regards politics, every British student is free to hold and express any opinions that may appeal to his sympathies, or compel his convictions. This freedom does them no harm. Both the man and the citizen is the better for thus "beating his music out." This freedom of thought is found out to be, on the whole, a far more effective cure of unreasonable excesses than any forced or hothouse culture, that dwarfs manhood without strengthening or chastening the mind.

The denial of this freedom to the Indian student at home is responsible more than anything else for the progress of violent revolutionary ideas among them. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, the educational authorities in India took really no notice whatever of the intellectual opinions and attitudes of Indian students, neither in religious, social, nor in political matters. Patriotic songs and recitations were freely allowed at every public function of the Indian schools. Poems and passages

breathing the most fervent aspirations for political freedom were found in the school text-books. Byron's "Isles of Greece" was a universal favourite, and used to be recited, along with the declamations of Brutus in Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar, almost at every school-and-college-function. In Bengal, poems of Hem Chandra and Navin Chandra furnished most favourite pieces for recitation to young Bengalee schoolboys. Hem Chandra's "Bhârata-Sangit" is not merely a patriotic, but distinctly a war-like piece. It loudly declares that neither prayers nor penance, neither sacrifice nor worship of the gods, will avail:—

"TUNÎR KRÎPÂNÊ KARÔ RÊ PÛJÂ"  
 "Worship, oh ye multitudes, the arrow and the sword!"

Hem Chandra's "Bhârata Sangit" was not only not sought to be suppressed, but was permitted to be frequently recited at public functions in many a public school. Had that freedom not been curtailed subsequently, had not every sentiment of patriotism and freedom been openly tabooed from the school text-books, had not a mediæval and reactionary education-policy been adopted by the later rulers of India, frightened at the sight of a new spirit and a new aspiration in the people, the ideal of national freedom would not have been driven to irrational excesses in the young intellectuals of the country. The story of Eden is an old story, but the lessons of the forbidden fruit have not yet been fully learnt by men in authority, ambitious of playing the providence in the education and training of those subject to their control.

In fact, all the recent outbursts of violence in Bengal are almost entirely due to the attempt of the Government to suppress the natural and perfectly lawful expressions of the new patriotism

in the people, and especially in the young. The first folly committed by the Government in Bengal was the penalisation of the patriotic cry, "Bande-Mataram," or "Hail 'Motherland!'" Owing to the excessive religious emphasis of the Indian national character, both Hindu and Moslem, the new patriotism at once took a distinctly religious turn, and "Bande-Mataram" became not a war-cry, as nervous Anglo-Indian officials interpreted it, but a sacred *mantra*—a sacramental formula. The penalisation of what was to the people a religious cry, struck at the most tender part of the Hindu nature, and quickened what may be called by some, even the dormant fanaticism of the people. It drove the patriotic sentiment further and deeper into the religious consciousness of the nation. There is an inherent contrariness in human nature everywhere. This official condemnation of an innocent and sacred patriotic cry naturally roused the contrariness in the people and made "Bande-Mataram," which was originally a mere Bengalee watchword, the national cry of all India. What "Banjai" is to the Japanese, that is "Bande-Mataram" to the Indian Hindus to-day. And it is not our wisdom really, but the folly of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, that has given us this great national cry and watchword.

And it shows the folly of trying to repress any growing body of sentiments among any people by the application of physical force. Those who try these means forget that moral and intellectual issues can be tackled, and perchance, if possible, even controlled, by moral and intellectual forces alone. To meet moral and intellectual force with physical force, whether open or covert, is not to prevent, but on the contrary, to strengthen and



accentuate the forces of revolution and anarchy everywhere.

It is the universal verdict of history and human nature that freedom alone can cure its own excesses. This is specially true of the stage of intellection. The Indian student, whether at home or in England, is in this stage. He is forming his opinions. He is just taking his bearings of the life before him. His vision is not yet clear. His ideas are not yet fixed. His opinions are crude and fluid. The wisest thing now is to allow him the fullest conceit of his freedom, and lead him, delicately and tenderly, to wider ranges of experience and higher altitudes of thought and emotion. Above all, his idealism must be treated as a sanctum sanctorum: as the very God of God. For in the natural idealism of youth lies the real saving grace of all youthful life. Larger experience will reveal, by a healthy and natural process, the limitations of thought and life, and in the recognition of these limitations will be found the real safety-valve of reason. It is this that always cures, by a natural and easy process, all the

irrational excesses of reason and sentiment. To try to force any such cure from the outside is not to remove, but on the contrary, to deepen, strengthen, and crystallise the fluid crudities of youthful intellections; and convert what was meant to be a passing phase in evolution, into a permanent element of character.

This is our fundamental objection against the attempts that are being made to control and regulate the life and training of Indian students in England, in the interest, not of the manhood of these young men, but of an easy and peaceful perpetuation of the political servitude of their country. We do not for a moment believe that these attempts will to the least little extent weaken the Nationalist sentiment in these young men, who will be called to the leadership of the Nationalist Movement in the course of a few years. What we fear is that these foolish attempts will drive many of them to those revolutionary excesses which in the interest of the higher life and culture of the nation, we are so anxious to avoid.

# THE ÆTIOLOGY OF THE BOMB IN BENGAL.

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## THE DEEPER ISSUES OF THE ALIPUR CASE.

It is impossible to examine the deeper issues of the Alipur Case without a careful consideration of the administrative history of Bengal for the last nine or ten years. From the ethical point of view the bomb had no justification in Bengal, any more than it has in Russia. But every disease, whether physical or moral, has an ætiology. The bomb-disease cannot be said to have none. And its pathology cannot be fully determined without an adequate consideration of its ætiology.

### **The Ætiology of the Bomb.**

We all know the ætiology of the Russian Destructionist. The best spirits of the race have never approved of his inhuman methods. Even the greater inhumanities of the Russian despotism have offered no moral justification for these. One wrong can never right another. But it cannot, at the same time, be denied that the Russian Destructionist is a necessary fruit of the Russian Autocracy. Compare Russia and England. Bombs have never appeared in English history; and the reason is that English statesmanship has never failed to meet the expanding aspirations of the English people. The adoption of Russian methods here sixty or seventy years ago would have evolved the Destructionist out of the Chartist. The expansion of popular freedom and the corresponding contraction of the ancient and unconstitutional prerogatives of the Crown, saved England from the horrors of revolutionary

activity. The previous history and evolution of England also helped this later evolutionary process considerably. But if a second George the Third had succeeded William the Fourth, instead of a young Queen, no one can say what new line English history would have taken in the exciting period of the early years of the Victorian reign.

The bomb is not an uncaused something, and there must, necessarily, be a similarity in its origin everywhere. Local conditions may lend local colouring to it. Racial characteristics may lead to peculiarities of expression, but cannot destroy the general unity of the root-cause. All assassination is due to a consciousness of the extreme helplessness of the assassin in relation to his opponent or oppressor, a strong sense of his utter lack of strength or moral and material resources to meet his enemy. It implies also his want of faith in the lawful and open methods provided by society everywhere for protecting the weak and righting his wrong. Assassinations were exceedingly rare when duelling was legal, and every man could use a sword. Assassinations will become rarer still when every man will have an absolute assurance from the State of legitimate and easy relief against all manner of wrongs. The bomb is a system of assassination. It is the worst and the most diabolical of all forms of assassinations. It injures the innocent along with the guilty. But it has, however, the same general ætiology as all other forms of assassination.

It implies the utter helplessness of the assassin in relation to his opponent. It implies a denial to him, whether real or fancied, of all open and legitimate methods of defending his own against those whom he considers to be his mortal enemies.

### **The Psychological View of Ethics and Politics.**

This is the general psychology of the bomb everywhere. It is no moral justification for it. The ethical value of human conduct consists not in succumbing to, but in manfully resisting, the psychological forces that make for wrong-doing. Hunger is the psychological reason for many an act of ordinary theft. But to suffer hunger, and indeed, even to prefer death from starvation, to taking what is not one's own, is universally considered as the supreme ethical demand. Some people rise to the height of this demand, some cannot. It is the function of the moralist, as it is the duty of society, not merely to preach against theft or punish the thief, but to so reform and re-organise the economic life and arrangements of society that few or none shall be driven by hunger to rob or steal what does not belong to them. Like modern metaphysics, modern ethics also is becoming more or more psychological every day. And no politician, much less a statesman, can in our time safely neglect to view political problems from the view of those fundamental laws of human nature which it is the function of psychology to investigate and discover. The psychology of the bomb in Bengal, therefore, is a subject of supreme importance to those, who, whether as leaders of the people or rulers of the land, have to solve the complex issues involved in it.

### **The Need of a Judicious Examination of the Causes of the Bomb.**

It may not have been easy to take a calm and critical view of the phenomenon this time last year. It had frightened the Government. It had staggered the people. The Government had to stop it, at once and at all cost; they were in no mood to think and reason. But that panic has subsided now. Familiarity with official repression has also lessened popular nervousness. The first batch of men accused of the bomb-conspiracy has been judicially tried, and some have been acquitted and some condemned to various penalties. The general situation is also said to have improved. There is absolutely no excuse now for either party to shirk the duty of a calm and judicious consideration of the causes that led to these unfortunate outbursts.

### **The Political Agitator in Europe and India.**

Lord Morley has said somewhere that no people are anywhere interested in social or political disorder. This is peculiarly true of the India people. The life in India is more or less primitive. Society, in spite of the disintegrating influences of western contact, runs still placidly in its old simple course. There are criminal classes here as elsewhere; but they have not at their command the diabolical resources of civilisation, nor are they so utterly devoid of humanity as the criminal classes in Europe. These classes, moreover, have no concern with politics. The political agitator, in the European sense, is unknown in India. The scoundrel has not learnt the art of turning patriot among us as yet; though the operation has commenced. The chrysalis-stage of the scoundrel-patriot is the self-seeking loyalist, the man who sells his con-

science and his country for a post under the Government or a retainer in Crown-cases, or for the more refined bribe of an honorary title. Those who turn loyalist to-day because it pays them to do so, will turn patriot to-morrow should patriotism pay them more later on. But it is a loosing game now in India. There is only one kind of politics that pays in India now, that which leads to the legislative councils. But the reward of Nationalist politics is prosecution, deportation, imprisonment and exile.

### **"Stake in the Country"; Europe and India.**

Nor have we the class who are described in European language as "without a stake in the country." Those who apply this term to any class of people in India ignore the fundamental difference between the social economy of Europe and India. "A stake in the country" must mean something very different in an essentially commercial and capitalist social organisation to what it may imply in a primitive social economy, based on caste and custom, and almost entirely free from the disturbing influences of the stock-market. The European's stake in his country is his inherited wealth or his current business; his wife, his children, his domestic life, his social relations, all come after. The realisation of all these is determined by his credit with his bank and his success in his business. Political unrest affects the stock-market, Popular disturbances unhinge trade and commerce. The man-with-a-stake-in-the-country, that is, with a stake in the stock-market, stands up therefore for social order in Europe as he would stand up for his life. The man without a share-script in his pocket has no stake in the country, and even may expect a betterment of his prospects in life from any

violent social disturbance that may result in a redistribution of social advantages. But life is different in India. Our stake in our country is our father and mother, our brothers and sisters, our wife and children, our friends and relations, our special and specific social position determined by our birth and parentage, our home and our land. Our domestic life and social relations are almost absolutely unaffected by the fluctuations of the money-market. Bad harvests may mean want and even starvation and death, the break-up of the home and the ruin of the family, but no social dishonour follows penury and starvation among us. And agriculture is the least disturbed by politics. As long as Mother Earth yields up her treasures to the touch of the plough, there is little cause for anxiety to the agriculturalist; and when she refuses to do so, there is little hope for him also, from other sources. The large and increasing army of the unattached—the man without wife and family, the woman without husband and children—larger than that of the unemployed, in Europe, have not arisen as yet in India. Few people there stand and live by and for themselves. Marriage is almost universal. Domestic obligations are more close and sacred. Family relations are more widely recognised and tenderly cherished, human affections better cultivated and more strong than they are in competitive and commercial Europe. And these are our stakes in our country. The European's stake in his country is material, gross, mean and degrading, our stake in our country is emotional and spiritual, refined, noble and uplifting. His is fundamentally egoistic, ours is essentially altruistic. His stake is in his Bank, ours is in our Dharma. The preservation of the social order means to us almost infinitely more than it means to

the European, and in this, the poorest man in India is more interested, really, than the richest land-owner or merchant-millionaire, for the poor man has the assurance of family life and affections, his only source of wealth and enjoyment here below, as long as there is order in society.

### **The Character and Antecedents of the alleged Bomb-throwers in India.**

But not only are these European terms inapplicable to Indian life and institutions, in a general way, they are especially inapplicable to the people who have been tried for the bomb-conspiracy. Almost every one of them belongs to respectable families, representing the highest classes of society. Not one of them, perhaps, is without private means. Even the Approver Gossain could not name a single person as directly or indirectly connected with the so-called bomb-conspiracy, who could be said to have no stake in the country. Not one of them is a "disappointed place-hunter." Many of them have yet been under no necessity to seek any employment. Some had taken a vow not to serve the Government. Some had given up all secular service with a view to devote themselves exclusively to the service of their country. The personal character and antecedents of these people must be carefully considered in tracing the true origin of the crime with which they were charged. And there is nothing in the character or antecedents of these men to suggest that they were moved by any private or personal grounds in this matter.

And however much strongly we may condemn the fatal folly of the people who adopted these outlandish methods of political propaganda, we cannot shut our eyes to the ugly fact that the real responsibility of it lies far more with the

quack statesmanship with which the irritating issues that arose out of the Partition of Bengal, was handled by the Government, than with these impatient and inexperienced young men, who have been the victims of a mad impulse, born of their exceedingly sensitive natures, wrought upon by the repressive measures of the Government of Bengal directed against the Boycott and Svadeshi Movement in that province.

### **The Ethics of Repression.**

To apply pure repression against movements that represent not the cause but only the symptoms of general political unrest in any country, when put in these general terms, would be condemned as suicidal folly by every thoughtful politician. The failure of this policy in Europe was openly referred to by Lord Morley himself in his speech at the Civil Service dinner, in July last year.

"Gentlemen, we have seen attempts in the lifetime of some of us here to-night, we have seen attempts in Continental Europe to govern by pure repression, and indeed, in days not altogether remote from our own; we have seen attempts of that sort. They have all failed. There may be now and again a spurious semblance of success, but in truth they have all failed."

The pursuit of a policy that has uniformly failed in the past could only be justified by the existence of exceptional circumstances in any particular case. Lord Morley must have been led to believe in the existence of such exceptional circumstances in India. Pure repression has failed in Europe, but it might succeed in India. "Whether we with our enormous power and resolution should fail"—his lordship did not know. He had resisted Mr. Balfour's Crimes Act in Ireland, but has sanctioned a policy similar in India, and explained away this apparent inconsistency by denying that "Ireland is exactly on the same footing"

as these three hundred millions of people—composite, heterogenous, with different races and with different faiths.” “Does anybody contend,” he said, “that any political principle is capable of application in any sort of circumstances and without reference to the conditions? I, at all events, have never taken that view.”

If, therefore, Lord Morley allowed the pursuit of a repressive policy in India, though it has never in the past succeeded anywhere in Europe, it was only on the assumption that human nature in India is fundamentally different from what may be called white-man-nature in Europe.

#### **Human Nature in India, and White-Man-Nature in Europe.**

That there is some difference, no one will deny. Human nature in India is decidedly more human than white-man-nature in Europe. The secret of the success of British rule in India is not really to be found in what Lord Morley calls “our enormous power and resolution,” but in the higher type and degree of India’s humanity. Fright drives man to submission and circumspection, and even leads, sometimes, to a complete paralysis of his activities. But it drives the wild animal to greater violence and recklessness. Terrorism must have, therefore, somewhat different effect upon different peoples according to the nature and measure of their humanity. It may demoralise the more human as well as the more ignorant and helpless; and rouse the beast in those who have a good deal more of the animal than of the human in them. But there is no man who is not a combination of both. Man in the mass still partakes of the character of the lower kingdom, and is moved more or less strongly by purely animal impulses. The danger of terrorism and repression even among a docile and spiritual people lies in the fact that it

may arouse the beast in them. Official terrorism in Bengal has already done so, or we would not have these outbursts of violence among us, darkening the fair fame of our movement and giving a handle against it to the enemies of our cause and our country.

#### **Lord Morley’s Inheritance; Lord Curzon’s Administration.**

It must, however, be acknowledged in justice to Lord Morley, that he came into an unfortunate inheritance as Secretary of State for India. The previous Government had raised stirring and fearful issues by their fatuous policy and measures. Lord Curzon had aroused a new sense of the cruel actualities of their political position in the people. He had fanned the accumulating embers of political discontent into an almost fierce flame. His earliest measure was the Calcutta Municipal Act, which practically reversed the policy of associating the representatives of the people in an increasing measure, in the work of local administration. The strength of the City Corporation was reduced in number, the elected representatives of the ratepayers were deprived of both their numerical power and their legal status in the administration of the Metropolis, and the Corporation was reduced to the position, practically, of a department of the Government.

Lord Curzon’s next act was the officialisation of the Indian Universities. In the Calcutta University specially, and in all the older universities generally, the control and direction of affairs had been gradually passing into the hands of the representatives of the people. There had been occasional friction between the non-official Indian and the official European members of the Senate. Lord Curzon reformed both these evils by increasing the official hold on the universities. Powers hitherto enjoyed by the Senate were transferred to the Syndicate.

The official element in the Syndicate was strengthened by special statutory provisions. A new office, that of a Rector, with considerable powers of control and direction, was created, and it was vested, ex-officio, in the Lieutenant-Governors and Governors of Provinces. In a word, the whole machinery of university education was brought under the complete control of the bureaucracy. The University Bill was opposed tooth and nail by every section of the articulate Indian public. The non-official Indian members moved nearly 200 amendments to it, all of which, we think, were thrown out by the compact majority in the Viceregal Council.

His lordship's next measure was the Official Secrets Act, the principle of which was characterised as distinctly Russian by even some of the most persistent opponents of Indian aspirations in the Anglo-Indian Press.

To add to the irritation caused by all these reactionary measures, Lord Curzon made certain public pronouncements, which openly ridiculed the pretensions of the educated classes in India to an increased and effective control and direction of the political affairs of their country. He put a new interpretation on the late Queen's Proclamation of 1858. He declared openly in favour of the economic exploitation of the country by foreign, and especially by British capital. He practically closed the doors of those departments of the State-service that had, what may be called, any possible strategic value, against the people of the country. Responsible positions in the Railway and Telegraph services were, by secret circulars, closed to Indian candidates. His municipal policy, his educational policy, his economic policy, all worked for one clear end—the perpetuation of the political subjection

of India to England, and the completion of the absolute economic dependence of the people on the British capitalist and the British trader. He sought to strengthen the unholy alliance that had always existed more or less openly between political administration and economic exploitation in British India. On the top of all these came the ill-starred Partition of Bengal. It was the last straw on the camel's back. And the patience and forbearance of the people completely gave way under this outrage on their most cherished sentiments.

### **The Old Mendicancy and the New Passive Resistance.**

The old Congress methods had already commenced to be discredited. They had been held up to ridicule by one of the present Moderate politicians of Bengal as political mendicancy. But it was in the days when there were neither Moderates nor Extremists in the country, when both were included under the common name of the Congresswalla. The failure of the old methods of protest, petition and prayer had raised the new cry of self-help and self-reliance in the country. Men's eyes had commenced to turn away from the Government to the people. And when the Partition of Bengal was carried out, this new spirit found practical and open expression in a general movement of Passive Resistance which started with a declaration of the boycott of British goods, as a method of political retaliation.

This boycott of British goods was soon followed by a social boycott of the new Lieutenant-Governor, who had to give effect to the Partition scheme. Sir Bamfylde Fuller found himself, upon his appointment to the new satrapy, in an exceedingly awkward and irritating position. One cannot say what a man of greater tact or self-control might have done in Sir Bamfylde's position. But



he followed a line of policy, evidently with the sanction of his official superiors, which simply increased the irritation of the people without, in any way, improving the position of the Government.

### **A Game of Petty Pin-Pricks.**

Repression to succeed in effectively putting down organised expressions of discontent must be swift, rigorous, far-reaching, and relentless. Such relentless repression is possible in Russia, but almost unthinkable in any part of the "Dependent Empire" of Great Britain, unless it finds some show of justification in some outrageous provocation from the people. Had the bomb appeared on the scene with the first flush of the anti-Partition agitation, the Government could have an excuse then for what they have been doing since the discovery of that propaganda of political violence. But the policy of the people was only one of petty pin-pricks. They refused to buy British goods. They abjured Mauritius sugar and Cheshire salt. They declined to accord public receptions, or vote welcome and congratulatory addresses, according to the usual custom, to the new Lieutenant-Governor. In so doing they outraged bureaucratic susceptibilities, but in no way violated the law of the land. They struck, however feebly it might seem, against the British merchant and manufacturer, but not directly and openly against the political power of Britain in India. There was absolutely nothing unlawful in the acts and attitudes of the people. And the very lawful character of the opposition offered to the Government, made it impossible for them to adopt a policy of swift, rigorous, relentless and far-reaching Russian repression. However much the Indian bureaucracy might be tempted to adopt such a policy, the British Democracy would

not tolerate it without some greater cause and justification than what a movement of mere lawful passive resistance offered.

Had the Government of India the patience and wisdom of far-seeing statesmanship, they could have treated this popular upheaval with dignified indifference. But the enjoyment of irresponsible executive power, in a settled country, is not conducive to the development of large statesmanship. Autocracy can learn state-craft only in an atmosphere of uncertainty and peril. The perpetual consciousness of unknown and unexpected dangers is the mother of all the 'cutest cunning of the lower animals; a similar sense of insecurity has been the parent of statesmanship in all capable tyrants. But peace, autocracy, and statesmanship are an unknown triple alliance in history. Its possibility has no sanction in human nature. Pax Britannica has entirely broken up the school for statesmanship that India offered to the early British rulers of that country. The Government had no statesmanship. Sir Bampfylde Fuller had an irritable temper. The result was that, like the people, he too started a policy of petty pin-pricks. The people's policy was, from their point of view, quite statesmanly. They wanted to cultivate the spirit of self-assertion. To refuse to receive a Lieutenant-Governor was an act of great temerity in people who had always stood in mortal fear of the white man. Not only the British officer, or the European trader, but all their sartorial progeny—grey, brown, or black—received special treatment in every walk of life, and were looked upon with unspeakable awe by the populace. For such a people to refuse to receive the ruler of the province was a great thing. Such a people could only be roused to larger political efforts

by thus slowly learning to defy, not the law, but the extra-legal wishes of the foreign rulers of the country. Illegal excesses would frighten them. This policy of pin-pricks was quite statesmanly on the people's side—its object was to train a demoralised and hypnotised population in the habits and arts of national self-assertion and political defiance. It was sheer folly in the Government; for pin-pricks are a sure proof of the desire to wound but incapacity to strike. The educated leaders knew the cause of this incapacity. They knew that it was not physical, but moral. They knew that the reluctance of the Government to adopt relentless repression against a movement of lawful Passive Resistance was due not so much to fear of the Indian as of the British people; that the deterrent moral factor was not regard for Indian, but civilised public opinion. But the masses had no such knowledge. They saw in this policy of pin-pricks of Sir Bamfylde Fuller the inner incapacity of the Government to strike openly and hard. This policy only increased the irritation of the people without taking away their conceit of successfully opposing the Government; and like small doses of poison, these petty repressions inured the people to larger doses of it. Suffering little things, they earned the capacity of boldly facing larger sufferings. The stoic indifference to pain and privations and even to death itself, of many of the men who were called upon to stand their trial for the so-called Bomb Conspiracy, is the direct moral result of the policy of petty pin-pricks with which Sir Bamfylde Fuller's name is associated in East Bengal.

### Move and Counter-Move.

This policy engaged the people in an interesting game, which offered, till the

fatal bomb exploded at Mazzaffurpur, considerable amusement to the student of contemporary politics in India. Every move of the Government was cleverly met by a counter-move from the people. The situation will be best understood, if studied—as placed in clear and concise juxtaposition—in the following chart:—

OFFICIAL MOVES.	THE PEOPLE'S COUNTER-MOVES.
(1) Prohibition of Svadeshi and Anti-Partition gatherings in public squares and on Government or Municipal land.	(1) The holding of Svadeshi and Anti-Partition demonstrations in private premises and on private lands.
(2) Prohibition of the patriotic cry of Bande Mataram in the public roads and in public places.	(2) The raising of this cry from private houses and in private lands, on the road side.
(3) Prohibition of school and college students from taking part, even to the extent of mere attending, in Svadeshi and other political meetings, on pain of fine and ultimate rustication from Government or Government-aided schools or universities.	(3) The boycott of Government universities and educational institutions, and the organisation of National University and establishment of National Schools absolutely independent of Government control.
(4) The billeting of armed military police—the Gurkhas—in Barisal. These men made daily sorties to the markets and residential quarters of the town, abusing and even occasionally assaulting unarmed and inoffensive people, tore down patriotic mottos from shop-windows and the walls even of private dwellings; and forcibly dispersed religious gatherings—sankirtan parties—and generally established what was described by people who had no experience even of such petty official repressions before, as a reign of terror in the town.	(4) People submitted to these outrages without any attempt at retaliation or resistance on the one hand and tightened their hold on boycott on the other. A few cases were instituted in the lower courts against the more serious of these outrages. The Gurkhas soon got tired of these ex-parte assaults and commenced, it is said, to realise the religious and inoffensive character of the cry of Bande Mataram, which some mischievous person is said to have interpreted to them as foul abuse of their parentage. The officials also saw, perhaps, the failure of these methods of executive lawlessness, to drive the people to any sort of lawlessness; and the Gurkhas were, after a few weeks, withdrawn.

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(5) The assault by armed policemen on a peaceful and absolutely unarmed procession of delegates to the Provincial Conference at Barisal in 1896, and the arrest and conviction of Sreejut Surendra Nath Bannerjee under the Police Act and for contempt of Court. The conviction was set aside on appeal, and the fine refunded. The Conference was subsequently dispersed by order of the executive at a show of force, policemen with fixed bayonets walking up and down the street, while the order of the Magistrate prohibiting the proceedings of the Conference was made over to the Chairman by the Superintendent of Police.

(5) The people suffered this also, without retaliation or resistance. If public procession was made penal, walking along the streets was not yet so. Crowds of people—counted by hundreds,—walked about from place to place, going to the private quarters of the leading delegates and converting them into public meetings, and hearing speeches of popular speakers. A procession is an orderly crowd moving in files; a disorderly crowd—walking in isolated groups is not a procession, and could not be brought under the Police Act. A private company, even of hundreds of people, meeting a public man, in his private quarters, was not a conference. So the objects of both the Procession and the Conference were largely realised, without a violation even of the illegal and arbitrary orders of the executive authority. The latter won at Barisal only a physical victory. The moral victory was with the leaders of the people. And in political conflicts of this kind in which the people and the bureaucracy have been engaged in India, it is the moral victory that really counts.

### The Surprise of the Officials.

These incidents in Barisal—the failure of these executive excesses either to terrorise the people or to exasperate them to any acts of counter violence—came as a fearful surprise on the officials. This cool courage of the populace, as well as their strict discipline and obedience to law under the orders of their leaders, was a new experience to the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, and it had had a demoralising effect on him. He commenced to see visions of a huge secret

organisation, an underground gathering of strength, covering a long period of time, without which all this seemed to him to be utterly inexplicable. On the people these had a different effect. It increased their self-confidence, strengthened the roots of the movement of Passive Resistance, and developed a determination, openly avowed now from almost every platform, to no longer suffer these outrages in silence, but to repel them with force in the exercise of the lawful right of self-defence. The police were openly challenged to arrest whomsoever they liked, and placed them in due form on their trial, if they were guilty of any crime. The law would be allowed to have its way without let or hindrance. But lawlessness would not be tolerated any more, even if committed under cover and in the name of the law.

### An Impossible Situation.

What with this demoralisation of the bureaucracy, and what with the determination of the people to lawfully resist, directly and in the exercise of the right of self-defence—all lawless attempts at terrorisation of the executive Government, and the spread of the boycott—the situation in Bengal generally, and in the new province of East Bengal and Assam especially, became well-nigh impossible. This was the real reason of Sir Bamfylde's practically enforced retirement from service. Even before his resignation the Bandê Mâtaram Circular, which had prohibited and penalised this patriotic cry, had been withdrawn, and the policy of persecuting schoolboys for participating in patriotic demonstrations visibly relaxed if not fundamentally reversed. All this was a confession of defeat on the part of the bureaucracy. At least people interpreted it as such. But a confession of defeat need not be a confession of weakness or incapacity. It may

also be an acknowledgment of larger wisdom. A complete reversal of the policy that failed, would have still saved even this impossible situation. But this was not done. And a new game was started by local officials in some districts at least, which revived and increased the bitterness of the old struggle. When police lawlessness failed to terrorise the people out of the boycott vow, and set the anti-Partition agitation at rest—Moslem lawlessness, engineered and encouraged by some mischievous people in the name of the Government, applied itself to the task.

### **The Comilla Riots and the Mymensing Outrages.**

But whoever may be morally responsible for these, the facts of these disturbances, as related in the Press at the time, have not yet been disproved or even contradicted. The most prominent incidents of the Comilla disturbances may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(1) That the visit of Nawab Salimulla to Comilla, to work up a pro-Partition agitation there, was synchronous with these lawless occurrences in that town.

(2) That before proceeding to Comilla, Nawab Salimulla had taken permission of the Government to do so.

(3) That the riot first broke out when the Nawab was passing in a procession through the town.

(4) That the police refused to interfere with the rioters, though appealed to by the frightened residents.

(5) That the Magistrate refused to take notice of these acts of lawlessness, and to grant protection to the Hindus.

(6) That he referred the Comilla leaders to a Svadeshi worker, who had paid two or three visits to the town, holding some Svadeshi meetings there in the course of the preceding eight or nine months.

(7) That the Magistrate, the Commissioner of the Division, the Sessions Judge, the District Superintendent of Police, and other local European officers were entertaining Nawab Salimulla at tea, in the Club-house, when a portion of the town was being looted by Moslem hooligans, including some who had formed part of the Nawab's local "escort."

(8) That the local executive took no action to prevent all this until a Mahomedan was shot down at the public roads.

(9) That three Hindus were sent up for trial for this murder, who were convicted by the Ses-

sions Judge and sentenced—one to be hanged and the two others to transportation for life.

(10) That the High Court quashed this conviction as against all the three men, and set them free.

(11) That in course of their judgment, the Honourable Judges declared that with a view to bring this charge home to these poor men, important evidence had been "purposely withheld" by the prosecution. We quoted this part of the judgment in a recent issue, but it may be reprinted once more. The Honourable Judges said:—"The best and most reliable witnesses could have been the Commissioner of the Division, the Magistrate of the District, and Superintendent Byrne, but none of them were called by the prosecution. The non-appearance in the witness-box of the Commissioner of the Division and the Magistrate of the District had not been explained, and we have every reason to believe that Superintendent Byrne, who could have given evidence on this, as well as other points of importance, was purposely withheld from appearance at Comilla or the Court at the trial."

"The inference," said the High Court judges, "from the withholding of such witnesses is irresistible, that if examined they would not have corroborated Mukbul (the chief prosecution witness) and the other witnesses whose evidence had been given to support his statement."

The disturbances at Comilla were followed in a few weeks by a more serious disturbance at Jâmâlpur, in Mymensing. Here a Mahomedan mob was incited to attack the Hindus on the occasion of a sacred bathing festival, for which large numbers of people had come from different parts of the Province. In the course of the row, a Hindu temple was wantonly desecrated and the image of a Hindu Goddess broken. Here also there was a gun-shot case. This was followed by a search for fire-arms in the houses of some of the residents, and in one of these house-searches the police search-party, headed by the Magistrate of the District, was accompanied by a Mahomedan mob, who, in the presence of the officials, broke open the boxes of the owner, and otherwise caused considerable damage to his property. And all these combined to give a strong colouring of truth to the increasing conviction of the populace, that these acts of Moslem rowdiness had the secret sympathy, if not the positive sanction, of the officials, at least in some of the eastern districts.

### **The General Sense of Helplessness in the Country.**

All this created a general sense of helplessness in the country. Rumours of organised attack on the Hindus, and especially on Hindu boycotters, by Mahomedan roughs, were rife in many places. The unwillingness of the executive officials to give adequate protection to the Hindus had been seen both in Comilla and Mymensing. People could expect little or no help from the police, who were now employed more in putting down the Svadeshi and Boycott than in preserving peace and order in the land. The Arms Act had deprived the people of the means of self-defence. The glorious peace of Britain had killed the capacity of the people for defending their person, their property, and their honour against any attacks that might be made on them by their stronger or more lawless neighbours. This was the general situation in Bengal in the spring of 1907.

### **The Suggestion of the Bomb.**

In this general state of utter helplessness, people commenced, very naturally, to look about them for some means of safety and relief; and it was at this psychological moment that one of the Bengalee dailies of Calcutta, the "Sandhyâ," in discussing various methods of self-defence open to the people, threw out the fatal suggestion of the bomb. "Arm yourself with Kali-Mâyêr Bomâ"—the bomb of Mother Kali—that was the open prescription. It was to be a weapon of absolutely lawful self-defence. The right of self-defence had been accorded to every individual by the British laws. It was a fundamental right. Every individual was entitled, under certain circumstances, to exercise this fundamental

right. The "Sandhyâ" proclaimed this right, and appealed to the people to exercise it in defence of their person or their property, their honour and their religion, whenever these were attacked by lawless hooligans. It was a declaration of war, not against the Government, but against those who attacked private rights. It was an appeal to the people to stand by, and not against, law and order in the land. It was a lawful appeal, and though it suggested the bomb as an effective means of self-defence for people who cannot possess or use regular fire-arms, it could not be condemned as criminal. It was all the same an exceedingly dangerous suggestion. But the Government set it down as mere vain and empty bluster. Whoever had known the Bengalee to use fire-arms? Whoever had known him to manfully stand up in defence of his person or honour? It was especially unthinkable in regard to the Bengalee Hindus, the only class whom the appeal of the "Sandhyâ" could be expected to reach. The Government naturally treated all this wild and tall talk with supreme contempt.

But the situation had become too serious to the people threatened with the looting of their houses, the dishonour of their women, and the desecration of their religious places to be lightly treated. They were, as an eminent public man said during the Comilla riots, like rats in a hole. Some of them at least did not dismiss the suggestion of the "Sandhyâ" as lightly as the Government had done. Evidently they commenced to make enquiries how this bomb was made. They gradually stumbled upon the secret. They started experiments. These experiments met with marvellous success. The explosives' expert of the Indian Government is said to have testified, before the Calcutta courts, to the great cleverness with

which the Bengalee bomb-maker had made his infernal machines. It was a great achievement for people who had never received any regular training. The success intoxicated the young manufacturers. They were fired with the desire to test the worth of their work. This seems to us to be the true ætiology of the bomb in Bengal. Some sort of a political justification was sought for these fatal boyish freaks, but they had hardly any definite political motive.

That the whole affair has assumed a tremendous political significance, since this trial commenced, cannot be denied. But the Government themselves are primarily responsible for it. A fatal boyish freak was magnified into an incipient but widespread political conspiracy. Responsible public men were directly or indirectly dragged into it.

A huge state-trial was started, firing the imagination of the youthful enthusiasts who stood as accused in this trial. The manner in which this trial went on from day to day convulsed the whole country. Sensation followed sensation, quickening the dormant patriotism of the populace, and driving the sentiment deep down to the women and the masses. Had not the bureaucracy, in a fit of fear, magnified this "toy revolution" into a huge political conspiracy in this way, the situation in India, even from their point of view, would have been less complex and tense to-day than it clearly seems to be.

Bold and farseeing statesmanship may yet relieve it, and lead the new forces in the country along more or less peaceful lines. But where is that statesmanship to-day in England?

## MAHOMEDANS AND SWADESHI.

- The Lucknow Correspondent of the "Times" says:—

It is satisfactory to record the gradual awakening of the Mahomedan community of India to the benefits of industrial enterprise. For a long time the community has lain dormant, as it were; industrial enterprise has been received with disfavour, as unorthodox, and consequently Mohamedans have suffered seriously in the race for wealth and the culture which the proper use of wealth should bring. Now, however, there are distinct signs of a Mahomedan industrial renaissance, if one may use the term, and in the United Provinces, once quite a stronghold of Mahomedan conservatism, its progress has of late been very marked. For example, the co-operative movement is making headway amongst people of the artisan class, and the weaver shows a strong desire to improve his methods and increase his output accordingly. Lucknow now possesses an ice factory and flour mill run by Mahomedans in a very up-

to-date style, and a first-class hotel under Mahomedan control, with branch hotels at Mussoorie and Agra, while Cawnpore can boast of several Mahomedan firms engaged in the leather and other trades; and quite recently some extremely enterprising Mahomedan gentlemen have formed a syndicate and established rolling mills and an iron and steel factory there, which is the first of its kind in Upper India. Not only has it been started by Mahomedans, but it is under Mahomedan management, to secure which, the son of the principal director, a Mahomedan, learnt the business in England. The mills were opened with appropriate ceremony a few days ago, by his Highness the Nawab of Rampur, of Rampur State, who made an excellent speech, in which he urged Mahomedans to turn their attention to industrial and commercial pursuits. The mills are equipped with the most modern rolling plant by Messrs. Thomas Berry and Son, of Birmingham, and have a capacity for turning out 40 tons of finished iron in 24 hours.

# THE ALIPUR BOMB CONSPIRACY CASE.

It is almost impossible, especially for a writer in London, to review in detail the proceedings of this lengthy state-trial. It took about one whole year. The condensed summary of the proceedings, first before the committing Magistrate, and then before the Sessions Judge, published from day to day in the newspapers, covers many hundred columns of close print. The judgment which summarises and discusses these records is itself over three hundred pages. It has not yet been received here. In view of it all, we can only consider the various important issues raised by this case, in a somewhat summary way.

## **The Ways of the Prosecution.**

The manner in which the Crown conducted this prosecution outraged public opinion almost from the very beginning. The Sessions Judge has himself had something to say on this point. He is said to have somewhat severely commented on the lengthening of the proceedings owing to the unpreparedness of the prosecution. But anything that the judgment may contain on this point cannot in any way convey any adequate idea of the irritation caused in the public mind all over India by Mr. Norton's way of handling this delicate case. The bomb outrage at Muzafferpur, followed by the discovery of a number of these "infernal machines" in Calcutta, threw the Government of Sir Andrew Fraser into a wild panic. They seemed to see a dangerous conspirator in every Bengalee, official or non-official. They could not, consequently, entrust this case to the Bengalee Advocate-General, who now sits at the Executive Council of the Viceroy, as Law Member. We do not know if the Government offered the brief to any of the older English members of

the Calcutta Bar. How it went to Mr. Norton, who had only recently come over from Madras to Calcutta, and who had yet to make a secure position there, has never been explained or understood. Like the Bengalee Advocate-General, the Bengalee Public Prosecutor at Alipur was also left out, and Mr. Norton was instructed nominally by an English Attorney but practically by the officers of the Criminal Investigation Department. And the result of it was that the whole proceedings, especially in the lower court, before the committing Magistrate, were characterised by illegalities, some very vital and some of a merely technical character. The finger print of the amateur and lay lawyer marks, therefore, almost every page of the records of this trial. The executive appear to have realised all this, when the case came up before the Sessions, and poor Asutosh Bisvās, the Public Prosecutor at Alipur, was placed in charge of it. He seems to have prevented a repetition of the same illegalities and irregularities before the Sessions, but the initial irregularities of the court of commitment could not be cured.

A law journal might very profitably notice and discuss all these; a lay journal can only reproduce from the speech of the counsel for the defence a few prominent instances of these irregularities and illegalities. These were summarised in two petitions put in on behalf of Srijut Aravinda Ghose, before the Sessions Judge, which will be found in another page.

In the first place, the prosecution was in such a fright, and in such a hurry to do something to strike terror into the hearts of the people who were fancied to be in a state of incipient, if not open, revolt—that it did not observe even the



ordinary formalities of law in starting this case. No formal complaint was laid before the investigating Magistrate. This is not really a mere technical defect either. These technicalities are not meaningless. They are meant to ensure justice, by giving every fair and necessary opportunity to an accused to clear himself of the crime with which he is charged. A formal complaint must be a definite complaint. It must be a specific statement of particular offences committed, as alleged, by the accused. In the absence of such specification, the accused does not know what he has to meet and what he has to disprove. A formal complaint gives him also an opportunity of cross-examining the complainant, and, thereby, either to at once disprove the accusation, or, failing that, at least to discover the line of proof that will be followed to bring the charge home to him. All these are exceedingly valuable safeguards against miscarriage of justice. But all these were totally disregarded in conducting the prosecution in this case.

### **Previous History.**

Certain criminal attempts had been made by some person or persons on the lives of some Bengal officials between November, 1907 and April, 1908. Two attempts were made to wreck the Lieutenant-Governor's train. In regard to one of these attempts, the police had brought up some coolies or labourers, and these men, on the strength of the confession of one of their number, had been convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Mr. Allan, the Magistrate of Dacca, was shot, but the mystery has not yet been solved. An attempt was made on the life of Mr. Kingsford, formerly Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta, but at the time of the attempt stationed as Sessions Judge at Mazafferpur. This attempt failed, so far as Mr. Kingsford was concerned, but resulted in the death of two

English ladies, Mrs. and Miss Kenedy, wife and daughter of Mr. Pringle Kenedy, a local barrister. An attempt was also made on the life of the Maire of the French possession of Chandernagore, near Calcutta. These are the actual overt acts which formed the basis, in fact, of this state-trial.

The Mazafferpur outrage suddenly developed a new consciousness in the Criminal Investigation Department of the Bengal, and especially of the Calcutta, Police. Some houses were searched, and a large number of arrests made. These searches gave the Police a clue to what they subsequently set up as a huge conspiracy to wage war against the King, and more searches were followed by more arrests in different parts of the country. A name and address found among the papers of the first suspects were enough *prima facie* proof of the guilt of the man referred to. A money-order coupon from another party found among the papers seized by the Police was enough justification for the arrest of that party. In this way the roll of prisoners was enlarged almost indefinitely. After the first batch was put on their trial before the committing Magistrate, a second batch was secured, leading to a second preliminary trial, and while the second case was being prepared the first batch rotted in jail. These have been the prominent features of this trial. They indicate not only an utter disregard of the commonest rights that every citizen or subject enjoys everywhere in modern civilisation, but a most reckless way of dealing with serious and complex political issues in times of undeniable public unrest and excitement.

### **The Psychology of the Situation: The People.**

To understand the psychology of this situation, one must go back a little, and take a brief and general survey of the

situation in Bengal previous to the discovery of this so-called Bomb-Conspiracy. The Partition of Bengal had created a profound unrest in the Province. The special feature of the anti-Partition agitation was that it was not confined, like the previous political agitations in India, to the English-educated classes alone. As a protest against this Partition, the Bengalee leaders had declared a boycott of British goods. This boycott was rapidly spreading all over the country. Economically, it was a threat to British trade: politically, it was far more dangerous, because it created a new self-consciousness, which found expression in a new spirit of self-assertion against the Government, and revealed the marvellous capacities of self-organisation in the people.

Executive terrorisation was first tried to meet this ugly situation. Armed Goorkhas were let loose on the people at Barisal. Public meetings of an absolutely peaceful character were dispersed and public processions broken up, sometimes by the show and sometimes by the actual application of the policeman's quarter-staff. When these failed to cope with the boycott or demoralise the people generally, Mahomedan hooligans, incited by secret circulars, commenced to make organised assaults on the Hindu populations of the different parts of Eastern Bengal. In Calcutta, a series of Press prosecutions was started, and popular journalists received vindictive sentences. A young student was sentenced to whipping for a trumpety assault on an aggressive policeman. There was a riot in the very heart of the city, and an independent public enquiry into the origin and history of this riot fathered a good measure of its responsibility upon the police themselves. These were the causes of public irritation.

### **The Psychology of the Situation : The Government.**

The Boycott Movement and the general political activity of the Province following upon the Partition created a large number of voluntary organisations, specially among the young people. The promotion of physical culture: the training of the people in the ordinary arts of self-defence, with the quarter-staff, which was at one time a well-known art and a favourite pastime of the people: the organisation of village life with a view to have the affairs of the village conducted as far as possible by the villagers themselves, who were asked to look after their own sanitation and what might be called minor public works, and pursue these by means of co-operative labour; to settle their own petty disputes, whether civil or criminal, by friendly arbitration among themselves; to promote the industries of the village by mutual help and co-operation; and to organise among themselves such preventive police measures as could be undertaken without any illegal encroachment on the authority and functions of the official police. These organisations of what may be called civil volunteers, became a source of considerable anxiety to the Government. But these volunteers were keeping themselves so studiously within the bounds of the law, that the executive Government stood almost paralysed before their growing strength and influence in the country. On one occasion, that of a great religious gathering in Calcutta, in the beginning of 1908, these volunteers rendered such eminent service to the public that it forced the admiration of even the Anglo-Indian press, and received the public commendation of the head of the Government. But what they admired in public, the executive stood in mortal fear of in private. The rise of such a spirit and the revelation of such enormous re-

sources of organisation and self-discipline in a subject people are always a source of endless anxiety to autocratic authority. The Government stood face to face with an anxious situation, but they did not see any clear way to effectively meet it.

This was the situation in Bengal in the beginning of 1908. The attempts to wreck the Lieutenant-Governor's train or to shoot Mr. Allen, the District Magistrate of Dacca, revealed what the executive thought to be the dangerous possibilities of this situation. But the failure of the police to trace these criminal attempts to any nationalist group or organisation, or even to any individual nationalists, increased only the nervousness of the executive, who did not know what to do or which way to turn for a solution of the anxious situation before them. The absolutely lawful character of the nationalist agitation and organisation made the Government helpless to effectively deal with them, and demoralised more or less the entire executive machinery.

### **The Mazafferpur Bomb.**

It was at this critical juncture that the news of a fatal bomb explosion at Mazafferpur flashed through the country. It came as a shock upon the people and the Government alike. It acted in two different ways, however, on the two parties. It sent something like an electric current through the paralysed nerves of the executive, calling them at once to violent activity. It had a somewhat different effect upon the people. The executive got the opportunity which they were so long seeking for, to find a lawful excuse for crushing the national movement. It struck the people almost dumb. The leaders recognised in it a temporary moral defeat. The people saw in it an endless opening for official repression. This is briefly the psychology of the

official and popular mind at the time of the commencement of the state-trial at Alipur that has just been brought to a close.

### **The Temper of the Executive.**

The Government was not in a judicial temper. The Mazafferpur incident upset not only the Government, but the entire Anglo-Indian community, official and non-official alike. The excellence of British character comes out best at the dinner-table, its worst features jump into prominence during a panic. There was an evident panic in Anglo-India. It was natural. The sense of security of person and property under which isolated British official or trader or manufacturer or miner or planter lives in India amidst an alien population, differing from him fundamentally in character and culture, and yet overwhelming in numbers, constitutes the greatest moral asset in the life and work of Englishmen in India. This sense of security destroyed, would at once paralyse not only the machinery of political administration, but all the numerous agencies and instruments of commercial and economic exploitation of the country. The bomb disturbed very seriously this sense of security of the Anglo-Indian populations. They flew into a temper. Revenge and repression were their dominant idea. And when anger and revenge enter by the door, justice and fairness, and the judicial temper which secures these to the meanest criminal under ordinary circumstances, naturally fly out through the window.

This was the general moral atmosphere which both counsel and magistrate had to breathe almost every hour of the time they were engaged, one in prosecuting and the other in investigating into, this Bomb case. And it is not at all surprising that the earlier proceedings should have been characterised by

a recklessness on the part of the prosecution, and a readiness to give in to the prosecution almost in every matter without due regard to the law or rulings on the subject, on the part of the magistrate. These were the natural weaknesses of common human nature.

But though the indecent excesses of the counsel for the prosecution may be contemptuously dismissed, and the weakness of the magistrate may be generously condoned, the action of the Executive Government in entrusting an important case like this, involving far-reaching political issues, affecting the peace of the Government and the progress of the people, to a counsel of the temper and training of Mr. Eardly Norton was almost unpardonably **unwise**. Mr. Norton had been a successful criminal lawyer. But successful criminal lawyers are usually retained for the defence, and the qualities that go to make a successful counsel for the defence in criminal cases are not exactly of the kind that are necessary for fairly and soberly conducting an important criminal prosecution involving far-reaching political issues.

#### **Mr. Norton on the War Path.**

From the very beginning Mr. Norton was on the war path. He almost commenced his case by starting a quarrel with the counsel for the defence. He offered a gratuitous insult to the entire Bengalee Bar, an insult which, had he not expressed a timely regret for the insolent remark, might have led to a proposal for his expulsion from the Bar Library in Calcutta. But though a timely apology saved his position, it could not improve his temper; and, from start to finish, he prostituted his privileges as counsel by recklessly attacking the character of many public men in the country, and dragging their name without the least shadow of a justification

into a criminal case with which they had absolutely no concern. We have not as yet seen the judgment of Mr. Beachcraft, but his general decision in letting out seventeen out of the thirty-six men who were arraigned before him, shows the utter recklessness of the way in which the prosecution must have been conducted. Had Mr. Norton been able to substantiate, by admissible evidence, one-tenth of the wild things that he was constantly speaking of, either in his speech or in his examination of his witnesses, the result of this case would have been very different. In fact, it seems clear that the nineteen men who have been convicted by Mr. Beachcraft owe their conviction almost entirely to the confessions of some of the accused. These confessions were not recorded according to the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. They were bad in law, but the judge accepted them as substantially true. Had he gone on the strict provisions of the law, and on the technical objection raised by the defence counsel, rejected the admissibility of these confessions, not one perhaps of the thirty-six accused could have been convicted on the strength of the evidence that the prosecution had produced against them. And this one fact proves conclusively the reckless character of the prosecution.

#### **Mr. Norton's Methods.**

As an instance of the utterly reckless way in which Mr. Norton conducted this case on behalf of the Crown, may be cited his statement concerning the criminal connection between the different Nationalist organs of Calcutta. He repeatedly urged that the New India, the Bandê Mâtaram, the Sandhyâ, the Navasakti, and the Yugântar were all members of the conspiracy which he was trying to bring home to the 36 accused persons

before the court. We do not know what view, if any, the Sessions Judge has taken of this contention of Mr. Norton, but we know that he could not bring forward one piece of admissible evidence by which any such criminal association could be proved against these papers. The only evidence he could produce was (1) that Sreejut Bipin Chandra Pal, who was editor of *New India*, was also for some time editor of *Bandê Mâtaram* and of the *Navasakti*; (2) that Sreejut Syâm Sundar Chakravarti, who was on the staff of the *Sandhyâ* was also, subsequently on the staff of the *Bandê Mâtaram*; (3) that at one time the *Bandê Mâtaram* was printed by the *Sandhyâ* Press, and published from the *Sandhyâ* office; (4) that similarly the *Yugântar* was also for a few weeks printed at the *Sandhyâ* Press; (5) that Sreejut Abinâsh Chandra Bhattacharya, who was at one time manager of the *Yugântar*, was at the time of his arrest, found in possession of the *Navasakti* office; and (6) that Sreejut Aravinda Ghose, who was connected with the *Bandê Mâtaram*, was also at the time of his arrest living with Sreejut Abinâsh Chandra in the same premises. That all these papers had a common political ideal is true. They all advocated *Svarâj*, *Svadeshi* and *Boycott*, *National Education* and *National Civil Volunteering*. They were all advocates of lawful passive resistance. These are facts, and no one would deny them. But these do not suggest, necessarily, much less establish by themselves, any definite, combined, and concerted action, not to mention any criminal conspiracy. And yet it is on the strength of these well-known facts that Mr. Norton repeatedly urged that these papers were organs of a criminal conspiracy. Even assuming that all

these papers were moved by a common criminal object, namely the emancipation of their country from the British yoke, it would, in itself, establish no criminal conspiracy against them. Following this line of reasoning all the thieves in a village, all the burglars in a town, and all the co-respondents in divorce proceedings in a society, might be charged with conspiracy, to attack the rights of personal property and destroy the sanctity of the family life. And this is only one of the many instances of the reckless character of the statements and contentions of the Counsel for the Crown in this case.

Indeed, if this prosecution had been carefully and conscientiously conducted from the very beginning, if it had been entrusted to a man like the late Advocate-General of Bengal, whose legitimate function it was to guide and control an important state-trial like this, even if Mr. Norton had not lent himself almost completely to the guidance of the Superintendents and Inspectors of the Criminal Investigation Department in Calcutta, this case would not have been so unnecessarily prolonged, and so many people would not have to rot in jail for such a long time.

In fact the case was grossly mismanaged from beginning to end, to the prejudice of the accused. The prosecution seemed to have been working more or less entirely in the dark, from the commencement of these proceedings right up to the close. Certain crimes had been committed, certain acts had been done, by some person or persons: this was undeniable. In regard to the *Mazafferpur* tragedy, the responsibility was brought home to two young men, one of whom is said to have committed suicide, and the other was condemned to the gallows. Not a scrap of evidence

was brought forward at that trial connecting any of the accused in the Alipur Case with that crime. The attempt to wreck the Lieutenant-Governor's train near Naraingarh, in Midnapur District, had also formed subject of a trial; and some men had already been convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for that offence. Not a scrap of evidence of any kind had been produced at that trial either, to connect that crime with any of the accused in the Alipur Case. The mystery regarding the attempt on the life of Mr. Allan, at that time the magistrate of Dacca, has not yet been cleared up: the so-called confessions of the principal accused in the Alipur Case, that seemed to throw some light on the attempts on the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, distinctly disavowed any complicity with the Allan-affair. The case for the prosecution was that all these various criminal acts and attempts were parts of a widespread conspiracy. Isolated acts do not constitute a conspiracy, even though they are committed by the same men, unless there is an ulterior and common motive which is jointly sought to be attained by these isolated acts. The prosecution in a conspiracy case has thus to establish two things: first, that there is a common and ulterior object for which the persons charged with the conspiracy were working in concert, and second, that each one of them had direct knowledge of and participation in one or other of the various overt acts that are alleged to have been committed in the pursuit of this common object. The common object in this case, the prosecution asserted, was the subversion of British rule in India. The prosecution, however, did not put forward a single scrap of evidence to

prove that all the 36 men who were put on their trial had this common object. Barindra Chandra Ghose had such an object as a "far-off" end. But his confession could not, without independent corroborative evidence, convict others of having the same or a similar object. An attempt was made to connect some of the men with the prominent Nationalist organs of Calcutta, which openly advocated Svāraj, and preached Svadeshi and Boycott. But the fact that a man was on the staff of a paper which preached certain doctrines or principles or ideals, is absolutely no proof of his adherence to those doctrines, principles, and ideals. It is at least necessary to prove that he is the writer of particular articles that advocated these principles or ideals. Even then, the proof would be only presumptive and by no means definite or absolute: for a writer on the staff of a paper may have sometimes to write to the dictation of the responsible editor who directs and controls its policy. So even regarding the men who were proved to have been connected with the "Nava-sakti" or the "Yugântar," or the "Sandhyâ," or the "New India" or the "Bandê Mâtaram,"—this fact was no valid proof of their having any common object. An attempt was made to prove that some of the men took part in Svadeshi meetings, and delivered speeches advocating Svarāj Svadeshi and Boycott. It might well be accepted as proof of their political ideal. If that ideal was a criminal ideal they might be punished for preaching it. That might be sedition, under the present Indian law; but it could not by itself prove their participation in any criminal conspiracy. Their participation either direct or indirect, with some or all of the overt

criminal acts done in the pursuit of this common object must be definitely proved. Not a shadow of a proof was put forward by the prosecution on this point against most of these men. Svarāj is the publicly avowed ideal of the Indian Nationalists. Svadeshi and Boycott and National education are the accepted methods of the Nationalist propaganda. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy are naturally opposed to these Nationalist ideals and methods; but even they have not as yet dared to openly condemn them as unlawful or criminal. The pursuit of Svarāj is not in itself unlawful or criminal: it is the methods that may, under certain circumstances, make it so. Passive resistance is not a criminal method. The question was not whether these men aspired after Svarāj, but whether they advocated the attainment of it by the use of bombs, and the organisation of a propaganda of physical violence. And from beginning to end no evidence was brought forward to prove this point in regard to most of the men.

Indeed, the way in which the prosecution managed this case seemed absolutely chaotic and idiotic from beginning to end. And this was due to the fact that these wholesale arrests were made without any justification whatever, except the panic of the authorities and their desire to terrorise the people. The panic was natural. The desire to strike terror into the hearts of the people was also natural in view of the discovery of the bomb. It was a fearful discovery to a Government set to rule an alien and disarmed populace. And all this was responsible for the chaotic

and idiotic management of the prosecution in this case.

### **The Final Result.**

And the opinion of the Assessors as well as the verdict of the Judge are a strong and practical condemnation of the methods of the prosecution in this case. Whether the 19 men who have been convicted and variously sentenced are actually guilty of any criminal act or not, may be still an open question. We personally think that some of them are as innocent of any connection with the bomb propaganda, as Mr. Norton himself. Even if the so-called confessions be accepted as valid and admissible evidence, no one except those who made these statements has been actually proved guilty of the charge for which they were tried. Mr. Beachcraft's judgment has given general satisfaction, not because it has done full and absolute justice to all the accused, but because it has acquitted some innocent people where, in view of the general temper and attitude of the Government and the Anglo-Indian community, none was expected to be discharged. Mr. Beachcraft has done partial justice; we cannot say that he has done full justice. But we must have the full text of his judgment before we can critically examine his verdicts. But the fact that nearly half the number of those who were put up for their trial in this case have been acquitted, seems to our mind to be in itself a very severe condemnation of the ways and methods of the prosecution. It offers a silent but strong support to our estimate of the chaotic and idiotic management of the case for the Crown.

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# "REAL INDIA."

We have not read Mr. J. D. Rees's "Real India," which Mr. Lajpat Rai points out in the "Labour Leader" (14th May), has just achieved the distinction of a second edition. Mr. Rees may be a very estimable person, but his malicious dislike of the educated Hindu makes it difficult for any Hindu to wade through the pages of his book. Mr. Lajpat Rai confesses that even his large patience could not face the ordeal. But a cursory glance over the contents of this book has enabled him "to show the depths of Mr. Rees's knowledge of Indian affairs past or contemporary." On page 192 of "Real India," Mr. Rees says that the proprietor and editor of the "Punjabee" newspaper of Lahore were "deservedly sent to jail for the publication of an article in which it was practically stated that all English women who frequented dances came thither for purposes of prostitution." Mr. Lajpat Rai points out that the statement is utterly false and slanderous.

The next falsehood pointed out by Mr. Lajpat Rai is concerning the genesis of the Arya-Samaj in the Punjab.

In order to support his contention that "the Bengali clique" used the Arya Samaj, in the Punjab, as a "weapon" for "constituting themselves leaders in the Punjab," Mr. Rees states on page 197 that the Arya Samaj "had its origin in Bengal," a statement palpably wrong and devoid of any foundation. A reference to the census reports for 1891 and 1901 would have shown Mr. Rees that the Arya Samaj was first established at Bombay.

Referring to Mr. Rees's knowledge of Indian history, the writer mentions a few "frail" facts. Among other instances he cites the statement that Babar's queen gave birth to the illustrious Akbar. It is a blunder, says Mr. Lajpat Rai, for which a young Indian might have been easily ploughed in his examination.

## A FLAG FOR INDIA.

Lord Ampthill's plea for a Flag for India, published in "The Times" (18th May) would remind many of our people of the Bengalee saw "Headache without a head." But his lordship's letter contains food for reflection. His lordship says that they can obtain a distinctive flag to represent any little West Indian island; there is none for India.

Surely this is strange, seeing that but for India there would be no Empire. It is the possession of India which gives to the King of England the title of Emperor; without India the Empire could not have been established, and without India the Empire would fall to pieces. India represents one-fifth of the entire human race; India is our best customer; it is for the sake of India that we occupy Egypt; it was in India's interest that we first hoisted the Union Jack in South Africa. Nevertheless, while many of our smaller colonies have their own flags, India has none.

Flags appeal to the Indian mind. In the days of the Moguls, our predecessors in India, the "Alam" was displayed on the days of festivity and in the battlefield, just as is our own custom. We are now making a fresh appeal to the peoples of India to regard themselves as citizens of the Empire; we are seeking to forge new bonds of confidence and gratitude. Why not signalise the occasion in the same way as we have signalised every other step in the progress of Imperial expansion? The combination in the national flag of the cross of St. George with the cross of St. Andrew marked the union of England and Scotland. When Ireland joined the Union in 1801 the diagonal red cross of the banner of St. Patrick was blended in the Union Jack. And since then almost every colony has adopted a flag in which a distinctive emblem is placed in the heart of the Union Jack. Why should not the same be done for India, or, better still, for each separate province of India? There would be no difficulty about finding the distinctive emblems; they occur to the mind at once. There may be reasons against such a proposal, but I must confess my inability to discern them.

# ROLLED PLATE GLASS FACTORIES FOR INDIA.

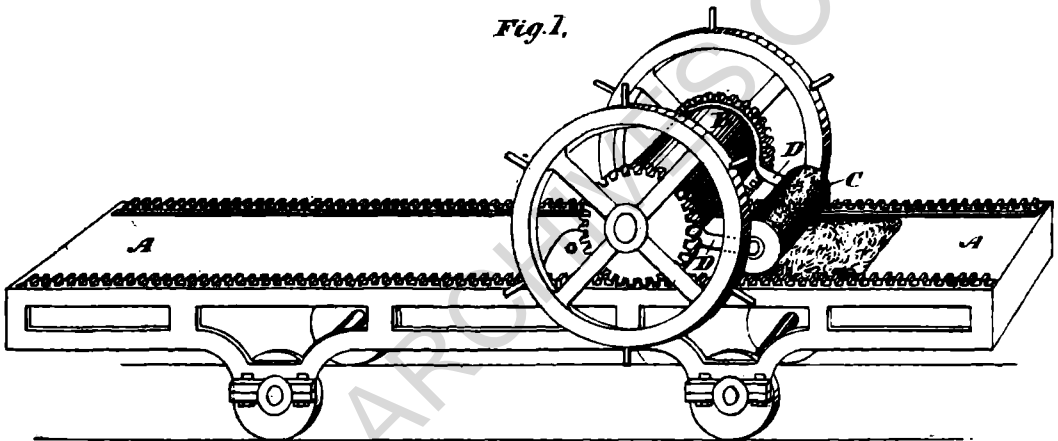
The rapidly increasing demand in India for rolled-plate-glass—as used in factories, warehouses, mills, and other large buildings—points to a promising opening for the development of a new industry for India, and we would draw the attention of our enterprising business-men to this manufacture as a most remunerative investment for capital on a moderate scale.

The manufacture of rolled-plate-glass

now much more efficiently and more cheaply done in the course of a few hours, and does not require the attention of skilled labour.

So that there is no reason why up-to-date factories for the manufacture of rolled-glass should not be installed in India, and worked entirely by our own people, so as to produce glass plates as quickly and as cheaply as in any other part of the world.

*Fig. 1.*



has, within the last few years, undergone great developments, and is now being produced almost entirely by means of improved machinery which is operated by unskilled labour. As instances of the strides which have been made in this respect we can state that whereas formerly four roller-men, trained for the work, were engaged in the rolling of a plate of glass, now-a-days the same work is being done by machinery, which is controlled solely by one youth; again, in the annealing of the glass plates—at one time a highly technical and costly process, which occupied about three days to complete—this part of the process is

The process by which rolled-glass is made—to put it briefly, and without entering into technical details which would only confuse our readers at this stage—embodies a glass melting furnace in which the ingredients of which the glass is formed are melted; this furnace may be heated either by coal, oil or wood fuel, as may be found most suitable for the local conditions under which the factory has to be worked.

After the glass is melted it is poured on to an iron table and is rolled or flattened out on the said table to the required thickness, by means of one or more heavy iron rolls. The rolled plate of

glass is then conveyed to an annealing or cooling oven specially designed for the purpose, in which it is placed and gradually and automatically annealed and cooled, so that when it finally emerges from the cooling oven—in the course of a few hours—it is ready to be cut up into plates of any required sizes.

Our illustration (Fig. 1) shows a diagrammatic form of apparatus for rolling the glass into plates, A being the iron table on which the molten glass is poured, after which the roller B is rolled over the glass, thus flattening it out into a large flat plate of the required thickness.

instance, blue, green, red or yellow glass may be melted in different parts of the furnace at the same time, and when this coloured glass is rolled out and embossed with the small roller, as just described, many beautiful and effective patterns of glass-plates may be produced. Such glass is known as "cathedral glass" on the market.

The foregoing explanation will give one some idea of the manufacture of rolled-plate-glass, but the details of construction of the machinery and plant and its installation and starting to work, require the technical knowledge of an expert. Such advice can be obtained,



Fig. 2.—FIGURED ROLLED GLASS.



Fig. 3.—"REFRAX" GLASS.



Fig. 4.—FIGURED ROLLED GLASS.

In the illustration (Fig. 1) will also be seen a small roller C (fastened behind the large roller B), and this is sometimes used for imprinting a pattern on the surface of the glass-plate after the large roller has flattened the plate—such as fine lines, or a scroll pattern, or other suitable designs, shown in Figs. 2 to 5, thereby giving the glass a fancy and brilliant appearance and enhancing its selling price. When the glass is decorated in this manner it is known as "figure-rolled" glass.

It will readily be understood that the furnace may be designed to produce glass of more than one colour, as for

however, when required, and, after the industry is once set to work, it can be controlled and worked entirely by our own people.

Amongst the illustrations which we herewith show as samples of what can be produced in this manufacture, we would specially point out the new kind of glass in Fig. 3, known as "Brearley's Refrax" glass, as this glass is now being largely used in mills, factories and other large buildings in Europe on account of its light-giving properties. Owing to the shape of the prism-like ribs on one of its surfaces, this glass, when glazed in side-windows of a room, will deflect



the light which usually falls to the floor just inside the windows, and throw it right back in a horizontal direction to the interior of the room, thus increasing the available light to a wonderful extent. Some idea of its properties may be seen in Fig. 7, where this glass has been glazed in a frame between two other common types of rolled-glass, and its

increased lighting properties are plainly to be seen by anyone.

This glass is also made with a wire-netting embedded in the body of the glass plate, which makes it fire-proof, and renders it impervious to thieves, or to breakage by missiles. The inventors are prepared to introduce its manufacture to Indian factories.



Fig. 5.—WIRED ROLLED GLASS.

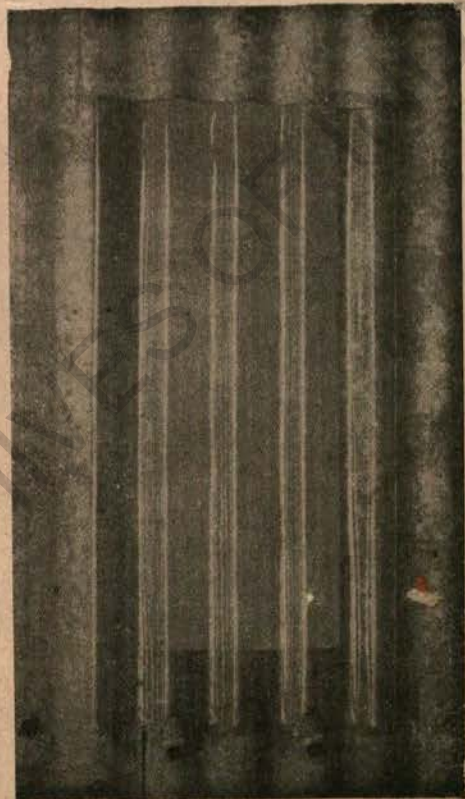


Fig. 6.—CORRUGATED ROLLED GLASS.

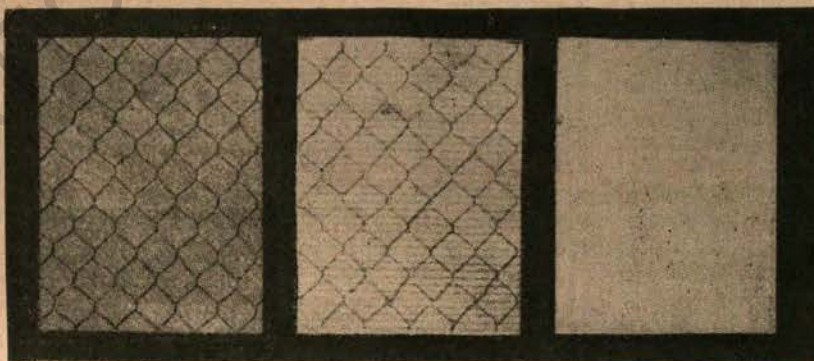


Fig. 7.—ORDINARY WIRED GLASS. WIRED "REFRAX" GLASS. ORDINARY ROLLED GLASS. PHOTO OF WINDOW showing light transmitted by different panes of glass.

# THE SWADESHI INFORMATION BUREAU.

We have received the following enquiries since our last number. It is a matter of sincere congratulation to ourselves to find that the idea of the Hind Nationalist Agency is being enthusiastically taken up by the friends of the Nationalist Cause at home. Our Consulting Engineers are making the necessary

enquiries into these matters, and our correspondents will have copies of their letters to us in due course. Our friends and constituents may entirely depend on the accuracy of the information supplied through our engineers, and may always expect the most efficient and advantageous business transactions from them.

## I.

### GLASS BLOWING MACHINERY.

DEAR SIR,

Referring to the second issue of your SVARAJ, in which a description of bottle-blowing machinery is given, I beg to bring to your notice a glass factory, started by "Paisa Fund," in Talegaon, Dt. Poona, which I had the honour to establish, and which is now working with fairly good success. One of the objects of this factory is to familiarise our people with the art of making and manipulating glass. I should like to install the bottle-blowing machinery and also to introduce the manufacture of rolled glass. I shall be obliged if you will kindly obtain from Messrs. Brearley & Sons, and other manufacturers, quotations for their bottle-blowing machineries, and also for a complete set of apparatus for making rolled glass.

I have already obtained quotations and specifications of bottle-blowing machinery from American, English, and Continental manufacturers, but my fear is that most of these would not work economically.

## II.

We have read with more than ordinary interest your article on the automatic manufacture of glass bottles, as described in the issue of your esteemed journal dated the 16th March, and several of the esteemed constituents to whom we have shown the article have been repeatedly requesting us to furnish them with fuller details, especially regarding the price of the complete set of the machinery, and the probable estimate of the outlay for a moderately equipped factory for such manufacture. We therefore request you to kindly send us by an early mail full particulars of prices, etc., about the Brearley bottle-making machines for unskilled operators.

## III.

### SUGAR MANUFACTURE.

DEAR SIR,

It is a year since we have established a sugar factory for making sugar from "Rab" and "Gur" in Sahupuri, near Kolahpur Railway Station, Bombay Presidency. Now, as the demand for pure Indian sugar is increasing day by day, we want to enlarge the factory. Will you kindly quote the prices for the following :—

- (1) One oil engine of twenty horse-power.
- (2) One oil engine of ten horse-power.
- (3) One oil engine of five horse-power.
- (4) One centrifugal sugar machine of 24 ins., which should be able to make sugar from "Rab" or "Gur," and which should not be of Messrs. S. Hadis's.
- (5) Also six gins of good makers, which should be double ruled, and should be able to gin cotton from this part.
- (6) Also a flour machine worked by steam power, and making flour of ten Bengali maunds, or 1,000 lbs. in eight hours.

If possible, enclose photographs of the above-named machinery.

## IV.

### CARD-BOARD AND PAPER FACTORY, AND SCREW AND BOLT FACTORY.

SIR,

Some of my friends have a desire to start any of the two following factories :—

- (1) A card-board and paper factory, or
- (2) A screw and bolt factory.

The heads of information required for the first are :—

- (1) The cheapest and the easiest process of manufacturing card-boards and

papers, and the lowest capital with which a small factory can be started.

(2) The cheapest raw materials obtainable in India, and the places where to find them.

As regards the second, we require the same information as above, and also if a common mechanical engineer can work the factory on a small scale.

We shall certainly welcome any other necessary information you think fit for a beginner in these enterprises.

If it is possible to learn the process of the manufacture of card-boards and papers in India, please kindly instruct me whence to learn it.

If there is any Indian who has learnt any of the two manufactures, please let me know the person and his remuneration for working the factory.

I, of course, pledge myself to send all orders for machinery, etc., through your esteemed agency.

N.B.—There are about seven paper factories at present in India, and the capital invested is about 55 lacs of rupees. The total output is about 60 lacs rupees' worth of papers per annum, and the value of imported paper is about 65 lacs of rupees. The last feature clearly indicates that there is a good field in India for another seven paper factories, or for extensions of the existing ones.—THE EDITOR.

#### V.

#### EXPORT AND IMPORT BUSINESS.

We have noted with satisfaction the opening of your business columns along lines exactly we were thinking of for the last few months, for at last we have found out one coinciding with our views, and we would be glad to work upon the bases you suggest.

References:—Messrs. \* \* \* of Manchester.

Business:—We are already in the field as an

export and import house, and can at once begin business with your agency. We have been representing several Svadeshi makers, and helping them on as far as we could, but with your help at the other end, we can hope to do a very wide scope of business here as well as at your end. We place our views before you for the purpose, and expect to hear of your plans. In the first place, we are in search of small hand-power machinery at low costs, to enable us to introduce the same among the cultivator classes, either on out-and-out sale, or hire, or instalment system, to utilise the idle and vacant hours of this class, which regularly amounts to six months in the year. If these six months be made use of by this class, after their field toils are over, they can earn a good deal, say at least Rs. 10 a month. This will go to increase the earning capacity of this class, and permanently improve their intrinsic economic staying power.

To preserve the balance of trade relations, we propose to send raw materials in kind. If European manufacturers desire to have their requirements in raw goods through you, we can supply several commodities without any difficulty, owing to our personal relations with the agricultural population.

#### VI.

#### PIN AND NAIL-MAKING MACHINERY.

DEAR SIR,

After my last letter on the subject of pin and nail-making machinery was addressed to you, I received further news from my German correspondent giving full details in reply to my queries. I am now awaiting your esteemed reply. I think, also, of having a machine to make wires from hurs, because unless that machine is attached to the pin, nail, or rivet factory, the investment might not prove a success.

#### Three Thousand Rupees for a Blow.

A serious riot has occurred at Naihati. Owing, it is said, to the manager having struck a boy employed in a mill who had given him an impudent reply, fifteen hundred hands struck work and invaded the manager's office. Subsequently they attacked the European assistants' mess, where the manager had taken refuge, and on the latter making for his bungalow they followed him thither and wrecked the interior of the house, doing damage to the amount of about Rs. 3,000.

#### Sugar Manufacture in India.

India is not generally reckoned among sugar producing countries and it does not export any, but it produces nearly 5,000,000 tons of raw sugar per annum for home consumption, which is grown in all parts of the country.

#### Seven Old Cannon Unearthed in Bengal.

A gardener in the district of Sonargaon has unearthed seven cannon. Sonargaon was the ancient capital of the Hindu and Mussulman rulers of Bengal, and it is believed these cannon belonged to the Hindu Kings.

# INDIAN NATIONALISM: IDEALS.

Lecture by Srijiit Bipin Chandra Pal, delivered in Caxton Hall, Westminster, on  
December 18th, 1908

BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN GOD,—

In the name of God, I greet you all. May His light illumine our understanding, may His love soften and clarify our hearts, may His holy impulses inspire and strengthen all our activities, and may His fatherly guidance be with us now, for ever.

When an anonymous friend sent a request to me to undertake a series of lectures on the Spirit of New Nationalism in India, meant specially for our fellow-countrymen residing in Europe, I felt that it was a call of duty which I could by no means refuse to respond to. But when I accepted this friendly and patriotic offer, I little knew that events would happen in India that would make the work that I had undertaken more than unusually difficult to me. Every large movement in human affairs, movements that seek to reconstruct the social or the economic or the political arrangements among any people, movements that aspire to uplift humanity to a higher level than that which it occupies at any particular time, all such movements are essentially movements of thought. They have always some new philosophy of life at their back, and they can only be understood and appreciated by those who have a firm grasp of the fundamental conceptions and the eternal verities of that philosophy. To trace these deeper currents of thought, or to have a vision, at once vivid and soul-stirring, of these lofty ideals that constitute the soul and essence of large world-movements, requires a certain amount of mental abstraction and moral and spiritual aloofness from the passing passions and prejudices of the hour. The events happening in India at the

present moment make it, however, I will not say impossible, for to the Hindu at least, it has never been impossible to negate all outer turmoils, and rise above all ephemeral conflicts, however keen or distracting they might be, and at any moment to enter into the sanctuary of the soul, and there, the spirit communing with spirit, get a vision of the eternal amidst the fleeting shadows of outer things and events—but though not altogether impossible, I feel that these events have made it considerably difficult for us, just at this moment, to induce that calm and philosophic attitude which is so necessary for a proper understanding of the great movement to the service of which God has called us all. And my first request to you, Brothers and Sisters, is to abstract yourself, so far as it may be, from the passing travails of the new birth to the thing that is moving and quickening and seeking outer expression, adequate forms and organs for the realisation of its divine promise—in you. Fix your mind upon the vision of the new nationhood in India. Perchance you feel that it is as yet a mere dream; but remember that our highest dreams are not dreams altogether, the dream of to-day becomes the reality of to-morrow, the dream of one generation becomes a living truth and force to those that come after them. If dream it be, it is not a fantasy of our fancy, it is a dream that no man has dreamt, but which is dreamt by God Himself. It is the dream of all the generations that have lived and laboured and died for countless centuries in your land and among your people. It is the promise of God to your race. It is the unwritten but eternal covenant of the All-Holy with

His chosen ones. It is a vision that, like a cloud by day and a pillar of light by night, has directed the footsteps of your fathers, and their fathers before them, even unto the first man who lisped in your language, and the first woman who measured out their food to the earliest family of your tribe. This nation-idea, though sometimes we call it as a new thing in India, is after all not a new idea at all. The expression that it is seeking to-day may be new, the outer forms through which it is trying to realise itself in our time may be such as were unknown to our forebears; but, whatever the expression or the form may be, the spirit, the idea, is as old as the Indo-Aryan race. It is the regulative idea that has directed and controlled the entire course of our historic evolution, even from before the birth of history. There never was a time when we were not, as a nation; there shall be no time, unless we become extinct like the Bushmen of Australia, or the North American Indians in the States, when we shall not be, as a nation. A nation is not a mere collection of human units, not even when they have certain common interests or occupy a common piece of space. A nation is an organism, has an organic life, has special ends unto itself. What we call personality or individuality in isolated men and women, that is really nationality in particular groups of human individuals, constituting the different nations of the world. There are certain tricks of nature which differentiate one individual from another, constituting their respective personalities or individualities. Generally speaking, we have all the same anatomical structures, and practically the same kind of physical or physiological organisation. Yet, though the structure of our legs and our feet are practically the same, yet one man's step is not the same as another man's. The note that my steps give out is different from the note that is given out by your steps. Our vocal structures are practically the same, and yet our voices are different. There are thus physical and physiological differences organic and undeniable, but yet all the same mysterious and inexplicable, differences that constitute what may be called the physical or physiological basis of our personality or individuality. So there are also peculiarities of thought which distinguish one man from another—peculiarities of thought indicated almost always by the character of their conversation or their style. To know a man's style is always to know the manner of his thinking. If his thoughts are loose, his style too is loose. If his thoughts are strong and compact, organised and organic, his style is vigorous and incisive. These peculiarities of thought constitute another element of our personalities. Our emotional temperaments, some are phlegmatic, and some are impassioned and impulsive, some are rash and some are prudent and calculating—all these differences of temperament constitute another element of our diverse personalities. These differences are observed in different men, but are difficult of explanation. All that we can say of them is that they are organic and original, form elements essential to the very constitution of their mind and body, and constitute what we call the individuality or personality of different men and women. As there are these inexplicable differences, physical and physiological as well as mental and emotional, which constitute our individuality, so there are similar differences between the various groups of men constituting different races and nations of the world, which form what we call their raciality or nationality. Noting down the physio-



logical differences between different groups of mankind, ethnology has divided the existing peoples of the world into a few distinct groups. Some are called Caucasians, some Mongolians, while some belong to what is called the Nigreting races. The physiological differences between these different races are well-marked and universally-recognised. Differences in the formation of the cranium, in the angle of the nose, and the pigment of the skin, are too well pronounced and too general to be ignored among these different branches of the great human family. But these different races are not differentiated from one another only in their physical or their physiological structures. There are equally pronounced differences among them in what may be called their thought-structure as well as in the structure of their different social organisations. The different races have been endowed with different capacities of thinking, and have lived from prehistoric times under different types of social organisation or political authority. Their thought-structures are revealed by the structure of their language, in the peculiarities of their grammar, indicating their original view of the fundamental world-problems. There are three essential elements of thought, the subject, the object, and the predicate, and in some languages the emphasis has always been on the subject, indicating a predominantly philosophic turn of mind in the people who have spoken that language from before the beginning of their history. In other languages, the emphasis is on the object, whilst in a few it is neither on the subject that is on being, nor on the object, but essentially on the predicate or mere doing. All these indicate the characteristic differences in the fundamental philosophy of life of these different peoples, and they

constitute an essential element in their national life and consciousness. Similarly there are some nations that are constitutionally phlegmatic. Some are inherently impulsive and impassioned, some are generous and altruistic and some calculating, prudent and selfish. Nor is it all. The original type of social organisation among the different nations differs from that of other nations. In some the type is military and despotic, where the will of the chief is practically the only law to those that are subject to him. In others this type is constitutional and democratic, where the king, whether hereditary or not, is essentially a peer among peers, and derives his authority to rule through the delegation of the ruled. All these, namely, peculiar physiological structure, special mental structure, constitutional peculiarities of temperament, and peculiar type of social or political organisation, existing among a people from prehistoric times, all these constitute what we call Nationality. As there is no man or woman, as there can be no man or woman without some distinct personality of his or her own, so there can be no nation without a distinct nationality of its own. External circumstances, alien influences, climatic or social or political conditions may help or hinder the growth and expression of our individualities, and may conceal the elements of our personal differentiations, but nothing can destroy them, and some time or other the constituent elements of our different individualities force themselves out and assert their sovereignty over all the accidents of external circumstances. So it is also with nations. Climatic conditions, historic situations, alien contact or conflict, may modify the expression of the original consciousness of a people, but can never destroy it altogether. The grouping of human units into different

social groups is not the work of an accident, but is controlled universally by what may be called the laws of natural selection. As in biological evolution, so also in historic evolution there are always two essential elements present, that of heredity on the one side, contributing the elements of permanence, that of environment on the other, supplying the explanation of variations. What is heredity in biological evolution is nationality in all forms of historic evolution. It is an ever-present factor in the life and activities of every people. It is therefore that I say that this nation-idea, though it appears to us in a new garb, and is seeking in our own time a larger, a fuller, a deeper, and a loftier expression than what it perhaps ever had before, is not altogether a new idea. It lies revealed in the oldest *ṛiks* of the earliest Vedas, it appears as a vigorous sapling in the courts and *āśramas* of the Upanishads. The story of its vigorous life is found in the Puranas. We find it in the history of its marvelous expansion through the assimilation first of the dark-skinned aboriginal races of India, next through the assimilation of the Scythian and Bactrian immigrants to our land, next in its assimilation of the great Dravidian races of the South. It sought and found new expressions and new forms in its thought and emotions, as well as in its economic, its industrial, its art, and its political life, when it came in contact with Moslem civilisation and in conflict with Moslem power, assimilating the universal elements of Islamic theology, and Saracenic culture. No, the nation-idea has never been absent in India. The continuity of our historic consciousness and evolution through countless centuries bear testimony to the presence of this idea in our midst. How different was the India of the Upanishads from that of the earliest Vedic settlers in the land, and yet how vivid are the prominent marks of both, bearing witness unto their common origin and unity of life. How different was pre-Buddhistic India from the India of Chandra Gupta and Asoka, and yet they were the same, the difference between them was only the difference between boyhood and full-grown manhood. How different again was Mahomedan India from what may be called the India of the Brahminic period, and yet even they that run may read the essential unity and likeness between the two. And this persistent unity is an absolute proof of our nationality. Our environments have changed from time to time; we have passed through various and divergent historic epochs; but neither environment nor epoch has been able to obliterate the original mark, the peculiar and pre-historic physiological or mental or social structures of our race, and it is these, and not any particular form of state organisation, or social economy, that constitute the essence of the real nation-idea. Those who either through ignorance or through interest, deny the presence of this idea in our life and history, forget the fundamental fact that there can be no evolution without a permanent and persistent Regulative Idea, and no historic continuity and progress without a persistent nation-idea. All evolution is really the evolution of some Idea. Some call it archetype, some call it logos; Plato called it Idea; it is the element of permanence in every evolution. All evolution is variation, under the influence of environment, of specific types. The persistence of the type is an absolute and essential factor in every evolution, and there can be no historic evolution, no social or civic progress, except in and through the presence and persistence of a specific national type.

Those who deny us the rights of a nation, and take us and represent us as an incoherent and unrelated mass of units who must be welded into some form of unity before they could be called a nation, forget the fundamental basis of the science of sociology and the philosophy of history. They apply whenever, and to the extent, they are honest and informed, the generalisations of the narrower experiences of Europe to the larger and deeper life of Asia. Because in Europe the nations have a particular kind of social economy or political organisation, are found to speak the same language and worship the same gods, and freely eat and drink and intermarry with one another; therefore, they argue, wherever there is a nation, they must also have the same institutions and customs, and fulfil the same conditions. But these are not the essential elements, but only the outer coverings of the nation-idea. The real idea of nationhood, as I have already said, is the idea of differentiation from other human groups, constituting nations.

And when we apply this canon to the consideration of the question before us, we at once discover that there have been certain elements, partly physical, but largely mental and social, that have distinguished and differentiated us from prehistoric times from the other groups of humanity. We share the physical and the mental and the social structures common to that great branch of the human family called Aryan or Caucasian, and as such, we stand differentiated from the Mongolian or the Semitic or the Nigretising races. The peculiar mental characteristic of the Aryan is his innate sense of the spiritual and the universal. But this common Aryan type of mind took two different shapes among the two branches of the Aryan family, the European and the Indian. The

European Aryan viewed the whole as realised in and through the relations of its parts, and thus there was a wonderful development of politics, which concerns itself with the perfected relations of individuals to individuals forming members of the state viewed as the whole of the social organism, a wonderful development of art, specially of painting and sculpture, which sought to realise its ideal of beauty in and through the perfection of form, conceived as a harmonious whole, in which every limb and organ stood in an ideal relation to every other limb and organ; a wonderful development of logic, that concerns itself with the relations of the parts of a thought with the thought as a whole; and grammar which relates to the relations of the parts of a sentence to the sentence conceived as a perfected whole. These are the achievements of Aryan intellect in Europe—law and polity, logic and grammar, painting and sculpture, and a lofty philosophy. In India the same Aryan consciousness of the universal and the spiritual assumed a somewhat different form. It viewed the universal and the spiritual not as standing in the relations of the universe, but as abstracted from these relations. The Greeks viewed the parts in the whole, the Hindus viewed the whole in the parts. The Greeks emphasised the relations and sought to perfect them for the realisation of the whole, the Hindus negated them, and ignored the relations in their contemplation and pursuit of the unrelated and the undifferentiated whole. For the Hindu to see a drop of water was to realise not only all the rivers and the oceans, but the principle of every fluid in the world. To know the particular was to realise the universal, because the particular has its reality only and always in the universal. Every object was to him of God,—Divine, every man was the

whole of humanity,—NĀRĀYANA. In his speculations the Hindu has therefore been more metaphysical than philosophical, and in his theology more pantheistic than theistic, and even where he apprehended the supreme in and through the realities of life and its varied relations, his Concrete Universal was never divested of its transcendental character, and even his theism, as in the loftiest Vaishnavic theology, is essentially pantheistic. Neither the social exclusiveness of caste or the externalities and formalities of his exuberant ceremonialism have been able to darken his vision of either the essential unity and divinity of the human race, or of the spirituality of the highest ideal of religion and piety. An essential unity running through and towering above all the diversities of sensuous or intellectual experience, and a lofty spirituality seeking to realise itself through every form of outer sacrament or ritual, these have been the persistent characteristic of the consciousness of the Hindu race from before the birth of their history. Outer contacts, change of environments, whether physical or social, special epochs, have from time to time varied the outer expressions of this essential characteristic, but has never been able to obliterate it. This sense of the spiritual and the universal, almost an original sense in the Hindu race, has been the regulative idea in their historic evolution. It is an essential element of what may be called their nationality. But not only in their world-idea as revealed in their peculiar thought-structure, do the Indo-Aryan stand differentiated from the other branches of the great human family, but he is also separated from the non-Aryan peoples, by the peculiarities of his original social structure. If the thought-structure of a people represents their original world-idea, their social structure represents the

fundamental instruments by which they have always sought to realise that idea, in and through the varied relations of their life. As thought and language always go together, and constitute what may be called an organic whole, so the world-idea of a people and their peculiar social economy or state-organisation, in every stage of their evolution, stand in a close and organic relation to one another, as the idea and its expression. The sense of the spiritual, the innate sense in every branch of the great Aryan family, led to a ceaseless pursuit of freedom among them. The Greeks sought to realise it through science in the domain of nature, and through a free and democratic state-organisation in the realm of society. The Hindu also pursued this freedom, which is always and everywhere the very soul and essence of the spiritual consciousness, though in a slightly different way. In his relations with nature, to a certain extent, and up to a certain point, he too, pursued this freedom through science, but his intense subjectivity led him to gradually neglect this objective method of controlling the forces of nature and securing man's freedom from the restraints that his physical surroundings always impose upon him. He sought by means of mental discipline, through what may be called, psychophysical methods, to make natural forces and phenomena powerless over him. Instead of seeking to control nature through natural means and the discovery of natural laws, he sought, by mental abstraction, by an almost absolute subjugation of his senses and sensibilities to his dominant will, to cut the source of nature's power over man and his progress or destiny. The Greeks pursued freedom in their relations with nature through science. The Hindus pursued the same freedom in their relations with nature.

through philosophy and psychophysics: that is the only difference between them, difference only in methods, in ways and means, and not in regard to the ultimate ideal. But the social structure of the Hindu was the same as the social structure of the Greeks, the common social structure of the whole Aryan race. Originally, the state-organisation among the Hindus must have been of the same democratic type as is found among the Greeks. We find recollections of it in a passage in the Mahâbhârata. This epic relates to a period of Hindu history when they had developed a monarchical form of government among them. But in reply to a question put by Yudhis-thira to Bhishma as to the origin of the kingly-function, the reply is given, that originally there was neither king nor kingdom, neither punishment nor any executor of penalties, people themselves helped one another in the observance of the law, and the pursuit of Dharma. It was only when they became tired of these public duties, and some commenced to neglect them, and others taking advantage of it, commenced to appropriate to themselves the rights and responsibilities of their neighbours, that there grew up tyranny and oppression and lawlessness, and Dharma fell into decay. Grieved at the sight of the growth of lawlessness and the decadence of Dharma, and fearing the necessary disruption and disintegration of society, the gods went up to the Supreme Lord, praying for the deliverance of mankind from all this fatal anarchy and disorder. The Supreme Lord, NÂRAYANA, then first created a code of laws, and when this was completed, he, by his thought, created a son who became the first king among men. This legend reveals clearly the ideal polity of the Hindus, and it is clear that their political ideal was essentially and generically

the same as that of the European branches of the great Aryan family. In fact, the king among the Hindus, as among the old Anglo-Saxons, was in the earlier times always a peer among peers, and, originally, owed his authority to some sort of election. Even in later periods, Hindu monarchies were never of a despotic type. The will of the king was never the law of the land among the Hindus. The king, though the office was hereditary, was, after all, only the Chief Magistrate, the highest executive authority. He neither made the laws nor even enjoyed the right of veto. According to the common, but in the earlier stages of evolution, the exceedingly natural and useful fiction of all theocracies, the law was divine. It was eternal, and uncreate. It was a revelation, and no man being the author of it, none could amend or alter it. There was, consequently, no legislative assembly or authority in ancient India, as we see among the modern nations of the world; but the progressive requirements of society were met, not by new enactments made from time to time, but by means of what may be called progressive interpretations of the scriptural injunctions and ancient traditions and customs. The legislative authority was practically vested in the interpreters of the law. And the king had to administer the law as thus interpreted. Occasionally, even popular assemblies were convened for the consideration of specific questions, and their decisions were carried out by the authority of the king. The original caste of the Aryan social structure was not only maintained in India, in the constitution and management of village communities alone, as is generally known and universally admitted, but even in the constitution of the Hindu State. Both the king and the people were subordinate to the law.

The king derived his authority from it, and whoever violated the law, outraged Dharma, ceased to have that authority and such a king it is enjoined, deserves to be killed by a combination of his subjects just as the villagers combine to kill a mad dog. The sense of the spiritual and the universal, a constitutional pursuit of freedom through the negation ultimately of social obligations and the regulation of the state on constitutional principles, this has been the essential characteristics of the Hindu race almost from before the beginning of their history. It is these that mark them out among the races of the world, and constitute the essential elements of their nationality.

But the modern Indian nation is not composed of the Hindus alone. It is a composite nation, consisting of all the various peoples, following diverse religions, claiming different cultures, speaking different languages, and belonging to different races, who inhabit at present the great Indian continent. The Mahomedans came as our conquerors, but remained as our countrymen, casting their lot with us, giving us what they had and what we lacked, and taking from us what we had and they lacked. Though originally a product essentially of the Semitic race-consciousness and Semitic culture, Islam in its progress through the centuries as a missionary religion, and a conquering and civilising world power in the earlier part of its history, has expanded through contact with, and assimilation of many world thoughts, and many world cultures. Though differing in its theology, Islam has the same theocratic caste in its state ideal as Hinduism, and like it has in every department of its life a distinct and dominating religious reference. The Semitic social structure is popularly regarded as more despotic than constitutional, but

this is true only of the northern branch of the great Semitic race. The Southern branch has always been remarkable for its democratic character. "Among the Arabs," as we learn from Syed Ameer Ali—(Life of Mahomed)—"the chieftaincy of a tribe is not hereditary, but elective; the principle of universal suffrage is recognised in its extremest form, and all the members of the tribe have a voice in the selection of their chief. The election is made on the basis of seniority among the surviving male members of the deceased chieftain's family." To this social democracy of the original Arab tribes, Islam added what may be called a religious democracy, unknown to any other dominant faiths of the world. No other religion has inculcated and practised to such an extent the ideal of human brotherhood, the ideal of the equality of man before God, and in relation to one another, as Islam has done. It has no caste either based upon birth, as among the Hindus, or based upon wealth and rank, whether gained by fair or foul means, as among the Western nations. It has no priesthood enjoying special privileges and standing apart from the laity. The priests of Islam, if priests they may be called, are only teachers of the faith, and the leaders of the congregation of the faithful in their devotional exercises. Like the spirit of Hinduism, the spirit of Islam has also had throughout its history an overwhelming God-consciousness, differing from the Hindu God-consciousness only in the philosophic interpretation of this supreme spiritual experience of humanity. The Hindu realised the perpetual presence of the Divine in and about him as a spirit, as what may be called mere being; the Mahomedan realised the same presence as an ever active Providence. In the one the emphasis was on being, in the other on do-

ing; but both have always been moved in every department of their life by this common intense religiosity and by this overwhelming God-consciousness. And it was on account of this common religiosity, that characterises these two great world-cultures, that Islam, when it came to India as a great conquering political authority, was able to influence even the religious life and thought of the land of their adoption, and call into being great religious upheavals among the people that in many ways almost revolutionised their religious and social life. It gave us new laws, new system of administration, new ideals of the State, and created a community of political and economic interests among the different peoples and provinces of the great Indian continent which formed, though in a germinal state, the basis of a larger conception of nationality than what India had before. The Mahratta ideal of an all-India Hindu Rashtra or State and the Shikh ideal of a religious or perhaps more correctly speaking, a theocratic Commonwealth, both owe their birth to Moslem contact and Islamic influence, as much as to the conflict of the founders of these States, with the Sovereign Moslem authority in the country. Neither the religious nor the political ideals of Islam have been so narrow and sectarian as ignorant and interested Christian writers have frequently painted them to be. What seems to have been an intolerant hostility towards rival cults and faiths in the earlier life of Islam was only a necessity imposed upon it by the common instinct of self-preservation, and when occasion demanded it, the same instinct of self-preservation made Islam as tolerant of other people's faiths, and as respectful to the rights and liberties of other people as any political or religious authority has ever been known to be. The founder of Islam did not

mean that unity of faith shall be the dominating factor of the Islamic state-organisation, and he really started with our own ideal of composite nation-hood long, long, before the world had any conception of it. As soon as the nucleus of the Moslem Commonwealth was formed at Medina, Mahomed granted the Jews of that place a charter, guaranteeing all civil rights and perfect freedom in the observances of their religion. Hitherto, the Prophet had appeared only in the light of a preacher; but now, as Ameer, Ali says: "In his conception of the relative rights of individuals and nations, he stands forth as the master-mind, not only of his own age, as Muir says, but of all ages." The preamble of this Charter says:—

"In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God. This charter given by Mahomed, the Prophet, to the Believers, whether of the Koreish or of Yathreb, and all individuals, of whatever origin, who have made common cause with them—all these shall constitute one nation.

"The state of peace and war shall be common to all Moslems; no one among them shall have the right of concluding peace with, or declaring war against, the enemies of his co-religionists. The Jews who attach themselves to our Commonwealth, shall be protected from all insults and vexations; they shall have an equal right with our own people to our assistance and good offices; the Jews of the various branches . . . and all others domiciled in Yathreb shall form with the Moslems one composite nation—they shall practise their religion as freely as the Moslems; the clients and allies of the Jews shall enjoy the same security and freedom; the Jews shall join the Moslems in defending Yathreb (Medina) against all enemies; the interior of Yathreb shall be a sacred place for all who accept the charter; the clients and allies of the Moslems and the Jews shall be respected as the patrons; all true Moslems shall hold in abhorrence every man guilty of crime or disorder; no one shall uphold the culpable, though he were his nearest kin."

When Islam came as a conquering

political power to India, the form of its State organisation was, no doubt, apparently despotic, but the earlier forms of political government, as well as the spirit of Moslem politics, were both essentially democratic. Describing the political character of Islam, Syed Ameer Ali says:—

“Politically, Islam conferred more benefits on mankind in the few years which its founder spent at Medina, than centuries of vague theorising by the followers of the Portico or the Academy, or by the hangers-on in the ante-rooms of the Jurisconsults of Rome. It gave a code to the people, and a constitution to the State, enforced by the sanctions of religion. It limited taxation; it made men equal in the eye of the law; it consecrated the principles of self-government. It established a control over the sovereign power by rendering the Executive authority subordinate to the law—a law based upon religious sanctions and moral obligations. An examination of the condition of the Moslems under the first four Caliphs, brings to view a popular government based on a definite code, and administered by elected chiefs with limited powers. The Chiefs of the State were controlled by public opinion, and were open to the censures of their meanest subjects. Othman was obliged to render every day an account of the public money; and Ali appeared before the ordinary tribunals of justice as accused of a Christian thief. The decisions of the judges were supreme; and the early Caliphs could not assume the power as later usurpers did of pardoning those whom the regular tribunals had condemned. The law was the same for the poor as for the rich; for the man in power as for the labourer in the field.”

That blending of the loftiest ideals of religion and piety with the spirit of political government which distinguishes Hindu polity from the politics of the more secular nations of the world, was also a prominent feature in the government of the early Caliphates. When Abu Bakr was elected to succeed Mahomed in the position of the Chief Magis-

trate of the young Commonwealth, he was so weighted down with the seriousness and sanctity of his charge, that he besought the help of the people, and even their chastisement, in the discharge of his new functions. In accepting the responsibility of government, Abu Bakr said:—

“Behold me charged with the cares of Government! I am not the best among you; I need all your advice, and all your help. If I do well, support me; if I mistake, counsel me. To tell truth to a person commissioned to rule is faithful allegiance; to conceal it is treason. In my sight the powerful and the weak are alike, and to both I wish to render justice. As I obey God and His Prophet, obey me; if I neglect the laws of God and the Prophet, I have no more right to your obedience.”

The ideal of composite nationhood enunciated by Mahomed in his first charter given at Medina, was sought to be realised by more than one Mahomedan ruler in India. Indeed, they could not possibly have been great Empire-builders without more or less accepting this ideal as a fundamental principle in their government, among a people from whom they differed in religion and social economy. Akbar's strength and statesmanship were both due to his thorough grasp of this ideal. The decline of the Moghul power in India was also synchronous with the abandonment of this ideal by his successors, especially by Aurangzeib. But any large and humanitarian ideal once forced upon a people or upon their rulers by the stern necessity of their situation, though subsequently it may be abandoned as an object of conscious pursuit by the people, or though it may even be violated openly by their rulers, leaves its legacy of progress permanently behind it, and is revived with greater force and persistency when the new conditions of life call for



its assertion and pursuit once more. The new ideal of nationhood in India is not thus really a new idea. It is as old as the Hindu nation. It received an enlarged meaning and assumed a complex character under the Empire of the Moghuls. It is the Moghuls really, and not

the British, who have been in modern times the first Empire-builders, and to some extent also the first nation-builders of India. What we call New Nationalism is not really, therefore, a new thing, but only a new phase in the evolution of an old idea and an ancient process.

## THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"The Punjabee" (Lahore) says that the Congress has ceased to arouse the enthusiasm that it did, so long as it was believed to be a champion of the popular cause:—

Not Nationalists alone, but all earnest-minded Moderates who do not look upon the "national movement" as a personal concern, to be run according to their individual whims and predilections, have begun to despair of the Congress. After the events of Madras and the subsequent attitude of some of its foremost leaders on vital questions, the Congress can no longer draw to itself the sentiments of attachment and patriotic enthusiasm of the people at large. The officialising of the movement has gone too far, while the actions of the leaders aforesaid do not hold out any hope that their attitude would be changed. Indeed, the attitude appears to have been adopted of set purpose. The fulminations of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, the denunciation of Nationalists by Dr. Rashbehari Gosh, the over-valuation of the Reform Scheme, and the attempts at deification of Lords Morley and Minto are all parts of a systematic policy which, under the pretence of loyalty and love of order, aims at discouragement of the popular wishes and sentiments which are disagreeable to the bureaucrat in general and Lord Morley in particular. The exclusion of students from taking part in Congress as volunteers, a practice which had been going on for 22 years, was the last word that the institution was to be henceforth conducted on a "respectable" level, where official susceptibilities might be duly respected. Mr. Alekar regrets that Babu Bhupendranath Bose has

suggested no plan for reconciliation, while expressing regret for the continued estrangement between the two parties. To us Babu Bhupendranath's silence seems to be quite natural. As an intelligent man he cannot have failed to take a right estimate of the mental attitude of the Congress autocrats, and discover that the anxiety of the latter is *to make up with the officials* rather than with their old brethren and comrades. Indeed, but for this mental attitude of the leaders, the invitation given to the Congress by a handful of Panjabi delegates would have been a thing unexpected. The invitation could not have been offered if some men had not believed that the Nationalist feeling in the country was dead and that the Madras farce might be safely re-enacted at Lahore, making the Congress the instrument of ambition of a few instead of the exponent of the wishes of the many. We cannot say if the mistake has been discovered by this time, but there are evidences enough already that in the Punjab at least the magic of a few great names will not make the popular opinion dance to any tune that might be ordered. The Congress is dead, in fact, so far as the popular sentiment is concerned, even the bulk of the Moderates all over the country having lost faith in it. Under the circumstances the talk of reconciliation is like the proposal to treat the headless man for headache. The efforts of patriots should now be directed to working up some movement that should place before it a living ideal. For the Congress on its own admission cannot survive the Reform Scheme, which has satisfied the ideals of its leaders so much that, to quote a prominent leader, the future of the country may be left "to take care of itself."

# THE NATIONALISATION OF EDUCATION.

BY PROFESSOR ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

From the "New Age," May 20th.

Perhaps no country in the world is so denationalised as England. It is even now to a large extent true that "falsehood in a Ciceronian dialect has no opposers: truth in patois no listeners." It is generally admitted that no subject is worse taught in England than English itself. The constant complaint is that after a long and expensive education, so few men are able to express their thoughts easily in clear and fluent English. The Hellenic Society, observe, possesses about a thousand members: the Early English Text Society about three hundred. A man would be thought much more pedantic who should in a public speech quote Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, or even Chaucer, than one who quoted Latin or Greek. Many people still look upon Pope as an adequate translation of Homer. Until quite recently it was supposed that England, alone amongst European nations, had no national music. English architecture is still in the main based upon the pretence that England possesses a Mediterranean climate. The one essentially English writer of the nineteenth century, William Morris, is the least read of all English poets. English dress is borrowed from Paris. The average menu—written, by an extreme development of snobbishness, in French—is evidence that a pretence at least is made that English food is French.

England is inseparably bound by past association and present ties to the people of Ireland, Wales and Scotland; yet Englishmen know any literature—Latin, Greek, French, German—before they know Celtic. They do not even know

the great Scandinavian literature that is the inheritance of all North Europe. English education since the Renaissance is essentially the education of a people who want to seem to be other than they are, who do not love their own culture, who only wish at all costs to be "correct" and to observe "good form." England, you see, is not a little England: she is the mistress of an Empire, and for this she must pay the price, however heavy. Mistress of the whole world, or as much of it as possible, she has lost her own true self.

Perhaps the most noteworthy tendency of the nineteenth century is that world-wide movement called Nationalism, the true significance of which we are just beginning to understand. It is because England herself has been more denationalised than any other country, that she has set herself so resolutely to crush out the individuality of other peoples—notably in India, Ireland, and Egypt.

And yet, not even England herself, for all her would-be cosmopolitan ideals, has escaped the influences that have preserved for generations yet unborn the characteristic culture of those temporarily less powerful peoples who have become in recent years more conscious of their national *dharma*, more alive each one to their own precious heritage of literature, of song and dance, of art and manners. The first workings of these tendencies in England appeared in the Romantic Revival of the Early Nineteenth Century, and reached their highest level of individual development in Ruskin and Morris.

Now, moreover, the time has come when from individual teaching, the idea has spread throughout the country, and in historical pageants, the revival of mediæval drama, of folk-song and dance, on the greater stress laid on English by educationists, and in some slightly wider appreciation of Northern literature, Celtic and Scandinavian, in fact, in the living interest now taken in all that belongs to national education, we find the promise of a burly English England.

We in the East, and all the people of those many lands that are struggling to save their souls alive, look with eager interest upon this new development, this strong undercurrent of intention which

may in time to come leaven and spiritualise the English character. For Internationalism is the natural complement of nationalism: and when England becomes truly a nation, when the British people learn, not to govern others, but themselves, when England means to the world all that an ideal England might mean, then we know that her longing for the political and spiritual domination of other peoples will have passed away for ever; and that friendship, which is impossible between a master and a slave, may grow up between the people of England and those who are now isolated from them by the bonds of Empire.

Colombo, April, 1909.

### Coal in India.

The coal industry of India is growing rapidly. In 1878 the output was only 1,000,000 tons, but in 1907 it was over 11,000,000 tons. Some of the coalfields have changed places in point of importance in that time, and one mine has been shut down. At first the Raniganj field held the foremost place, but now the Zheria field surpasses it, and turns out 46.5 per cent. of all the coal produced in India. The output of the Warora mine in the Central Provinces, went steadily down from 1902 until 1906, when it was shut down. This decrease has been more than counterbalanced by the expansion in the Beliapur and Panch Valley districts. Of the total output of the Indian mines about 8 per cent. is exported to Eastern countries, chiefly Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. The Indian railways take about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million tons and domestic and other miscellaneous users require  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, while bunkers and fuel for the use of the collieries themselves absorb over two million tons. There seems to be a good deal of waste in the colliery consumption, and efforts are being made to reduce it. The

price averages from 4s. 6d. to 4s. 8d. per ton at the pit mouth, but as the pits grow in depth the cost of production will increase.

### "The All-India University."

In connection with Mrs. Besant's proposed University for India, a lengthy petition has been drawn up to be submitted through the Government of India to the King. It is stated that the proposed University will have a field of activity distinct from that of existing Universities. First and foremost, it will affiliate no college in which religion and morality do not form an integral part of the education given; it will make no distinctions between religions, accepting equally Hindu, Buddhist, Parsi, Christian, and Mahomedan; but it will not affiliate any purely secular institution. It is claimed on behalf of the proposed institution that "it will supply a gap in the educational system of India, and will draw together all the elements which regard the training of youth in honour and virtue as the most essential part of education. It will be a nursery of good citizens, instead of a mint for hall marking a certain standard of knowledge."

dom from domestic anarchy and oppression, the development of their resources, a market for their products, and a steady progress towards a higher civilisation. The union of the self-governing Empire would in no way lessen these advantages. It will furnish the military and naval protection which England alone cannot furnish indefinitely. It will provide the tropical regions of the Empire with an ever-increasing market in the temperate zone. The fear that the participation of the Dominions in the control of the dependent Empire would lead to a less intelligent and less sympathetic treatment of its problems may be dismissed as groundless. It is just the absence of that participation which sometimes makes them unsympathetic because they do not understand the circumstances. A South Africa whose leading men were brought into contact with the administration of India, whether by direct personal participation in that administration or by sharing in its general control, might not, indeed, open its doors freely to Indian immigration. But it would treat the whole subject of the position of Indian immigrants or residents with greater care and discrimination and with a fuller sense of Imperial responsibility. Moreover, from the point of view of the dependent Empire the Imperial union of the self-governing Empire has one immense advantage to offer. It will remove the direct control of its destinies from the uncertain and often dangerous influence of the local party politics of a particular portion of the Empire, and place it under some federal body whose exclusive concern will be with Imperial problems and whose policy will be far less liable to incalculable fluctuations.

### **The Two Empires Essential to Each Other.**

In other words, the self-governing Empire and the dependent Empire are each essential to the other. The constitutional union of the self-governing Empire, so far from prejudicing the dependent Empire, will improve its position, defensive, economic, and political. The maintenance of the dependent Empire, its development to its highest economic capacity, its contentment, its political progress, are of vital interest to the future of every part of the self-governing Empire. The two Imperialisms are not antagonistic, but complementary. They are the component factors in a higher Imperialism which transcends each, and which represents the most stupendous synthesis of the human race ever attempted.

The development and integration of the British Empire is the only practical and rational attempt at building up the Brotherhood of man which the next few centuries are likely to see. As far, indeed, as mere numbers go, the Empire only comprises one-quarter of mankind. But in its complexity the attempt is as remarkable when essayed for four hundred millions of every race, and at every stage of civilisation, scattered over every continent, as if it were essayed for humanity at large. There are already signs and portents which may suggest the danger of terrible racial conflicts in the future. If we succeed in our double task of strengthening and uniting the governing portion of the Empire, and of developing and helping forward the governed, the storm when it comes may leave the British world untouched.

What are the practical and immediate consequences to be drawn from these conclusions? The first is the necessity for a clear differentiation between the two problems involved in the union of the self-governing Empire and in the development of the dependent Empire. Their character is so different that it is impossible that they can be properly dealt with by the same methods, or, what largely comes to the same thing, by the same Department. An essential preliminary to all satisfactory progress with either problem is the elimination of the relations between the United Kingdom and the Dominions from the Colonial Office, and the creation of a separate Imperial Office to deal with them. The natural head of that office would be the British Prime Minister, and the principle of equal partnership demands that the Imperial Office should, sooner or later, and the sooner the better, be removed from the direct control of the British Parliament, and subjected to the joint control of all the members of the partnership.

### **Partnership in the Dependent Empire.**

The next great step in advance, the substitution of the partner States as a whole for the United Kingdom as the power directly controlling the affairs of the dependent Empire, must necessarily wait for further constitutional development. Meanwhile the way towards it can be prepared in several directions. In the first place, preferential trade relations between the Dominions and the Crown Colonies of India can do much both to awaken the consciousness of mutual interest and to increase on the part of the Dominions, their knowledge

of the nature of the inheritance which they are to administer in the future. As it is, the Canadian preference has in the last few years not only proved a great benefit to the West Indies on the one side and to Fiji on the other, but it has incidentally, enormously quickened the interest of Canada in the dependent Empire.

In the second place, an effort should be made to enlist the energy and ability of the growing manhood of the Dominions in the government of the dependent Empire. At present that administration is open to them in theory. But in practice the opportunity is very limited. The way into the Indian Civil Service is made easy and smooth for the young Englishman. The examination has been intentionally adapted to the ordinary Oxford or Cambridge course, so that he can make up his mind to compete at the last moment. The examination itself is held within two hours' journey of his University. It is absurd to say that the Canadian or Australian youth has the same opportunities, unless, indeed, he cuts himself off from the ordinary studies of his country and comes over at a great expense to study in England. The Rhodes Scholarships may help to surmount the difficulty, but the only really satisfactory method is to allot so many places to each of the Dominions and to hold examinations locally or accept the nominations of the local University authorities. The Kingston cadets who are nominated to the Royal Engineers are already a feature in the Imperial Service, and now and again one of them, like Sir Percy Girouard, may take a conspicuous part in the administration of the dependent Empire. The principle has already been accepted, but it requires the very widest extension.

### **The Need for Consultation.**

Thirdly, even if many years may still pass before the Dominions take their share in the direct administrative control of the dependent Empire, there are not a few questions of general principle in which the dependent Empire is involved which ought to be settled, not by the United Kingdom alone, nor even by consultation between the United Kingdom and a particular Dominion, but by a general conference of all the future partner States. A typical instance is the question of migration within the Empire. Here the difficulty in the past has lain not so much in the complexity of the problem itself as in the too utopian theory which

the United Kingdom, through the Colonial Office, has in the past tried to enforce upon the Dominions—the theory that legislation cannot take any count of race or colour. Such a theory was natural in a country where racial economic competition was practically unknown. The insistence upon it has generated a corresponding intolerance and fear of the Asiatic on the part of the Dominions, and has led to the invention of a series of immigration ordinances as harsh as they are disingenuous. Common consultation would almost certainly result in a better mutual understanding, and in agreement on a common principle of co-operation in controlling migration based on the recognition of the essentially economic nature of the problem, and on the right of any Dominion to regulate by direct legislation the exercise of any or all industrial activities in its territories by members of a competing race. That principle was first frankly carried out in the much-maligned Transvaal Ordinance of 1904, under which the indentured Chinese labourers were expressly excluded from a schedule of some 50 employments and were bound to leave the country at the end of their indenture. In this way one particular industry secured the labour which it needed, while the country as a whole was protected against free Asiatic competition.

### **The Dominions already Governing Powers.**

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the Dominions have each already been brought more or less into contact with the problem of governing other races in their own territories. Canada has had its Red Indians to deal with, New Zealand its Maoris. Australia even has an oversea Crown Colony of its own in New Guinea. South Africa consists of a group of self-governing colonies, soon to be a white Dominion, directly super-imposed on a subject population, and interspersed with a number of purely native dependencies. Whatever errors may occasionally have marked its dealing with native problems in the past, the present administration of those parts of the dependent Empire which fall within the Dominions offers no ground for doubting their capacity to take part in the government of the dependent Empire as a whole. There are some, indeed, who would develop the existing system still further and gradually parcel out the dependent Empire among the Dominions, assigning the West Indies to Canada, the Pacific Islands to

Australia, and New Zealand, Central and Eastern Africa to the South African Union, leaving England to look after India, Egypt, and West Africa. But whether from the point of view of the Dominions or of the dependent Empire it is difficult to believe that such a solution can compare with the centralised control of the dependent Empire as a whole by a common Imperial Executive in which each of the Dominions has its voice.

The definite separation of the self-governing from the dependent Empire leaves the field clear for a more positive and progressive policy towards the latter. Hitherto the chief idea of British administration has been to preserve order and impose justice, trusting to individual enterprise to bring about economic progress. Such a policy, as Mr. Chamberlain realised when he entered the Colonial Office, is no longer possible. A positive policy of development, by preferences, by bounties, by steamship

subsidies, by the vigorous building of railways' by well-equipped agricultural and forestry and mining departments, must be carried out if the dependent Empire is to play its proper part in the whole economic and defensive scheme, and if it is to be fit for any degree of political progress. The latter can only come by gradual stages, and on lines suited to the peculiar conditions of each part, and not by the hasty application of principles only workable under entirely different circumstances. The rapid extension of self-government to the communities of British race was only possible because each individual contained in himself the whole political system which it had taken centuries to build up in Great Britain. Its extension in the dependent Empire must not only be gradual, but must follow the inherent bent of the particular community, and can only approximate satisfactorily to the British type as the mind of the community itself approximates to that type.

# INDIA IN THE BRITISH PRESS.

## THE DEPORTATIONS.

A series of questions recently put in the House of Commons on the subject of the Indian deportations, gave the "Daily News," London, (26 May, 1909), a fresh opportunity to condemn the action of the Indian Government in this matter. The answers, as usual, were exceedingly unsatisfactory. Mr. Hobhouse, who replied on behalf of the Government, did not deny that the deportees were not only not tried, but were not even informed of the nature of the charge against them, and the "Daily News" says:—

It should be remembered that these nine deported men are citizens of the highest distinction, and that their previous lives have not merely been free from crime or disorder, but have been marked by the finest public spirit and devotion, and the raising of the poorer members of their own race. It is men of this type that at a moment's notice have been spirited away on a mere suspicion, unstated to this day, and with no chance to defend themselves. They were never tried, never impeached, they do not know who accused them, nor of what they were accused. We in this country are permitted to know nothing, and less than nothing, of the charges brought against them. Under these circumstances, we cannot but be concerned for the good name of Liberalism and the prestige of British rule in India. It was not without pertinence that it was pointed out by Mr. Mackarness that on a similar occasion, under the late Government, a full statement of the reasons for the deportation was given to the House. This surely is the least that the Government should now grant to those among its supporters—and they are not a few—who are uneasy at the present situation. The *lettre de cachet* is not an instrument of administration which a Liberal Government can afford to employ.

## THE INDIAN COTTON INDUSTRY.

(A "TIMES" CORRESPONDENT.)

The largest factory industry in India, as in England, is the cotton industry, and in spite of trade depression and the cotton excise duties, its progress is remarkable. The extent of the

progress can best be realised by an examination of the following official statistics, showing the increase in the number of mills, spindles, looms, and employes and in the amount of nominal capital invested during the last quarter of a century.

Year.	Mills.	Spindles.	Looms.	Empl'ys	Capital.
1882-3	62	1,654,100	15,100	53,600	£4,457,000
1897-8	98	2,375,700	19,800	80,500	6,108,000
1902-3	131	3,378,800	26,300	120,900	7,949,000
1907-8	166	4,219,100	30,900	148,750	9,945,000
1902-3	203	5,164,400	43,700	178,400	11,698,000
1907-8	227	5,763,700	66,700	225,400	13,160,000

It will be observed that since 1882-3 the mills have increased by 366 per cent., while the capital is three times as great and the employes are four times as numerous. It is especially important to note, as indicating the trend of the industry, that looms have increased by over 440 per cent., as compared with an increase of 348 per cent. in spindles. During the 20 years ended 1902-3 looms increased by 28,600, but during the subsequent five years they increased by no less than 23,000. At the end of 1907-8 there were 98 mills used exclusively for spinning and 13 for weaving, while in 1882-3 there were 113, 4, and 84 respectively. It is clear, then, that the vicissitudes experienced in the foreign markets for yarn have induced the mill-owners to use more of their yarn for weaving cloth and this policy has been strengthened by the swadeshi movement.

## Native Enterprise.

The Bombay Presidency continues to be the great centre of the industry. It contains 161 mills, or 71 per cent. of the total, and these mills possess 71 per cent of all the spindles and 80 per cent. of all the looms. Although Bombay city still has the largest number of mills, the most remarkable feature is the growth of the industry in Ahmedabad, where there were 50 mills in 1907-8, as compared with 42 in 1906-7 and 32 in 1902-3. As to the amount of nominal capital, 13,160,000, there is some doubt, as an estimate has to be made of the capital invested in certain of the mills belonging to private proprietors. But it is worth noting that less than £1,000,000 of the total is sterling capital, for this fact signifies that by far the greater part of the business is in the hands of Indians.

### Production of Yarn.

During the last seven years the annual outturn of cotton yarn has always exceeded 555 million pounds, the maximum production being 656 million pounds in 1905-6, when the trade was stimulated by plentiful supplies of raw material and by generally favourable conditions in the Chinese market. Subsequently, however, the accumulation of stocks and fluctuations in the Chinese exchange began to react on the Indian mills, and production declined to 631 million and 614 million pounds in 1906-7 and 1907-8 respectively. The latest returns, for the 10 months to January, 1909, show some improvement. The production of yarn of counts above No. 25 has continued to increase, and amounted in 1907-8 to 57 million pounds, or over 9 per cent. of the total yarn production. Five years ago the proportion was only 6 per cent. The spinning of the higher counts is chiefly in Bombay Presidency, where it represents 11 per cent. of the yarn output. By using Egyptian and other imported cotton the Bombay mills now spin an appreciable quantity of No. 40 and upwards, the amount, in 1907-8 being 8½ million pounds. But though Indian mills have, during the last few years, tended to produce more yarn of higher counts, the imports have not been unsatisfactory. In 1907-8 they were equivalent to 5½ per cent. of the Indian production, and 31 million pounds (or 93 per cent of the total) were counts over No. 25.

### Increase in Weaving.

In turning to the production of woven goods it is found that progress is more marked, the growth in output being more rapid and continuous. In 1907-8 the production amounted to 181 million pounds, as compared with 117 million pounds five years earlier; the proportion of grey, or unbleached, goods remains at about 81 per cent. of the total. In 1907-8 there was an increase of 14 per cent. over the production of 1906-7. Most of the weaving is done in the Bombay mills, which manufactured 85 per cent. of all the cloth. The most important descriptions of grey goods are shirtings and long

cloths, dhuties, T-cloths, domestics and sheetings and chadars. The home production of unbleached goods is now equal to about one-third of the imports of these goods.

During 1907-8 the industry was affected not only by a disorganisation of trade in the Far East, but also by a restriction of the purchasing power of the people resulting from a widespread shortage of crops in India, to say nothing of the world-wide depression of trade which operated to hinder industries of all kinds. These unfavourable influences persisted in 1908-9, and the stocks of yarn at the close of the year were considerable.

### An Encouraging Outlook.

Nevertheless, the year's business was not without redeeming features. Before 1908-9 ended the stocks of yarn in China had materially declined, and exports from India revived. Moreover, harvest prospects in India were bright, and 1909-10 promises to be a good year. It is regrettable that there has been a falling off in the recently developed trade with Europe in yarns, due to the failure of Indian yarns to come up to the European standard of reeling and count. But it is to be hoped that compensation will be found in the increasing strength of the Chinese market, where the extension of railways should expand the sales of Indian yarns. That there need be no despair of the future of the Indian cotton industry is evident from figures recently published by the Director-General of Commercial intelligence in India, which show that the percentage of the market value of cotton shares in India to their face value in 1908-9 was 121.8, as against 100 in the prosperous year 1905-6, although the rate of dividend on ordinary shares had fallen from 6.7 to 5.7 per cent.

As Indian mills rely almost wholly on the home production of raw cotton, it should be noted that the estimated outturn for the 1908-9 season is greater by 17 per cent. than that for 1907-8. It has been calculated by an expert that of the 1907-8 crop about 42 per cent. was consumed by the mills and 16 per cent. by the domestic spinners, leaving 42 per cent. for exportation.



# THE ALIPUR BOMB CASE.

[Extracts from Mr. C. R. Das's Address : Law and Facts.]

Mr. Das said:—I take it your Honour will not hear me on the question of jurisdiction and your Honour will not allow me to cite cases on that point.

Judge:—Yes.

Mr. Das:—The very point on the question of jurisdiction is that the sanctions do not cover the offences for the accused have been tried now. This point is not dealt with in any way. It is not dealt with in the order sheet. In the order sheet two questions are dealt with, one is with regard to sanction 122 and the other is that the case was under the sanction of Mr. Thornhill. My contention is that sanctions do not cover the particular offences irrespective of the sanctions under which the accused persons are being tried now. The sanctions are not definite.

Judge:—Do you mean to say that the sanctions are indefinite.

Mr. Das:—The sanctions do not cover the offences charged against the accused. I am not going to enter into the question dealt with in Mr. Tilak's case. There must be a complainant under 196. And I take it that there must be a sanction. The starting point of the Magistrate's taking cognisance is that there should be a complaint under the authority of the Government. It must state a definite allegation otherwise the sanction is meaningless. I have already submitted to your Honour the complaint is indefinite. The offences must be set out. The offence of conspiracy and also that of waging war is mentioned in the sanction. But it is not stated with whom or the number of persons who conspired. I submit that this is the very essence of conspiracy, namely, with whom to conspire, to wage war against the King. The allegation must be definite as to the persons with whom they conspired because I cannot conspire by myself. I do not say that the prosecution is bound to set out in detail as to who are the persons that formed the conspiracy. Conspiracy by A. B. C. is a different offence from conspiracy confined to A,B,C,D,E,F. I do not say that it is always so, but it may be so. There were three sanctions put in the lower Court. One against the second batch and one against the Sylhet batch. In these sanctions

your Honour will find names of different persons mentioned. In the sanction which deals with the case against Arabinda Ghose under section 121, there are also other offences mentioned. The sanction is that these persons may be proceeded against for offences under section 121 and also other offences. The complaint put before Mr. Birley does not amount to a complaint at all. I submit there could be no complaint after the Magistrate took the cognisance of the case. Persons here whose names are mentioned in the sanction are those who conspired to wage war against the King. But the offences for which the accused persons are being tried now are not the same offences mentioned in the complaint. Arabinda Ghose has conspired with persons whose names are in the sanction but also with others. The sanction is the starting point of the Magistrate taking cognisance of the case. I am told that there are other persons also, the names of only one of whom are in the sanction. There are certain other persons whose names are unknown. A specification of these particulars I submit before your Honour, is necessary in order that accused may be charged with these offences. Such a specification being wanting in the complaint, I submit, it is no complaint at all.

Judge:—What does the complaint say?

Mr. Das here read out the complaint and observed:—After the complaint was put in Mr. Birley examined the complainant on oath. In the evidence he made the statement on the basis of the three sanctions put in by him. The question is whether under these circumstances the offences are covered by these sanctions. It is a necessary ingredient in the offence of conspiracy as to with whom the accused conspired. The sanctions don't show who the other persons are. Again, one sanction does not show that the accused mentioned in that conspired with others mentioned in another sanction. This exhausts all the objections on the question of sanction.

Mr. Norton at this point submitted that in Exhibit E. application made by Purna Chandra Biswas, headed Empress vs. Arabinda Ghose, stated that seven men should be transferred to Alipur.

Mr. Das:—I can't understand the case being different from men. It is altogether a novel proposition of law.

Continuing, Mr. Das said:—That the application by Inspector Purna Chandra Biswas speaks of "seven accused persons in the case"—in what case is it before Mr. Birley or Mr. Thornhill? This petition was put in before Mr. Thornhill after these seven accused persons were arrested in the town of Calcutta.

The next point is with regard to the question of invalidity and misjoinder of charges drawn here. It would be better to take those points together because the arguments are sometimes the same, at any rate they run into each other. My submission on this point is, shortly, this. If there is any such thing as conspiracy known to law except with reference to 121A and other sections we have nothing to do with it. So far as offences under sections 121, 122, 123 are concerned, there is no question of conspiracy. So far as these offences are concerned the only question is who are the persons that were actually engaged in these offences and who are the abettors. My submission is that the charges are invalid in as much as they set out numerous offences under one head. They are invalid because the charges do not tell us who are the persons directly engaged in these offences, who are the abettors and who are the persons who merely attempted to commit these offences. Even if only one accused had been charged with these offences it would have been a clear case of misjoinder, but when more than one person has been joined there can be no doubt as to misjoinder. It is not only a misjoinder of charges but persons as well. Having regard to the fact that more than one person has been charged and is being tried, sections 234, 236, 237, or 238, can have no application whatsoever. If it is argued that all these offences are merely in the alternative, that is to say, they are not different offences, allow me to submit for instance if Arabinda Ghose is found guilty under section 121 of having waged war he cannot be guilty of conspiring, neither of collecting arms. He cannot still be guilty of having concealed the design. This is, of course, the case for the prosecution. It is necessary to know who have abetted and I submit I am entitled to know it. I put in an application in October last raising this point. In November also I put in another application thinking that my application of October was vague.

In the November application it was set out precisely that I did not know with whom I had conspired but I was not told anything. If I am charged with having abetted certain persons, I am entitled to know who these persons are, because my defence depends upon that. It is open to me to show that these persons have not committed any substantive offence. But no information was given to me. Your Honour will refer to my petition of November. My petition was referred to and argument set out on the petition criticised, sometimes seriously and sometimes in a spirit of levity. But no information was vouchsafed to me. Even in February my learned friend told us that the alterations of the charges were merely formal and no alterations were necessary at all. I have not been told even now whom I abetted. I submit that the charges are not only vague, but invalid. The information on which even I might prove my innocence is denied to me in spite of my earnest endeavour to get it. My further submission is that my learned friend says: "I had to act under some exceptional procedure." Is it not open, my learned friend, to show under what exceptional procedure he had to act, is he entitled under that procedure to join these different persons together? My submission is that it is a clear case of misjoinder of persons.

Counsel here referred to a decision of Mr. Justice Woodroff. Let alone all the other objections, the misjoinder of charges under section 121 is fatal to the contention of my friend. The persons cannot be guilty of concealing the design and at the same time of the direct commission of the offence itself. My learned friend listened to my objections on the 3rd February in a spirit of levity. He said: "the legal advisers of the accused ought to know that." My learned friend is a senior member of the Bar. I wanted to be enlightened on that point. But my earnest appeal was laughed off. He told the accused that their legal advisers would tell them. I have not been able to enlighten my clients, because I do not know, it.

Counsel here read section 123 and observed: "It cannot be the intention of the legislature that people who are engaged in the conspiracy can also be guilty of concealing the plan of waging war. No such absurdity can be intended by law. First of all, the accused are charged with the direct commission of the offences, secondly, they

are charged with abetment, or attempt of it. If there was any preparation of waging war against the Government, could it be expected that the persons would inform the authorities of it, so that they might find out and check it? How can we combine 121 and 123? It cannot be argued that they are alternative offences. I submit that one negated the other. If I am guilty of concealing the design, I have not committed the design of it. Supposing your Honour comes to the conclusion that Arabinda Ghose is not guilty under 121, 121A, 122, but guilty under section 123, and further comes to the conclusion that another person is guilty under 121 or 121A, your Honour tries the two charges, one under 121 committed by Arabinda and another by Barindra, it cannot be argued for a moment that both the offences were committed in the course of the same transaction. As soon as you bring in more than one accused, you make yourself liable to the objection misjoinder of parties. Take the case of murder. Some person may be charged with murder and concealing the offence of murder. Will he be dealt with once or more than once; will he be tried for murder and then again for concealing the offence? Your Honour will find there are two classes of cases upon the point. According to one class, identity of parties made the criterion of offences being in the course of the same transaction. According to the second class, identity of time and place is the criterion. Calcutta cases are generally in favour of the second contention. Bombay cases are in favour of the first contention. The Bombay Court lays down emphatically and firmly you may try a number of persons together, but you must show association amongst them. If your Honour looks into the evidence you will see that people came at different times, some in January, some in April, some even later than April. They came in even after some overt acts had been committed. This is certainly not a case of association. These different persons cannot be tried together. Your Honour will find that the overt acts were committed at different times and at different places. The sections that deal with the direct commission abetment and concealment of design are 107 to 109 in the Criminal Procedure Code. The charge in order to be valid must set out the points which are necessary to establish the offences under section 107 to 109, both inclusive. It must show that we engaged one or more persons with regard

to 121, etc. The section 108 also lays down the same thing. Counsel read the section 108 and then section 109. These sections and the sections from 118 to 123 deal with the second class of offence. But they do not include abetment.

Counsel next cited the case of Margeshi Chetty in 124, Madras, page 593. In this case, continued Counsel, nine persons were charged with conspiring to murder a particular person. Certain others were charged with having committed murder. Mr. Justice Vasymā Iyenger discussed the question of conspiracy. He says that the charge is bad. Because, he says, if you want to charge a number of persons together, you must set out who the abettors are—whom they abetted. I am charged under section 121. There is no question of conspiracy—no matter of conspiracy so far as 121 is concerned. There can be no offence of conspiracy so far as 121 is concerned. Under section 121 am I guilty as a principal or an abettor? Is it in the evidence that the charge waging war is proved? Yet the charge is one of conspiracy. My learned friend says that he has proved one conspiracy. If he has proved that, it is a matter of evidence. But by that he cannot prove that I am guilty of waging war. How is it that I am guilty as the principal and also as an abettor?

Counsel here read extracts from the judgment referred to above, and observed: I have been charged with committing the offence and also the abetment of it. I have also been charged with attempt. My learned friend observes that as soon as the attempt was made on the L. G's. train, the offence was made out. As soon as the attempt on the Mayor of Chandernagore was made it was an offence. As soon as the attempt was made on Mr. Kingsford at Muzzufferpur it was an offence.

Judge:—You cannot have more than one waging of war.

Mr. Das:—Why not more? You may have hundreds of offences of waging war. My learned friend says that, as soon as an overt act is committed, there is waging of war. My friend quotes English Law on this point, which I submit is absolutely inapplicable. Supposing after the attempt on the Mayor at Chandernagore, these people did not do anything, they ceased to conspire could it not be the case? I submit it could be. If these people were frightened and left the conspiracy, would not my learned friend ad-

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vance the same argument that there was a waging of war? At Muzufferpore, there was no waging of war, the argument advanced by my friend is absurd. As soon as my learned friend found a statement as to Arabinda's giving a lecture in Calcutta, he was asked "is that an overt act?" My learned friend at once answers "Yes." Section 10 of the Evidence Act is the god of my friend's idolatry. He draws upon it too frequently.

Counsel then cited the well-known case of Subramanya Iyer, page 61, Madras, saying there was only one particular point which bears on my contention.

Judge:—What is the point?

Mr. Das:—The point is the same, namely, that the charge is invalid. In the Court of Sessions two persons were joined and tried on seven counts. One of the accused became an approver. Of course, there was a good deal of discussion as to whether he was rightly made the approver. But I have nothing to do with that. One of the counts was found to be improper, and it was struck out. Although there was only one man, there were six different charges. Their Lordships struck out some of the charges and kept three only.

Mr. Norton:—There were 43 charges.

Mr. Das:—I shall show that there were 648 charges in a case. My friend thinks that the number is a shocking one.

Mr. Das next read out the judgment of Justice Benson and observed, if your Honour analyse these charges, you will find that though dealing with one offence, a number of charges are brought. This is the ground of my complaint.

Judge:—Supposing an army of 1,000 men were drawn out, do you hold that they should be tried separately?

Mr. Das:—No, sir. My learned friend's contention is that if I am guilty of conspiracy by virtue of that I am guilty of waging war also. If that is so, is not the offence of waging war complete at that moment? You can commit hundreds of different offences in the course of the same transaction. This is his argument. The offence of waging war was complete, Mr. Norton holds, when the first overt act was committed.

Judge:—Other offences may be committed in the course of the same transaction.

Mr. Das:—That is not the point. There are two branches. First of all, if the first Court is a valid Court, and, secondly, assum-

ing it was valid, was there any misjoinder of charges? Is it or is it not a valid Court? You have no right to put in more than one offence, under cover of only one charge. You have one charge with regard to waging war. You cannot bring in more offences than one. But then, there, as your Honour will find, it was done with common intention of cheating. The acts were done with a common intention. Then what was stated in that case makes it different offence and in their case the same offence.

Judge:—It is not the case here.

Mr. Das:—Yes. It is a similar case here your Honour will find.

Continuing, Mr. Das said: It may be two persons committed a series of offences under the cheating section. The facts show they cheated different persons. But they were in no way committed in the course of same transaction. It may be they were committed in the course of the same transactions as here in the case. There are different offences in this case, the attempts on the Mayor and Mr. Kingsford, attempt on the L. G. at Naringarh and they are different persons. What is it that makes the same offence? Surely they were not the same offences. Assuming these were the same people, they committed an offence, does not show that what was committed was not a complete transaction. As soon as you attempt to wreck the train that is a complete offence of waging war.

Judge:—That is not waging war.

Mr. Das:—Why not? Why is it not a new offence because the facts are different, the persons are different, and they committed a new offence. Your Honour was thinking of waging war, but your Honour is thinking of conspiracy. Offence of conspiracy to wage war has nothing to do with regard to the legal aspect. They may have committed a series of offences that does not matter.

Counsel cited two cases of the Bombay High Court, and then said your Honour sees that on authority of these two cases my contention is that the three charges which according to the case for the prosecution are one charge, as I am told there is no substantial alteration of charges. It does not give me necessary information upon which I can defend myself. It is bad in law because you cannot charge the same person for having committed an offence and also for the abetment of the same offence.

Your Honour will see as to how many charges there are. On the charge sheet under the first count your Honour will find there are 36 accused persons. They are charged under first count "That you waged war at various places in Bengal, etc." My contention is that according to my learned friend there are at least four offences. Two offences, at Chandernagore, one at Mozaffarpore and the other at Narangarh. Then the second count is one of attempt which I take it, of all overt acts. Thirdly, there are four charges of abetment. Therefore in the first three counts there are twelve offences charged against each of the 36 accused. Therefore the total number of charges will be 36 multiplied by 2 with regard to first three counts.

With regard to the charge under section 121A, I do not know whether it is really two offences or one offence.

Because the charge as it runs is merely a copy of the section. "That you conspired amongst yourself and other persons to commit all or one of the offences under section 121 and thereby committed an offence, etc.", therefore it is conspiracy, to commit an offence under section 121. This will be one charge of conspiracy. Then my learned friend puts in another charge under section 121A (Reads the charge). Then there is another charge under section 122. We are charged of overthrowing the Government of India and the Local Government and thereby committed an offence under section 121. My submission is that they are really two charges, therefore the latter part of section 121 does not carry the section any further according to the same authorities. The offence of conspiracy for the purpose of waging war under section 121 is really the offence of conspiracy to commit whatever, if committed may be an offence under section 121. So there are only two offences.

Then there is one offence which is charged against the whole lot of them under section 122. "That you collected arms, and ammunitions, etc." It really means the same offence. I do not think they really contemplate different circumstances or facts. The charges altogether come to sixteen against each of the accused. Therefore the total number of charges is  $36 \times 16$ . My contention is that it is bad in law.

First of all. I shall ask your Honour's attention to section 233 to 239. I have submitted that the section 233 lays down the

general rule (Reads). Before we come to section 239, your Honour will be pleased to look into the sections 234, 235, and 236. It can't be contended for a moment that 234 will cover it. If your Honour will kindly look into the wording of it (Reads). So it is the same person. It does not apply to a case with more than one person being tried together and jointly. It deals with the same person (Reads). My contention will be that section 235 does not apply to this case, because here it is a case of more than one person and section 236 is the case of alternative charges (Reads). That section has no application. For in the first place it refers to a case of one person being charged, secondly, your Honour sees that the series of acts is of such nature that it is doubtful and not fixed.

The same act cannot be contested as under 123 as well as under 122. If you have committed an offence, then surely you are not the person who committed the abetment of that offence. The case here is entirely different. Here is no question of fact, because the nature of these offences is such that they must include each other. Therefore that does not apply on these two grounds. Then 236 (Reads). That has not got any application. It deals with what would happen. That does not appear on the question of misjoinder. Then comes the question of section 239. I ask your Honour's attention to the wording of the section (Reads). That is to say, if there are more than one person. Here we have got 36 persons charged with the same offence or different offences committed in the course of the same transaction. The other is only an illustration (Reads). Therefore my learned friend had to show, that the offences were committed in pursuance of the same transaction. What I referred to at the beginning of my address, namely, the criterion of identity of purpose or identity of time and place. These are also embodied in the illustration (Reads). Therefore the transaction as used in the section covers that transaction should bind the persons together by an identity of purpose (Reads). Then we take it in the colour of Calcutta decisions, namely, identity of time and place. "I am prepared to argue on whatever view your Honour would take. On the evidence, there is nothing to show that we committed the offences in the course of the same transaction. I then refer to a case in 33 Calcutta (Reads). I said in support

of the proposition in a case in which more than one person is charged no other section except 239 has anything to do with the case (Reads). This is a clear authority for the proposition that sections 234, 235, 236, 237, and 238 would have no application to the present case where there are more than one accused. My submission is that on the point of this authority it is clear. It would be necessary to discuss further with charge under section 13 in the light of these authorities.

My learned friend says that the legal adviser of the accused ought to know what concerns my client about giving information to the police. I refer you to section 44 Cr. P.C. (Reads). So far as the wording of the section goes no other section puts upon me to give information. Upon that section, it is clear it must be a design or offence of some other person. In fact, this offence of concealment is known in England as Misprison. That is, if any person comes to know of any design of any other person it is the duty of that person to give information to public authorities so that crime may be put down and checked. Your Honour will find the nature of the offence discussed in Hall's "Pleas of the Crown" (Reads). I need not go into further details. It also comes in the history of crimes in England. I should like also to refer your Honour to Indian Jurist I. page 95. In this case your Honour will find that certain charges were drawn under sections 118, 119, 120, etc. If your Honour looks at the wording of these sections you will find they are almost the same. From sections 118 to section 120 the wording is almost the same (Reads). This was a case committed to the Sessions by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Deputy Magistrate of Khulna.

Judge:—Is it the author Bankim?

Mr. Das:—Yes, your Honour, we cannot get rid of him so easily. (Laughter).

Counsel read "The illegal concealment must clearly have reference to the existence of a design on the part of other persons to fabricate evidence."

Counsel next cited collates on this point and then said:—Therefore on all these authorities it is perfectly clear that the offence must be offence and designs must be designs of somebody else.

The whole question now is whether all these offences, including offences under section 123 were committed in the course of the same transaction. The arguments of the

prosecution counsel go to that length that the waging of war is in the course of the same design of concealment on the part of Arabinda Ghose in the beginning of the year 1907. If the prosecution is entitled to join in these different charges they must be in a position to prove the offence of waging war in April, 1908, was committed in the course of the same transaction with the offence of concealment of design by Arabinda, say, in May, 1907. So far as Arabinda himself is concerned, my learned friend is entitled to bring the charges of section 121, failing which, under 121A, failing that, under 122, and failing all of them, under section 123. That question no longer applies. No question of alternative is here. The question is joinder of different persons.

The position is this. I take it that one of the accused is not guilty under section 121A and 122. We shall not let you go because you are guilty under section 123. So far as other persons are concerned there is no question of the charges being in the alternative. Charges against them were under sections 121, 121A, and 122, and also under section 123 as against Arabinda.

Arabinda is not himself guilty of waging war, himself is not guilty of collection of arms for the purpose of preparing to wage war. So if the charges under section 123 is valid it is to be proved that Arabinda was in the party of the conspirators. What possible connection can there be with this charge with waging of war of Barindra Kumar Ghose. I submit there can be no question of that, I beg to submit two propositions. First, there cannot be any question of these different offences being in the course of the same transaction, your Honour will kindly look at section 123 and the joinder of charges with that charge. It cannot be said there is any identity of purpose or of time and place with that offence and other offences.

Whatever view your Honour may take on that phrase "same transaction" either identity of purpose or identity of time and place there cannot be joinder of purpose. I have cited authorities on which it cannot be maintained.

With reference to this, my submission is that we may proceed on the confessions or on the evidence. It is perfectly clear that whatever criterion you apply to find out whether they were committed in the course of the same transaction or not, the question

is clear that they were not committed in the course of the same transaction.

I will first of all deal with the confessions. Take Barin's confession. About the end we find "we are always thinking of a far-off revolution. Amongst others who came was Ullaskar. He came at the beginning of 1908."

Some of the overt acts had already been committed. We have one attempt at Chandernagore and one at Naraingarh. At any rate they were before the beginning of 1908. Then Barin says "In the meantime another friend of ours, Hem Chandra Dass, after selling part of his property, went to Paris. He returned four months ago." That would be February, 1908. Therefore according to this Hem Dass joins them in February and Ullaskar in the beginning of 1908. Bibhuti and Upendra joins in November, 1907. Your Honour will find Barindra describes the occurrence at Mankundu Station in Chandernagore. He does not say as to when other persons joined the conspiracy. We get it in the light of Barin's confession that all these overt acts happened before Ullaskar and Dass joined in the beginning of 1908.

If you look at the confession of Bibhuti, he says that he joined in September, 1907. He says: "I have been living at the Moraripur garden since the time when the L. G. returned from Cuttaek." That you know was in November, 1907. If you take Ullaskar's confession, he says: "I joined in November, 1907." There is contradiction between that and Barin's confession. He says:—"There are others who are newcomers." It is necessary to prove that there was association from start to finish. If I can show that at the time of the occurrence at Mukundu all the persons were not associated together, then I submit that there could not be any question of association of these persons. Then they cannot be tried together; you may charge them together under the English law.

Judge:—I want to know the authorities.

Mr. Das:—Your Honour must not take it that the offences were committed in the course of the same transaction. Suppose A and B do certain act together, others join afterwards. I say that they cannot be charged with the same conspiracy. It may be under the technical law of England, but it has got no application in India. Taking it for granted that five persons joined in a conspiracy, they may be tried together. It is not for me to protest that. But the offence

here is not only under 121A. Even other charges are brought in surely, therefore, the law applicable to the case is not the law applicable to conspiracy. When you are considering the evidence under 121, 122, 123, your Honour has nothing whatsoever to do with conspiracy. It is not a case of conspiracy. There is no question of conspiracy at all. When your Honour is dealing with evidence under sections 121, 122 and 123 there cannot arise any question of conspiracy. I am entitled to get the benefit of all the technical rules of the law. I am told whatever happens to the other charges I am still guilty under section 121. I say, "No," it is not the intention of the law. While dealing with section 121 you have nothing to do with section 121A, you were dealing with 121A and so far as that is concerned the case for the prosecution is that all the accused charged under section 121 are also charged under section 123. Then my submission is you have got to show that these offences were committed in the course of the same transaction. I think I have made my point good with regard to misjoinder of charges. When we are dealing with sections 121, 122, and 123 the only point whether the offences were committed in the course of the same transaction. So far as this is concerned there is no association from beginning to end. Can it be said they were committed in the course of the same transaction?

With reference to the occurrence of any offence in November, 1907, can I be tried for that offence, if I joined the conspiracy later on? If I can show that even one accused could not have taken part in the conspiracy, then the whole contention of the prosecution at once falls to the ground.

In dealing with section 239 it is not a case of joinder of charges, but joinder of persons. If I can show that one of these persons was not present, nor could he have abetted or instigated any offence or particular act that was done, then all these persons ought not to have been tried together apart from section 121A. I take the case of Dharani who according to the prosecution was not connected with the conspiracy before April, 1908. The technical law in England would not apply here. Assuming he was in Calcutta in April, how do you connect him with the occurrence which took place in November, 1907. If you don't, how can you say that what was done by him or other persons was done in the course of the same transactions. I

submit that it would be better to put one or two cases up on his point before I come in to evidence. I refer your Honour to a case in 29 Bombay. I do it simply for the purpose of showing the meaning of same transaction (Reads).

I am referring to the case for the purpose of showing that the words "same transaction" in section 239 means that persons must be associated together from the beginning to end. It applies to this case for this reason that the learned judges told that unless you can show two persons were associated from the beginning to the end you cannot try them together (Reads). There is another object, namely, to find out the ratio of the case. My submission is that the ratio of the case is that the persons are not associated from start to finish. So the offences cannot be said to have been committed in the course of the same transaction. I ask your Honour to apply that ratio in the case.

The Judge at this stage enquired what was the object in regarding the case.

## A CHAPTER OF ILLEGALITIES AND IRREGULARITIES.

The following petitions, put in on behalf of Sreejut Arabindo Ghose, sums up some of the more important illegalities and irregularities of the Prosecution :—

### I.

Alipore, 21st October, 1908.

1. That the Magistrate having taken cognizance of the case without any complaint in accordance with the provision of Section 196 of the Code of Criminal Procedure had no jurisdiction to enquire into the case for which reason the commitment was a nullity and consequently proceedings in this Court without jurisdiction.

2. That the presidency Magistrate of Calcutta having taken cognizance of this case the committing Magistrate had no jurisdiction to enquire into this offence for which reason the commitment and the proceedings in this Court were and are without jurisdiction.

3. That the proceedings in this Court are without any jurisdiction inasmuch as there has been a misjoinder of charges, the joinder of different charges and accused therein being prohibited by Section 133 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and sanctioned by any other Section or Sections of the said Code.

4. That this Court has no jurisdiction to try any offence under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code inasmuch as the sanction

Mr. Das:—I am regarding the case simply for the purpose of supporting my contention as to the exact meaning of the words "same transaction." Your Honour may agree with me or not, but I ask your Honour to hear me patiently, so that I may put my case (Reads).

I invite your Honour's attention to adopt the procedure in this case. Once the meaning of the phrase is ascertained, it is not difficult to apply it to this case.

In further support of his contention Counsel referred to a case in 30 Bombay.

Continuing, Counsel said:—If I can show that the charges represented by other sections are such as cannot be charged together, then the addition of section 121A does not make the case more sustainable. The addition of 121A does not make the misjoinder good. If I can succeed in showing that if even 35 accused could be tried together, and one could not be tried together it is nevertheless a case of misjoinder, and on that account the whole proceeding will be bad in law. That is sufficient for my purpose.

with reference thereto was put in for the first time in this Court.

5. That the said and other sanctions on the records have not been proved properly and the same are vague and do not cover the offences of the accused charged.

6. That your petitioner submits that much of the evidence in this case is irrelevant and inadmissible and amongst others your petitioner craves leave to refer to the following :—

(I) That any evidence that is not directly evidence against him is inadmissible ground to hold that the conspiracy charged ever existed or that your Petitioner was ever a member thereof.

(II) That assuming but not admitting that there are reasonable grounds for holding that the said conspiracy in fact existed or that your petitioner was a member thereof he is advised and submits that the following evidence was wrongly admitted :

(a) All evidence in respect of the search at 4 Raja's Lane and other documents and articles said to have been found there.

(b) All evidence in respect of the search at Sil's Lodge and the documents and things said to have been found there.

(c) All evidence in respect of the second search at No. 15 Gopi Mohun Dutt's Lane and the things said to have been found there.



(d) All evidence in respect of the search at 12 Wellington Square and the Bande Mataram Office and the movements said to have been found there.

(e) All evidence in respect of the alleged search at 30-2 Harrison Road and the documents said to have been found there.

(f) The documents tendered during the examination of Mr. Denham and Shumsul Alum neither Mr. Birley nor Mr. Creagan nor Mr. Frizzoni nor anybody ever having spoken to the same.

(g) Any letter or other documents containing statements other than those of the accused or any one of them.

(h) Any letter or document which has not been proved to be in the handwriting of the accused or any one of them.

(III) That none of the searches was legally conducted or properly proved.

(IV) That the committing Magistrate having taken cognizance of the case before the confessions were recorded he had no power to record the same under Section 164 of the Code of Criminal Procedure for which reason the same are invalid and inadmissible in evidence.

(V) That the said Magistrate having put questions to the accused with reference to the case in course of recording the said alleged confessions the same are invalid and inadmissible as confessions recorded under section 164 of the said Code.

(VI) That the said Magistrate having recorded the said alleged confessions under the circumstances disclosed in the evidence, he was incompetent to enquire into this case and for that reason the commitment and all subsequent proceedings in this Court are and were without jurisdiction.

(VII) The oral and documentary evidence including various newspaper articles tendered for the purpose of showing connection between different newspapers and their connection with the alleged or any conspiracy.

(VIII) Evidence regarding various meetings held in different parts of the country.

(IX) Evidence regarding the alleged volunteers as a class.

(X) Evidence regarding the conviction of some of the accused and other persons for certain alleged offences.

(XI) Judgments and records of various cases.

## II.

Alipore, 26th February 1909.

The humble petition of Arabindo Ghose Sheweth.

1. That on the 21st of October the petitioner objected to the ground amongst other being vague and indistinct as will more appear in his petition, dated the same date and your petitioner craves leave to refer to the same as part of this his petition.

2. That in spite of the said objection no further particulars have been supplied to your petitioner and your petitioner is advised and submits that he is very much embarrassed in his defence for reasons hereinafter more fully set out.

3. That as regards the alleged offence under sec. 121, I. P. C., the charge as drawn merely reproduces the words of the said section so that your petitioner does not know whether he is charged with having abetted the waging of such war, and he further states that if the intention of the prosecution is to charge your petitioner with the last mentioned offence he has not yet had any notice of the person or persons whom he is alleged to have abetted in the commission of the said offence nor that he had any definite information of the particular place or places in Bengal, where he is alleged to have committed the said offence or offences, or of the particular overt acts, if any, in respect thereof.

4. That as regards the alleged offence under sec. 122, I. P. C., your petitioner has had no notice of the particular places where he is alleged to have collected arms, etc., and he does not yet know whether the case for the prosecution is that he collected such arms and ammunitions or that he abetted such collection.

5. That as regards the alleged offence under sec. 121A of the Indian Penal Code the charge as framed does not give your petitioner any notice of the time, when the particular places where and the person or persons with whom he is alleged to have conspired as mentioned therein.

6. That with regard to the charge under sec. 123 of the Indian Penal Code your petitioner does not know whether the case for the prosecution is that he was under any obligation to take any particular steps with reference to any alleged design to wage war against the king and if so he has had no notice of what that obligation is or was or when or where he should have taken any such steps.

7. That your petitioner is advised and submits that in the absence of any such definite information, as aforesaid, he is being seriously prejudiced in his defence.

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ANDE MATARAM.

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# THE TWO EMPIRES.

*The Times*, 24th May.

## THE INADEQUACY OF OUR TERMS.

One of the greatest difficulties which besets any discussion of Imperial problems is the vagueness of the terms used to describe their most important aspects. No terms suffer more from this uncertainty and confusion than Empire and Imperialism. Correctly speaking the Empire denotes the whole of the territories under the British Crown, including the United Kingdom itself. But it is often used as a single collective word comprising all the British territories except the United Kingdom and contrasted with it. Not infrequently, too, it is used as a collective word for the self-governing States of the Empire without reference to the dependent regions. The need for proper collective terms for the main divisions into which the Empire falls, terms corresponding to their general character and political *status*, is continually felt by any one who has to write or speak on Imperial topics, and their absence seriously hampers our constitutional development. The old classification into the United Kingdom, the Colonies, and India is only misleading. Even the recent adoption of the word "Dominions" as a general term for the self-governing Colonies, does not entirely meet the case. The real main division in the Empire is, as Lord Milner has pointed out, that between the self-governing Empire, including the United Kingdom, and the dependent Empire, including India and all the Crown Colonies and Protectorates.

### The Two Imperialisms.

The confusion is even greater when we come to the words Imperialism and Imperialist. Here again there are two very distinct and in some respects almost contrary conceptions, subordinate to the more general idea of maintaining the existence and prosperity of the Empire as a whole, for which no separate terms exist. On the one side we have the Imperialism which looks mainly to the depending Empire, the Imperialist whose pride is in the extent of British Dominion, in the justice of British rule, in the mission of our people to take up the "white man's burden" and devote itself to the elevation of less advanced races. On the other we have the Imperialism whose main object is the closer

organic union of the self-governing Dominion with the Mother Country and with each other in an equal partnership, the Imperialist whose aim is to keep the growing democracies of the younger nations within the Empire by admitting them to an equal share in all those privileges and responsibilities of Imperial power which at present rest exclusively with the citizens of the United Kingdom. Imperialism in this sense is a purely democratic movement, a constructive policy working through the ordinary channels of politics in free communities, essentially of the same character as the movements which, in the past, federated the American States after the Revolution, and which created the Dominion of Canada 40 years ago or the Australian Commonwealth in the last decade, or the movement which is on the eve of successfully uniting South Africa at the present moment. Imperialism in the other sense tends, on the contrary, to be autocratic, to lay stress on administrative efficiency, to look with suspicion on a democratic system which it knows to be unsuited to the conditions of half the Empire, and with the least favourable side of which it is from time to time brought into contact.

The two points of view are essentially different. In England, indeed, the distinction is, perhaps, less clearly realised than in any other part of the Empire. Those who profess themselves Imperialists are so in both aspects, though the emphasis may be differently laid by different individuals. The greatest advocate in our day of the democratic Imperialism whose aim is the constitutional union of the self-governing Empire, Mr. Chamberlain, was also, during his period of office as Colonial Secretary, the strongest exponent of the policy of developing the dependent Empire. Lord Milner, the man who more than any other to-day stands out as the Interpreter of Imperialist sentiment in the Dominions, was also the author of "England in Egypt," a book which did so much in its time to justify England's rule over dependent States and races to the British public. On the other hand, the opponents of Imperialism in England are, in practice, equally opposed to both forms of it, though their opposition to the one, the union of the British com-

munities, is often largely influenced by their prejudice against the other. Elsewhere the distinction is more clearly perceived. Some of the keenest Imperialists in the self-governing Dominions are not only indifferent to the dependent Empire, but actually opposed to any closer relations with it. They dislike the idea of any form of administration which is not democratic; they would sooner have a purely white Commonwealth than what the Sydney *Bulletin* has described as a "piebald" Empire. Administrators in India or in other dependencies, on their side, tend to be suspicious of an Imperialism which would subject them, not only to the democracy of the United Kingdom, but to half a dozen democracies more ignorant even than the British of the conditions of the dependent Empire, and often influenced by racial intolerance towards its inhabitants.

### Are They Compatible?

Are the two aims then incompatible, or at least wholly disconnected? Is only one of them the real goal, and the other a side issue, perhaps even a disturbing and conflicting side issue? To answer that question we must consider what is the real justification of each, and what effect the development of each will have upon the other.

What is the essential justification of the desire for a permanent constitutional union of the various self-governing communities in the Empire? There is first of all the sense of kindred, the pride in a common type of civilisation. The break up of the Empire means loss of kinship, gradual estrangement, possibly even conflict; it means danger and difficulty to the national life of each part from the aggression, economic or military, of foreign Powers—and in that category would inevitably be included the States that had once been united with it under the British flag. Union, on the other hand, means mutual peace, greater power for defence against conflicting civilisations, economic co-operation. How far can the maintenance of the dependent Empire be justified on the same grounds? Here the sense of racial kinship, the desire to maintain a common civilisation do not exist. But even here there is something akin to these grounds for union. The system of government in the dependent Empire, though different from that prevailing in the self-governing Empire, is still essentially British in its chief characteristics; the ultimate ideals our administrators set before themselves, the type of civilisation they wish to work up to are British no less; the dispute between them and their

democratic critics in this country is one as to the time and the means, not as to the end. Severance of the dependent Empire would mean a great destruction of British civilisation in the present, and the cutting off of a great hope of its development in the future, and if there cannot be any sense of racial kinship, there can grow in its place the consciousness of a common citizenship, and the pride in the greatness of an inheritance common to members of the Empire whatever their race or form of Government.

In all other respects the arguments which justify the union of the self-governing Empire equally justify the maintenance of the dependent Empire. Its population and resources represent a direct addition to the defensive strength of the Empire as a whole, and, at the lowest, a withdrawal from the potential military resources of our rivals. It affords a great market for our industries and a source of supply for raw materials, and in both respects its capacities could be enormously increased. From the economic point of view, indeed, the dependent Empire, which is also the tropical Empire, is an essential and indispensable correlative to the self-governing Empire which lies almost wholly in the temperate zone. At present it is mainly the United Kingdom which benefits by this integral connexion between its industries and the raw materials and consuming power of its tropical dependencies. But the other self-governing States of the Empire are rapidly passing from the purely agricultural to the industrial state; and as that process develops will become increasingly conscious of the value of the dependent Empire, which, indeed, is in many respects the biggest asset which the United Kingdom will contribute to the common stock when it enters into real partnership with them. Again, the administration of the dependent Empire not only provides a career for thousands of Englishmen to-day, but creates a class of men whose official experience and high standard of public duty are undoubtedly an addition to our national life. Here, too, partnership in the Empire has something to offer to the junior States, something well worth acquiring. They already enjoy the white man's birthright of free self-government; Imperial union offers them the great opportunity of sharing in the responsibility of the white man's burden.

The converse of the argument holds equally good. Imperial rule means for the dependencies security against external aggression, free-