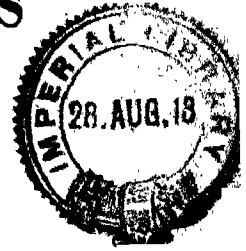


A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION



(BEING TWO SPEECHES DELIVERED)

BY

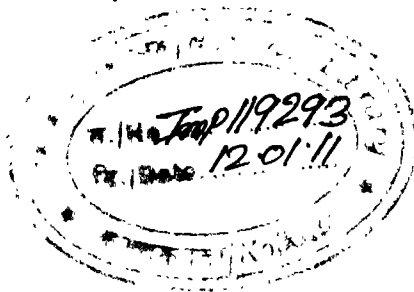
RAYA YATINDRANATHA CHOUDHURI M. A. B. L.
(*Zamindar, Taki.*)

न चित्तनीयं सद्योः कदापि
वाचं न यत् स्वाष्टयान् लोके ।
कदापि वाचं नहि तत् यद्वन
स्वयं न कर्तुं प्रमत्तमनुचः ॥

Calcutta :

PRINTED BY SANYAL & CO, AT THE BHARAT MIHIR PRESS,
25, ROYBAGAN STREET.

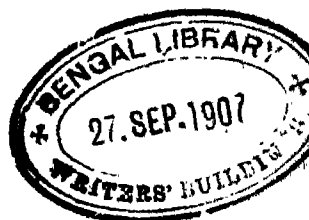
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A FEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION.



I

A speech delivered at the public meeting held in the grounds of Rai Pasupatinath Bose, Bagbazar Street, Calcutta, on Sunday the 12th of May, 1907.

GENTLEMEN,—At the outset I must thank you all for the great honour you have done me by asking me to preside at this great occasion. No one is more conscious, than my humble self, about my unfitness to preside over the present meeting. I say this sincerely without any conventional formality. When some of our respected leaders asked me to take the chair, my first impulse was to refuse the honour ; but when they insisted, I, on second thought, accepted it, because I considered I could claim only one requisite for the position, I am occupying now, that is, that I yield to none in the warmth of my feeling for the cause which has brought us together here. In addition to this, I have this conviction that whatever shortcomings there may be in my conducting the meeting and in whatever way I may be found wanting in the weight of authority and experience for presiding over a national gathering like this, they will be amply made up by the complete and enthusiastic unanimity of feeling which pervades amongst those present.

Introduction.

its country,
its cause
considered.

Gentlemen, we are now passing through a critical period in the history of our national existence. There is a wave of unrest surging in the minds of our countrymen which no body except Mr. Morley (not that eminent gentleman whom we know as a distinguished literary man and philosopher but our present Secretary of State) can deny. (Let us pause for a moment to consider the causes which are mainly responsible for the present state of things. Retrograde and reactionary measures have been piled upon us and some of them, one might say, have actually been thrust upon us at bayonet's point. Repressive measures have been adopted to put down the people of this country who are justly indignant at those reactionary methods.) The Partition of Bengal was effected in the teeth of the universal protest of the people of Bengal. The people of Bengal who were aggrieved by the Partition made great demonstrations to show that they were not going to accept the fact of partition and to put up with the insult wantonly offered to them as a people, inasmuch as their voice counted for nothing in the administration of their country. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Partitioned Bengal tried to do his utmost to cow down the people under his rule. For a moment he was triumphant, but, let it be said to the credit of the present Government, many of his repressive acts were cancelled and he, in a manner, was removed from the scene of his reactionary measures. After this it was thought that the people would find some relief. But, as the fate would have it, we were not granted any respite, greater complications happened and deeper plans were organized by interested parties to bring about greater unrest in the country.

Misguided Just a day or two after the resignation of Sir Bamp-

fylde Fuller, some of the members of the Anglo-Indian Press in this country openly proclaimed the doctrine of playing off one section of the community against the other. The bait took and the guilded pill was swallowed, I regret to say, by some of our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen. The unfortunate visit of Nawab Salimullah to Comilla was immediately followed by events which startled humanity, but, strange to say, they did not move our benign Government. Mis-guided Mollahs and Moulavis were let loose upon the ignorant and easily excitable mass of lower class Mahomedans nearly all over the Eastern Districts of Bengal and in some of the Western Districts also. They preached all sorts of things and practically proclaimed *jehad* against the Hindus. They issued pamphlets and notices etc., the contents of some of which have already appeared in the newspapers. In these notices and leaflets, such choice things appear :—

Mollas and Moulavis contribute much to the unrest.

“Ye Mussalmans arise, awake, Do not read in the same schools with the Hindus. Do not touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands. Do not give any employment to a Hindu. Do not accept any degrading office under a Hindu. You are ignorant, but if you acquire knowledge you can at once send all Hindus to the “jahannum.” You form the majority of the population of this province. Among the cultivators also, you form the majority. It is agriculture that is the source of wealth. The Hindu has no wealth of his own and has made himself rich by despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened, then the Hindus will starve and soon become Mahomedans.”

“Hindus are very selfish. As the progress of Mahomedans is inimical to the self-aggrandisement of

Hindus, the latter will always oppose Mahomedan progress for their selfish ends."

As yet we are not aware that our benign Government have made any search as to the source from which those war-cries have emanated. Not a mouse seems to be stirring to find out the writers of these pamphlets and to bring them to justice, if that commodity yet exist in this country.

Swadeshi
movement
not respon-
sible for the
unrest.

It had been at first argued that the Swadeshi movement was mainly responsible for the present state of the strained feeling between the Hindus and some of the Mahomedans. The statement has no legs to stand upon, because it is well-known that if home-industries are developed, the Mahomedans, equally with the Hindus, if not more so, will be benefited. It is nothing but fanaticism and perversity which prevent some of the Mahomedans from seeing the truth of the self-evident proposition that in the Swadeshi movement lies the true and only means of our economic salvation. It is heart-rending to contemplate how some of our misguided Mahomedan compatriots are laying the axe at the very root of all of our progress and of the regeneration of our country.

Volunteers
also not res-
ponsible.
They ought
rather to be
thanked.

It has been said that the volunteers, who go abroad from district to district in Bengal for inducing our country men in a perfectly lawful way to stick to their solemn vow of dealing with country-made articles only and forsaking foreign goods, so far as practicable, in the present time, oppress the Mahomedan dealers of foreign goods and bring about the *fracas* between Hindus and Mahomedans. But by this time, I think, this piece of spacious argument has crumbled down, because it has been proved to the hilt that these volunteers—enthusiastic youngmen of education—go

on preaching the utility of the Swadeshi movement ; and, in many cases, they beg on their knees, of their indifferent countrymen to stick to their Swadeshi vow. Of course, in some cases they helped the otherwise helpless Hindus to defend themselves from the nameless atrocities committed upon them by the Musalman roughs and rowdies. In this connection, I am inclined to think that whereas the Police and the Magistracy in the land do not or at least cannot, keep the peace and protect the helpless Hindus, the volunteers are really doing the duties which the Police and the Magistracy are in duty bound to do and are, in fact, paid to do. If this be true, they ought to be thanked and not condemned. It passes my understanding why our benign Government should take steps to prevent the visit of the volunteers to the disturbed part of the country while they are conniving at the Mollahs and Monlavis moving about the country at their sweet will to preach all sorts of inflammatory nonsense. Looking at the facts of the case we find that wherever and whenever the Police and the Magistracy disarmed the people even to the extent of taking *lathis* from them, the course of events that followed has been deplorable ; but where the Hindus were allowed a free hand and the help of the volunteers was obtained, the place was almost free from violence and the peace was not disturbed. Rangpore and Mymensingh are my instances in this connection. For all these reasons, I cannot conscientiously be a party to the condemnation of these volunteers.

The atrocities that were committed in Comilla and in the Jamalpur Sub-division of the Mymensingh district are too horrible to contemplate and too well-known to require any enumeration here. Suffice it

Mahomedan
atrocities.

to say that many houses of innocent Hindus were ransacked, Zamindar's Katcharis were looted, papers and documents therein were destroyed, their treasures were robbed—above all Hindu idols were mutilated and broken and even the honour of women was not spared. These things which remind us of the worst days of Mahomedan misrule and iconoclasm happened and are still happening in the country governed by the benign British rulers in the twentieth century. These things happened without any counter move from the Hindu side. All these are facts published in the newspapers corroborated by the special Reporters of some of the Anglo-Indian journalists and have not up to now been contradicted by the Government of Mr. Hare. This state of things, although it does not redound to the manly spirit of the Hindus, proves their extreme patience. As everything has its limit, I think the patience of the Hindus will have its limits too ; and if the Government do not take proper precautions and steps to prevent the hooliganism now prevailing in some of the districts of Partitioned Bengal, I cannot but shudder to consider the effect of the present conflagration. God has endowed every man with the right to defend himself, his family and his religion—no power, either human or divine, can divest him of this innate right. All Governments exist primarily to give protection to its subjects. If they deny it to their subjects, if they fail to give protection specially when they are oppressed, they fail in the first and fundamental of all duties. Under the present circumstances, it is nothing strange that the people should charge the local officials with conniving at, if not positively instigating, the Mahomedan roughs to commit all sorts of depredation upon the Hindus.

I shall say a few words with respect to the latest theory explaining the present disturbances which is apparently official. It is that Dewanganj was stormed and sacked by a crew of dacoits whose estimated numbers vary from 2,000 to 10,000. The editor of the "Empire" in its Friday's issue justly observes: "We are asked to believe that in the beginning of the 20th century it is possible for an army of brigands to manœuvre and to operate in a Bengal District and to hold the lives and property of its inhabitants at their mercy." The theory, if it is seriously propounded, will carry with it a greater condemnation of the officials concerned than that with which they are charged already.

Dacoits at
Dewanganj
--a myth.

Nothing is further from the truth than to say that the Mahomedans as a body are against the Hindus and are oppressing their Hindu neighbours. I know that many Mahomedan gentlemen are feeling as strongly as the Hindus at the present crisis. I cannot for a moment believe that the honest followers of Islam—the inheritors of the noble and puritanical Saracens,—the chivalrous Musalmans—can countenance the brutal outrages that are being committed in some of the Districts of Eastern Bengal. What I mean is this:—Although it is only the Mahomedan riff-rafs that are committing havoc, the Mahomedan community as a whole and their leaders specially have a clear duty at this juncture. They, following the excellent example set by the leading Musalmans of Burdwan, Ghoramara and Barisal, should in co-operation with the Hindus try to pacify their less cultured co-religionists and bring home to them that it is only suicidal to go against the Hindus, their neighbours. It behoves the Mahomedan Vigilance Committee, if it is still

The Mahomedans
should co-operate with
the Hindus.
The duty of
Government
at this crisis.

alive to justify its existence by coming forward prominently to bring about peace and reconciliation between their ignorant and fanatical co-religionists and the Hindus, because it is the interest of both to live peacefully and to work jointly for the regeneration of their common unfortunate country. Taking this view of the matter, I beg of the Mahomedan leaders to lose no time and to exert their utmost to put a stop to the present unhappy disturbances. The present disturbances may be profitable to some interested parties, but those, who have the good of our common country at heart, can scarcely sit idle over or allow the present state of things to continue even for a day. It is needless for me to say that our sympathies are fully with the aggrieved in the Eastern Districts of Bengal—the theatre of the present unhappy disturbances and that the heart of us all go forth to them in their present sorrow. But, gentlemen, there are occasions when sorrows are too deep for tears. We must try to adopt all constitutional means whereby we can put a stop to the present tension. Let the Government officials take this warning that if they do not rise to the supreme importance of the occasion and deal out impartial justice and adopt strong and powerful means to put a stop to the present scandal, they will be held responsible before God and man, and furthermore they will have contributed one of the darkest chapters in the history of the British rule in this country.

Deportation
of Lala Laj-
pat Rai.

As if to pile misfortune upon misfortune upon us, there comes the news of the deportation of one of the best and foremost of India's sons, I mean, of Lala Lajpat Rai. (The Government of India at the instance of the Government of the Punjab which is now under the rule of, according to Mr. Morley, one of the

"ablest" and "most experienced" rulers, viz., Sir Denzil Ibbetson, issued the warrant of deportation against Lala Lajpat Rai under—what they call Regulation III of 1818—a barbarous law antequated and utterly out of place in these days. Lala Lajpat was deported, so far as it has been known, for the free expression of his opinions with reference to some of the present measures of the Government. Has it come to this then, that our Government has been compelled to have recourse to this obsolete Regulation for gagging the Educated Indians who courageously give expression to what they think about the present administration? If this be not the Russian method of governing India, I do not know what else is.)

I fail to understand what benefit the Government will derive by deporting Lala Lajpat. He represents the views of modern Educated India. If you deport one Lala Lajpat Rai, there are thousand Educated Indians who will take his place or, better still, who are already there, to speak out the needs and grievances of the Indians. Time has come when our countrymen should speak out boldly, clearly, but respectfully that, unless some constitution be given to the Indians whereby they can control the administration of their own country, the present unrest will not be allayed. Adopt any repressive measures you please, you only add to the intensity of our aspirations and the keenness of the agitation; of this, you may be sure, that you cannot repress the noble ambition which inspires the modern Indians. (It is therefore supremely silly and dangerous to try to repress the universal desire of the Indians to have a tangible and reasonable share in the controlling of the administration of their country.) I can not

It will prove abortive, if it is meant for repressing the Educated Indians.

arrogate to myself the position of advising the Government ; but I can say to them plainly that, unless the people are taken in larger confidence by the Government, unless they are allowed, to some extent, to manage their own affairs and unless they are given suitable power to control the Government of the country in the legislative as well as its executive branches, the aspirations of our countrymen will not be satisfied and the unrest will not be removed. We wonder that England has not statesmanship enough to throw oil over the troubled waters in India (which, to a great extent, are due to misguided officials here) and to stretch out the olive branch of peace. India requires, at the present moment, alike for the welfare of herself and of England, a policy to be pursued here, which will not only remove the present grievances of the Indians, but will raise them in the scale of humanity as well as of nations by allowing them to participate in the real Government of their own country and which will for ever relegate to the limbo of forgetfulness the reactionary and repressive methods of the present Government.

Lala Lajpat Rai given no opportunity to meet the charges preferred against him.

I crave your indulgence for a few minutes to consider the dramatic nature of the arrest and the deportation of (Lala Lajpat Rai.) He has not been given any opportunity to meet the charges that might have been preferred against him. Even the worst criminal—a murderer or dacoit caught redhanded—is not denied an open trial to defend himself. Here Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the noblest products of the present educational system,—a deeply pious and religious man,—has been deported to an unknown destination without having had the least opportunity of answering the charges against him or of meeting them. This is Russian method with a vengeance. Who after this

will have any confidence in British justice? Surely a measure like the present not only defeats its own object but intensifies to a thousandfold degree the causes of unrest, to remove which and to maintain the peace is the ostensible object of the action taken under the Regulation III of 1818.) There is no mistake which cannot be rectified in time and it is the supreme duty of the Government to undo the wrong which they have done to Lala Lajpat Rai personally, to his family and to his countrymen alike.

Lala Lajpat Rai (if he be not actually goaded to it by the action of the misguided Government officials) is, by his very nature and education, the last person to become one of the party to conspire against the British Government for its subversion, because it is after all England which has made modern India. To err is human. But higher humanity as well as true statesmanship demand not to persist in error, but to rectify it.

Lala Lajpat Rai cannot conspire against Government.

(Lord Macaulay, in the vindication of the Charter Act of 1833, from his place in Parliament, said :—"It may be that the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system and that our subjects, being educated in western learning, may crave for western institutions. I know not whether such a day will ever arrive, but, when it does, it will be the proudest day in the annals of England." It is the opinion of competent authorities, both Indian and English, that the public mind of India has so expanded as to outgrow the present bureaucratic system of Government of this country, and the united voice of India is but craving for real self-government ; but the present successors in India of Macaulay are not replica of him, inasmuch as they like Dame Par-

Lord Macaulay's prophecy fulfilled yet Government vainly attempts to turn the tide back

tington—dame of the fable—and like the Airavata of our Puranas, are trying to repel the progressive spirit of modern India. Can there be a greater condemnation of the present British administration of the country ?)

Lord Minto's successive measures of repression should call forth our latent energies.

(As if this is not enough for humbling us, the unfortunate Indians, Lord Minto in whose care His Majesty's Government has placed the destiny of the 300 millions of Indians (Hindus as well as Mahomedans) is forging shackle after shackle from the cool heights of the Himalayas to fetter the Educated Indians. Ponder over the two successive Resolutions :—one in the matter of the students and their teachers and professors and the other in the matter of restraining meeting in Eastern Bengal and Assam and in the Punjab. They ought to occupy the serious attention of our leaders and our countrymen. They are intended to sap the very foundation of our political life. These two Resolutions are challenges to our manhood. If we sit idle and do not earnestly exert ourselves to have them cancelled or nullified immediately, they may do us great mischief.) There are occasions in the history of nations, when Providence, in Its inscrutable ways, causes events to happen in order to call forth their latent energies, to which if we can respond properly, we are sure to rise in the scale of nations, but, on the contrary, if we fail to rise true to the occasion, we are doomed. I appeal to my countrymen to show that we are men and that we fully deserve what we desire. If we can do this, I, for my part, shall think that all these disturbances and tribulations, through which we are now passing, have not come in vain.

II.

(Speech delivered as President of the First Twenty-four-Parganas District Conference, held in the premises of late Rai Mohanlal Mitra, at Baraset, on Saturday, the 20th of July, 1907.)

BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN,—I must thank you all from the bottom of my heart for the very high and significant honour you have done me by electing me to-day as your chairman. No body is more aware of my unfitness and incapacity to preside over such a gathering as this, than myself ; but when some of our leaders and my esteemed friends asked me to accept the chair, I yielded to their opinion, because, notwithstanding the consciousness of my inability for the stupendous duty, I possess at least one qualification, that is my love for the cause which inspires the present gathering and which brings us together here. Moreover, I know that in the discharge of my duty, I shall be assisted by the practical unanimity amongst yourselves about the proposals that will be brought forward for discussion and by the high sense of patriotism which pervades you all. Taking this view of the matter, I accept your mandate and take the chair with a conviction that my shortcomings and failings will be amply made up by the innate justice of the cause for which we have met here and with the hope that you will not be slow to shew your kind indulgence towards me.

Introduction.

Without making any lengthy introductory remarks, I ask your permission to make a few general observations on the present situation of our country and on the many proposals that will be brought before you for your deliberation. We all know and feel that (our

Present situation—unrest and discontent.

country is now passing through a period of unrest and (discontent) surpassing any similar previous period within living memory. Mr. Morley, a few days ago, from his place in the House of Commons, denied that there was any unrest in India, but now, even he can not deny this. He admits the unrest and discontent and makes only the Educated Hindus responsible for the present state of things in India. Now this statement of Mr. Morley's requires some examination. It is admitted that the Educated Indians are dissatisfied with the present method of administration in this country. (It is unnecessary for me to recapitulate here the broken pledges, the retrograde and reactionary nature and the unprogressive character with which the present administration of India is charged. The most serious and regrettable state of things, which is detrimental alike to the Government and the governed, is that the present bureaucracy is bent upon not only excluding the people from all share in the Government of their own country, but also upon withdrawing from them what little rights and privileges they had enjoyed formerly. To speak the truth, there is a growing conviction in the country that this bureaucracy is bent upon repressing the people, because, by virtue of their education, they are shewing themselves anxious to be associated with the rulers in the Government of their own country.)

Modern Bureaucracy deprives the people of India of their rights and seem to be determined to exclude them from any share in

With the advent of English rule in this country, (our countrymen) cherished a hope, and the noble British Statesmen of the former days encouraged them in their hope, that they would be more and more taken in confidence by their rulers and would be allowed to participate in the management of the affairs of their own country. But unfortunately, as the fate

would have it, they are treated only as "drawers of water and hewers of wood." It is nothing strange, therefore, that the Educated Indians will resent the treatment and try to assert, by every constitutional means at their disposal, their rights, to which they are entitled alike by their natural right and by the solemn declaration of their Sovereign.) In fact, the Educated Indians will not be true to their education, to their country and to their countrymen, if they do not try to serve their motherland, which they can not sufficiently do without securing their legitimate share in the Government of their own country. There is nothing seditious in it and I humbly think that there must be something wrong in the head and heart of those who do not only not encourage this feeling amongst our countrymen, but on the contrary try to repress the Educated Indians for their legitimate effort to do one of their fundamental duties. The average present-day administrator of British India, unlike Lord Macaulay and the whole host of other wise British Statesmen of the good old days, openly tells the educated people of this country that they are unfit even to take a small share in the management of their own affairs. (Bureaucracy is naturally very much opposed to the liberty of the people and consequently it is very much disinclined to part with any power and privileges which they enjoy.)

(Before Lord Curzon, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy kept a veil over their selfish designs, but since then they have completely unmasked themselves and have declared an open war against the legitimate ambition and the patriotic spirit of the Educated Indians.) (Lord Curzon, on the eve of his final departure from India, in a speech, delivered on the occasion of a dinner

the Govern-
ment of their
country.

Lord Curzon,
the worst
sinner in this
respect.

given to him by the members of the Byculla club, Bombay, said :—"As for the educated classes, I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions—more places on councils, and so on—I have in any way incurred their hostility." Further on he made himself more explicit on the point and said :—"That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so ; and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty, I have no apology to advance.")

The matter reaching its climax in Mr. Morley's recent Parliamentary declaration.

The matter, I regret, reached its climax when Mr. Morley declared the other day in the British Parliament that, so far as he could see, there was no other system of Government than the one-man rule which suits the genius of this country. He went so far that he called the Educated Indians the "enemies" of the British Government. There has been tension of feeling between the Indians and the members of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, but I think (this is the first occasion, in the history of British India, when the Educated Indians are treated in such hostile spirit and) (the rights of the Indians set at naught in such an open and flagrant manner) The matter has really come to a crisis. There is, it is deeply to be deplored, a dearth of statesmanship amongst the rulers of our country, for, otherwise the gap between the rulers and the ruled, particularly between the Educated Indians and the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, would have been bridged over, instead of being daily allowed to be wider and wider. (A section of the authorities, both here and in England, may think that they can hold India "by the power of the sword only" and that, as the *Pioneer* said the other day, they

can safely take their ultimate stand upon what has been called the "tiger qualities" of the British nation. But no one knows it better than Mr. Morley himself that repression and coercion, like injustice, recoils upon the heads of the advocates of those policies and that those, who seriously try and begin to translate this opinion into action, meet with signal discomfiture.) I am not here concerned with the moral aspect of the question which I leave to the conscience of the British Statesmen here as well as in England, if they have only one and the self-same commodity of this "Divine spark in human body" in reference to their conduct with the ruled in India and elsewhere.

The supreme question of the moment is :—What the Educated Indians should do under the present circumstances? They must of course obey the law and the authority by all means, but, at the same time, they owe it to their self respect and to their country to resent such unjust treatment and to improve their condition by their own exertions. (The Partition of Bengal) in spite of the universal protest of the whole nation, (has been an eye-opener to our countrymen. This wanton outrage upon public sentiment, the manner in which it was effected and the conduct since, of our administrators with reference to questions arising directly and indirectly out of the Partition have proved conclusively that, in the management of the affairs of their country, the opinion of the Indians count for nothing and have consequently cleared our vision. Mr. Morley, the philosopher-statesman, now presiding over the Indian administration, declined to set aside the Partition of Bengal on the ground of its being "a settled fact"; but it is also "a settled fact" with the Indians of to-day to be determined to take their

The duty of
the Educated
Indians.

legitimate share in the Government of their own country and to bring the administration under more and more popular control and that, inspite of repression or coercion)

The salient arguments urged against our just demand :—

(a) Educated Indians have no touch with the nation.

The shallowness of the proposition exposed.

I need not take much of your time to discuss the so-called reasons which some of our adversaries adduce against our just demand. I shall deal only very briefly with two of the most significant and salient points urged by our administrators, to shew how hollow and utterly indefensible is their position.

They assert that, besides the Educated Indians who form only a "microscopic minority" in the land, there are Indians who, though dumb because of their want of education, are mainly the nation. Educated Indians have no touch with them and they, being ignorant of their habits, thoughts and wants are consequently incapable to represent them. To give the Educated Indians some control over the administration would therefore be disastrous. The Anglo-Indian Officials, who are more in touch with the uneducated portion of the Indian community, are better acquainted with the necessities and grievances of the latter and it is therefore not safe to ask the former to part with even a few of "the reins of Government." Now let us consider for a moment the value of this piece of argument. The Anglo-Indian Officials, who live quite apart from the inhabitants of this country and hold no communication (except official and therefore cold and not cordial) with them are said to be better acquainted with the inner workings of the mind of the masses in this country. In this country the Anglo-Indian Officials form themselves into a mutual-adulation-society; yet it would be too much even for them to claim that they know the people much more than the Educated

Indians, who not only live and move amongst them but are at one with them. I, for my part, absolutely deny the truth of this outlandish claim of the alien Officials. Educated Indians, if they have any education worth the name, are the only party who can truly and faithfully represent the masses. It is true in all parts of the world. Why should it be different in India? In fact, one of the objects of education is to be better acquainted with the conditions of men and things amongst which one lives and to better prepare him to try to raise his community materially, morally and spiritually. This inalienable right no Educated Indian will ever give up, and no official, however powerful he may be, can disqualify the former from representing the thoughts, grievances and wants of the people amongst whom the masses are included. The Educated Indians must finally take up a position which will enable them better to serve their uneducated brethren and there is no other better way to serve their country. There is another spacious argument, which is taken advantage of, in this connection. Anglo-Indian Officials, generally speaking, assert that the administration of this country can not be made responsible to the people thereof, because the people cannot be given "the reins of Government." They mainly take up their stand here on the Party System of Government obtaining in England. The principle underlying this contention is simply this—that, whereas the people of this country cannot be asked to take up the responsibility of the practical administration of the country, it will be an anomaly to make the administration responsible to them. I, for my part, cannot understand the logic of this position. To me, it seems only to be a plea to keep the people away from controlling the

(b) Administration of this country can not be made responsible to its people.

Sophistry
involved in
the proposi-
tion shown.

administration. I know for certain that if this principle is once set aside and the opposite principle, that is to say, that the administration be made responsible to the people of this country, be authoritatively declared and a suitable machinery provided therefor, half of the official jobbery, vaguery and highhandedness will be gone. (It is for the greed of power and selfishness of the officials that the people of India are denied their natural right and privilege to control the administration.) It is right and just that the members of Government, who practically carry on the administration, must be ultimately responsible to the people for whose benefit they use the reins of Government. It is only sophistry, based upon narrow self-interest, which denies the truth of this self-evident proposition; but Educated Indians, I am sure, will be able to see through this sophistry and will, courageously and with determination, try to get this principle not only accepted but carried into effect. (Educated Indians cannot remain satisfied with the present absurd system of Government) and they must do whatever lies in their power to bring about a transformation of the present system. (English Statesmen,) high in rank and in qualities of head and heart, (declared times without number that they governed India for the benefit of the Indians only and that their tenure of ruling this country was based upon the training up of the Indians for self-government. If that be so, why it is that the Anglo-Indian Officials are allowed to take their shelter under the cover of the sophistry of party government for denying the people of this country the right and privilege of controlling the administration even to a certain extent? If they govern us for our benefit only, why should they grudge to submit their actions

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to our judgment ? This is a crucial test ;) and, according to the manner in which the present administrators practically answer our legitimate demands, they will be able to shew to us and to the civilized world how far they actually act up to their previous promises and whether they govern India for the benefit of the Indians only or for their own selfishness and aggrandisement. In the meantime let the people of this country, through their legitimate spokesmen, I mean the Educated Indians, persist in the path they have chosen for the welfare of their country, to reach the promised land of bringing the administration to their control under the suzerainty of England.

Passing on to the question of the very unfortunate disturbances in some parts of Eastern Bengal, let us for a moment consider dispassionately the genesis thereof. I need not give here the details of the disturbances, because they are known to all. Quarrels between Hindus and Mahomedans—resulting in the aggressive movements of the low-class Mahomedans towards the Hindus generally, in the mutilation of the Hindu Gods and Goddesses, in the mischievous attacks upon the modesty of Hindu females and in the frequent looting of the *Hats* &c.—are now household words in Bengal. Since the unfortunate advent of Nawab Salimulla of Dacca in Comilla, these disturbances have followed in quick succession in many places in Eastern Bengal. For a while, Government seemed to cease to exist there where these horrors happened.

No attention was given to these disturbances and Musalman rowdies were given all possible opportunities to carry on their nefarious works. No preliminary measures were adopted to prevent the disturbances even where conditions had been previously known

Disturbances in some parts of Eastern Bengal.

How the local Executives dealt with it.

to lead to them by the appearance and preachings of Maulavis and by the publication of pamphlets and rabid writings of the worst type in some low-class journals conducted by irresponsible and fanatical Mahomedans. No heed was paid to the open declaration by many Musalmans that the Government and Nawab Salimulla of Dacca had entered into a mutual agreement to allow and to help the Musalmans to oppress the Hindus. Not only no care was taken of these, but the Officials did not do anything to check them. On the contrary the spreaders of these seditious matters were encouraged, so to say, to think that they had the support of the former in their actions. No complaints of the Hindus against the Musalman rowdies were even admitted ; in fact, in Comilla a Brahmin, whose head was wounded, on his complaint to the District Magistrate was referred sarcastically to the political agitators. But this *Huzoor* conveniently forgot that there had been no disturbances in Commilla when the political agitators had convened a meeting there. In the image-breaking case at Jamalpur, Mymensing, Babu Kamini Kumar Bhattacharya Sub-Inspector, deposed that he, Mr. Barneville and the Court Sub-Inspector pursued the Mahomedans who broke the image of Goddess Basanti and took *lathis* from some of them and that no arrests were made because the mob dispersed. But on that day, at Jamalpore, many respectable Hindus were arrested even without a complaint from any single person for the alleged offence of unlawful assembly &c. (This is the present-day British justice and we are seriously asked to be reconciled to this travesty.) While serious disturbances were happening) in Mymensing, the Lieutenant-Governor of Curzonian Bengal was enjoying his holidays at

Shillong, thus practically repeating the history of Nero fiddling while Rome was burning.)

I cannot deny that the ignorant Musalmans have some excuse in being duped into the belief that they will have the support of the Government in oppressing the Hindus, because we know that systematic attempts have been made to show undue favouritism and partiality towards the Mahomedans. In the Resolution of the Government of India, Home Department, dated Simla, the 19th of July, 1905, sanctioning the Partition of Bengal, it was said in defence of the Partition, that it would "concentrate in a single province the typical Mahomedan population of Bengal for whom Dacca would furnish a natural Capital." Further on in the same Resolution it was said :—"In short, the territories now comprising Bengal and Assam will be divided into two compact and self-contained provinces, by far the largest constituents, each of which will be homogenous in character and which will possess clearly-defined boundaries and be equipped with the complete resources of an advanced administration." It is inexplicable why should our benign Government suddenly feel so much love for our Mahomedan compatriots.

True genesis of the disturbances explained.

These apparently harmless words mean much more than what appears on the face of them ; in fact, all the subsequent actions of the Government Officials from the celebrated declaration of Sir B. Fuller, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Curzonian Bengal, who styled himself Shaista Khan II, for his favourite wife the Musulmans, to the granting of a loan to the Nawab of Dacca—a concession which was not granted to the Maharani of Ajodhya—are true commentaries and illustrations of the intention of the Government em-

How Mahomedans were duped to believe that they would be supported by the Government in their oppression of the Hindus.

bodied in the words quoted above. Look at the unblushing nature of the conduct of some of our Officials ; it is announced up to now without any contradiction that, the case against the writer of the Red Pamphlet was disposed of privately in the *Khas Kamra* of the Magistrate, by simply taking a recognisance from the worthy writer, while Babu Venibhusan Ray, B.L. and Maulavi Leakat Hossain were hauled up and dragged from day to day for delivering speeches and writing pamphlets, where it is impossible even for a most powerful official microscope to find out the bacilli of sedition. Surely, our modern administrators, although lacking in Oriental lore—a fact which was regretted very much by Sir Andrew Fraser in his recent address in the Asiatic Society—have unusually developed their scientific knowledge, so much so, that they can with their unassisted eye, discover the bacilli of sedition, which cannot be found out by the most powerful microscope. To understand the hidden meaning of the words of the Government Resolution, we must understand the nature and development of the state of things, happening, for the last few months, in Eastern Bengal.

A semi-official journal suggested to play off one community against another.

A semi-official Anglo-Indian Journal, in August last year, openly suggested to play off one community against another, in order to counteract the effect of the demonstration made by the Hindus against the Partition. And as all parents are fond of their child, so this self-same journal, with an effrontery unsurpassed, came out some days ago with a defence of the Red Pamphlet, the contents of which are so well-known to you that I do not desire to offend your ears by repeating it or quoting from it.

The self-

The editor of this journal, who seems to be lost to all

higher feeling when dealing with the question of teaching a lesson to the Educated Hindus and, for the matter of that, to the Educated Indians, actually writes in support of the fanatical writing of the Red Pamphlet:—

same journal
openly de-
fended Ma-
homedan fa-
naticism.

“The Mahomedans have endured much in patience, they have borne wrong in the hope that God and the Sarkar would come to their relief. Now they are driven to action and they propose to take a leaf out of the book of their oppressors and boycott them in turn.” * * *

“The pamphlet may however serve to open the eyes of the world to the misery and wrong inflicted by those who make specious appeals to the brotherhood of man, while, all the time, they are sowing the seeds of a full harvest of hatred. Such awakening may lead to an attempt to remedy the wrong. It is in that hope that we publish the translation.” The editor characterises the Red Pamphlet as “a human document of deepest interest embodying the feeling of a people.” This shows that the idea of humanity, as understood by the writer of the Red Pamphlet, is similar to that entertained by the editor of the Journal. This most un-English journal even went to the length of supporting the mischief-making Mollas who, according to Police officers preached rank sedition among low-class and fanatical Musalmans. The following quotation from that journal will prove what I say:—“The Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal are too poor for every village to have a *Molla* of its own and so the custom has grown up of paying *Mollas* small sums to visit small communities in turn to impart religious instruction. It is possible that the *Mollas*, as was perfectly right, have been preaching loyalty to the British crown, and it is this which has made the Bengali papers so angry.” So, gentlemen, you see that the

Englishman not only supports the Red Pamphlet and the seditious Molla preachers, but characterises the utterances of the latter as loyal. Perversity cannot go deeper than this. Need I go farther to show to what all these troubles and disturbances, that must have pained the thinking portion of the members of the Hindu as well as the Mahomedan community, are due ?

Different theories to prove the Hindu origin of the present trouble in Eastern Bengal.

The strangest part of the whole affair is the attempt of both the Government and the Anglo-Indian journalist to fasten the entire blame upon the Hindus who were the greatest sufferers. This is insult added to injury. It would be tiresome to give in detail all the different theories that have been successively brought forward to prove the Hindu origin of the present unrest and trouble in Eastern Bengal. An occasional correspondent of the *Englishman*, in a letter addressed to that journal and headed "Sidelights and queries from East-Bengal," writes :—"If it can be shown that the Mahomedan ryots have for years past been suffering flagrant injustice and cruel oppression at the hands of any particular class of Hindus, it will then be much more easily understood how the irritant poison of boycott, sought to be imposed on them by the Babu sedition-mongers, has acted, as would the application of a lighted torch to powder, and has fanned their long suffering but sullen resentment into a flame of furious and active retaliation." But what are these "flagrant injustice and cruel oppression" from which the Mahomedan ryots suffer ? Says the same veracious correspondent that, it is the "Zamindari mismanagement, illegal enhancement of rent, illegal gratification of the Zamindar's agents and the brutal oppression by Hindu money-lenders." This worthy correspondent in another place of the same letter writes :—"We have

Zamindari mismanagement, oppression by Hindu money-lenders.

described one (i.e. a riot) in another place. The riot was directly caused by a procession of national volunteers headed by a Babu in an elephant. They paraded through the *Mela* terrorising the shopkeepers and enforcing the boycott of *bilati* goods." So you see, it is the Hindus throughout and the national volunteers and boycott of *bilati* goods that have been made responsible for these disturbances. But what are the actual facts ?

Most of the charges levelled by the correspondent refer to the Estate of Maharaja Sir Jotendra Mohan Tagore under the management of a Receiver appointed under the orders of the High Court of Calcutta. It is a news to us that this Receiver in question is a Hindu and the High Court of Calcutta has so much Hinduised itself that it has joined the Hindu Babus to oppress the poor Mahomedans for whom our correspondent is so full of the milk of human kindness. That all these statements are a tissue of falsehood, invented by the interested Anglo-Indian journalists and encouraged by many Officials, to many of whom would have been already meted out adequate punishments, were the Government really desirous of an impartial enquiry into the whole affair, is well-known to us all. It has been conclusively proved that the Maharaja's Estate is the best managed one in the Jamalpore Subdivision. Oppression of tenants there; by way of illegal enhancement of their rents and by way of subjecting them to pay illegal cesses, is absolutely impossible. Moreover, Zamindari oppression, if there be any and if that be true, would have been felt equally by the Hindu tenants, who, however small in number, would have sided with the Mahomedan rowdies. If the matter were Mahomedan

Actual facts
disprove
them.

ryots *versus* Hindu Zamindars, why then the Mahomedan mobs looted Hindu shops, assaulted Hindus indiscriminately, outraged Hindu women, who were neither Hindu Zamindars nor their agents? Leaving aside the worthless scribblings of the Anglo-Indian journalists and their veracious correspondents, (the worthlessness of one of whom has been conclusively proved by the respectable gentlemen on the spot and even by the correspondent of the *Statesman* and the impartiality of another will appear when he says in the *Pioneer*, 22nd May, 1907 :—"It is right that the public should be put in possession of the true state of affairs as gathered from the conversations, I have had, with various government officials at Comilla and Akhaura") who have never thought fit to enquire from the people the true genesis of the disturbances, let us see what are the judicial findings on the question of the origin of these disturbances which were a disgrace to the Administration.

The judicial findings on the question of the origin of the disturbances :—
(a) Hargilarchar abduction case.

(b) Madhabpur outrage case.

Mr. Barneville, in Hargilarchar abduction case, in committing the accused persons remarked :—"that the cause of these outrages was due to the announcement that the Government had permitted the Mahomedans to marry Hindu widows in *nika* form." In the Madhabpur outrage cases, in delivering judgment, Mr. Momin, the trying Magistrate, remarked :—"The occurrence has been very satisfactorily proved. All the witnesses prove it. It established beyond doubt that a mob of Mahomedans really committed rioting in Madhabpur, in the course of which, they caused damage to the properties of the complainants and used violence to the complainants and their wives. The common object of the rioters appears to be to convert the Hindus to Mahomedanism or else to forcibly

take away the females by using force and violence to them." Mr. Momin in delivering judgment in the case *Srihari Tambuli versus Mati Sekh* and others said:—"The people injured are poor, helplessly poor, who had done no harm to the Mahomedans and had given them no provocation. They were most mercilessly treated by the rioters and it is right, I should give them a heavy punishment." Mr. Momin, in the Palastala outrage case, delivered himself thus :—

"On the 20th Baisakh at noon, a number of Mahomedans, numbering 50 or 60, entered the vilage of Palastala, which is inhabited by Rajbansis, broke the *Mandabghar* of Parushnarain Rajbansi and other Hindus, desecrated the Tulsi plants, used violence to the Hindus and dragged some of them for the purpose of converting them to Mahomedanism. They also attempted to get hold of the females and outrage them." In the Dewanganj Bazar looting case, Maulavi Faizuddin Hossein said :—"According to the story related on the side of the prosecutiou, the accused Sarkar had read over a notice to the crowd of Musalmans, near the shop of Ramani Shaha at Dewanganj Bazar, at about 4 or 5 P.M. on the 5th Instant. By this notice, the Musalmans were given to understand that the British Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders for oppressing the Hindus. Soon after the notice was read over by Habil Sarkar, about 50 Musalmans invaded the house of the Hindu Goddess Kali, pulled down Kali's house and broke down Kali's image. A little after this, in the evening, some hundreds of Musalmans plundered the shops of Mahendra Dutt and others and also burnt down the shops of some Hindu traders at Dewanganj. The fact that the Kali's house was demolished and that the image of

(c) Srihari
Tambuli ~~vers-~~
sus Mati
Sekh and
others.

(d) Palastala
outrage case.

(e) Dewan-
ganj Bazar
looting case.

Kali was destroyed is significant to shew that the offenders were Musalmans and not Hindus. Besides, the defence witness No. 3, Abdul Aziz Khondkar, admitted in cross-examination that the Dewanganj Bazar was looted and that the house of Kali was destroyed by Musalmans on the date in question."

Mr. Morley persists in vilifying the Hindus, contrary judicial findings notwithstanding.

What are we to believe, the irresponsible vapourings of interested Anglo-Innian journalists or the judicial findings on many cases that came up for trial, out of the disturbances in the affected Districts of Eastern Bengal? There cannot be two answers to this question; but Mr. Morley will even now persist in his vilification of the Hindus. What a fall!

Disturbances caused by dacoits and *badmushes*, disproved in the Tarakanda looting case.

Over and above these fanciful theories, another was added to the effect that the disturbances were caused by dacoits and *badmushes* and the correspondent of the *Pioneer* is ready to corroborate the theory. He says:— "*Badmushes* have taken advantage of the situation to commit dacoities. There is always a substratum of society in every country ready to break out at the first chance." But this theory also has no leg to stand upon, because it is scarcely possible to have an organic unity similar to what we find in all these disturbances. Look at the judgment delivered by Mr. J. M. Das, Deputy Magistrate in what is known as the Tarakanda looting case:—"The peculiar circumstances of the case differentiate it from an ordinary case of dacoity. When a number of persons commit dacoity they know that they are acting against law and they, therefore, take precautions to protect themselves from the clutches of the law. Here the persons, who committed the loot, seem to have acted under the belief, that they would not render themselves liable to any punishment by their acts. It is said that at the time of committing the loot, they

shouted that an order was issued by the Nawab Sahab to the effect that there would be no trial within three months, that all Laws and Law Courts would be suspended during that period and that properties of the Hindus should be looted. It is apparently such a belief that induced the rioters to commit a most audacious loot in broad day-light in the presence of a vast concourse of people. The evidence adduced by the prosecution shews that a very large number of Musalmans took part in the loot and that the Hindus, whose shops were looted, were too much frightened to offer any resistance."

From the judgments above quoted, it will be found that the object of the rioters was either (1) to marry the Hindu widows in the "*nika*" form or, (2) to cause damages to the properties of the Hindus or, (3) to use violence to the Hindu females or, (4) to injure the poor and helpless Hindus without any provocation from them or, (5) to convert the Hindus forcibly into Mahomedanism or, (6) to break the images of Hindu Gods and Goddesses or, (7) to desecrate things held to be sacred by the Hindus. The Mahomedan rowdies are, as will appear from the judgments above quoted, under the impression that the British Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca passed orders for oppressing the Hindus and they are simply carrying out their behests. Is it not very silly then to charge the injured Hindus, with all these broad facts before the world, for being the root of the present disturbances?

Let us consider for a moment how for swadeshi and boycott are responsible for this unhappy state of things. It is admitted by the Government Officials that there was no complaint about damaging the

Objects of the rioters according to the judgments above quoted.

Swadeshi & boycott have nothing to do with the disturbances

bilati goods even at Jamalpur where the Sub-Divisional Officer, Mr. Barneville, and some Police officers went to the *Mela*, immediately after the riot. In Dewanganj and some other places, which are under the management of a Receiver, appointed by the High Court, there was no swadeshi movement and consequently no boycott ; but these places suffered most at the hands of the Mahomedan rowdies. It is well-known that most of the dealers in *bilati* goods in Eastern Bengal are Hindus and naturally, it is the Hindu dealers of foreign goods who would have risen against the political agitators and National Volunteers, had the boycott had anything to do with the disturbances.

Mr. Morley's views on the course of events in Eastern Bengal.

Mr. Morley says :—"The course of events in Eastern Bengal appears to have been mainly this :—first, attempts to impose the boycott on Mahomedans by force, secondly, complaints by Hindus that the local officials stop them and by Mahomedans that they do not try to stop them, thirdly, retaliation by Mahomedans, fourthly, complaints by Hindus that the local Officials do not protect them from this retaliation, fifthly, general lawlessness of the lower classes on both sides, encouraged by the spectacle of fighting among the higher classes, sixthly, more complaints against the Officials as the result of that disorder in certain districts having been complained of. The result of the Ordinance has been that down to May 29, it had not been necessary to take action in any of these Districts."

Startling absurdities of his position.

You will be able to see, gentlemen, from these extracts, that in the filtration upwards of the official information, Mr. Morley has made many improvements upon the so-called causes of the present unrest in some parts of Eastern Bengal as enunciated by

Anglo-Indian journalists and Officials here. It is a news to us that the Hindus (1) attempt to force boycott upon the Mahomedans, and (2) complain against the Officials with respect to their legitimate attempt to suppress such forced boycott, and (3) that the recent lawlessness was exhibited by the lower classes of Mahomedans as well as of Hindus alike, and (4) that the fight between the higher classes of both the communities encouraged the Hindus and Mahomedan rabbles to commit lawlessness. We are asked to swallow these unfounded assumptions. No imprimatur, even that from the highest authority in the land, can convert black into white. All the well-established facts here, will go to contradict Mr. Morley. The present statement is one of the many, with which Mr. Morley has startled the Indian public, since his assumption of the office under the present Government and so we need not mind much of it.

Regarding the so-called National Volunteers, who are much abused by Anglo-Indian Officials and Journalists, let us see what the Police Sub-Inspector and the District Board Overseer deposed to, in the Jamalpur rioting case. They with one voice declared :— “that the volunteers have done good work in protecting female pilgrims” ; “the volunteers assisted female pilgrims from the Railway station to the Chapatala and the Loan Office *ghats* and back to the Dayamayi temple” ; “most of the volunteers belong to very respectable families at Jamalpur and are children and relations of leading gentlemen” ; “that the Volunteers had done excellent service to the pilgrims” ; “that they had rendered a good deal of assistance to the Police.” Is it not very ungrateful then to taboo these volunteers ? But the most unhappy part of the whole

National Volunteers do not foment these disturbances ; they rendered assistance to the Police.

thing is to come down upon these young men of respectable families inspired with laudable enthusiasm for helping, in many cases, helpless Hindu females suffering at the hands of Mahomedan rowdies and left alone by the Police and the Magistracy who are paid to give them protection. It is also well-known that where these Volunteers had their own way, there were no disturbances. But for all these "excellent services" and "assistance to the Police," they are punished as disturbers of the peace.

The Hindus are unjustly denied the right of self-defence.

Mr. Hughes Buller, who is "an officer of the Panjab and of political service experience," now the District Magistrate of Barisal, issued an order under section 144, that many-sided weapon in the hands of our political Magistrates, prohibiting any person from carrying, between the hours of sunset and sunrise, any sword-stick, stick or bamboo more than three and a half feet in length or one inch in diameter. Right of self-defence is one, which is innate in us and of which no power either earthly or divine can divest us. It is no doubt a very beautiful arrangement that our Administrators, in order "to hammer swadeshi and boycott," will connive at the Mahomedan rowdies oppressing the innocent Hindus, will never protect the latter against the oppression by Musalman riff-raffs and at the same time will come down upon them, if the Hindus make a stir to protect themselves, their properties and their females. "A man," says Lord Roberts, "can not be regarded as fully a citizen,—as possessing the complete and absolute rights of manhood—unless he is able to defend himself and his home and his liberties. Unless he can fully do this, he is not fully a man." Further on he goes on to say :—"Strong limbs and a good heart, though

still of immense importance, must be supplemented by an appropriate education to be effective for the purposes of defence." It seems to be clear, therefore, that our benign Government does not only not want to see the attainment of manhood in the Indian Nation, but will take every step to crush it, whenever we shall try to assert our manhood. So, you see, gentlemen, that politics or no politics, our selfish and bureaucratic Administrators will manage to bring you all, honest workers for the regeneration of your country, in collision with them and to hold you under firmer grips of Laws and Ordnances.

Now, what is the difference between the Hindus and the Musalmans? If we examine a little more closely into the whole question, it will be evident that there can not be any difference between the two leading Indian communities, their demands, their aspirations and their political rights. I think it would be insulting to your intelligence and, for the matter of that, to the intelligence of any reasonable body, who are well acquainted with the true state of things obtaining in this country, were I to go in detail to prove that the Hindus and the Musalmans, so long as they are the inhabitants of one common country, cannot but be equally benefited or injured by the laws and regulations of the country and the form of Government obtaining in it. It is so, because of the simple and conclusive reason that both the communities will be equally affected by them. Whatever our religious differences may be, we are on the same boat and consequently stand or fall together. It is very mischievous, nay very dangerous to try to rouse the religious animosity and fanaticism in the present case, as some low-class and rabid Mahomedan news-

Difference
between the
Hindus and
the Musal-
mans—
myth.

papers have been persistently doing for the last few months.

Duty of the
Leaders of
the Maho-
medan com-
munity.

The leaders of the Mahomedan community have a clear duty to restrain some of their erring members who are sowing seeds of disaffection towards their Hindu compatriots. The educated and reasonable members of both these communities, save and except perhaps the redoubtable Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, are sincerely sorry for what are happening in this country ; but what the Indian Nation wants them to do is, that they, specially the leaders of the Mahomedan community, should take some active steps, whereby it would be impossible for the mischief-makers to carry on their nefarious business of creating race-hatred. It is unnecessary for me to say that these differences between the two principal communities have been, to some extent, engendered and utilized by the enemies of Indian progress to retard our progress and to divert our united energy from the right path of exerting itself for our common improvement to internecine quarrels. We should be the laughing-stock of the whole civilized world, if we blind ourselves to such an extent, that, instead of uniting ourselves for our common good, we cut each other's throat. I must painfully admit that a certain section of our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen have fallen an easy prey to the traps laid for them by interested men. I, therefore, warn all right-thinking men of the followers of Islam to vigorously set themselves to work, while it is not already too late, to undo the mischief, done by the erring members of their community and not to allow them to dissociate themselves from the general bulk of their educated fellow-Indians in the task of the regeneration of the unhappy motherland of both. Let them read their own history, their own past glory and

they will find sufficient material to inspire them with enthusiasm for the noble task, which the Educated Indians have taken upon themselves, for seeing their common motherland raised in the scale of nations. I cannot dismiss this portion of my subject without expressing my heartfelt gratitude to H. H. the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad for the excellent circular, which he has circulated amongst his co-religionists, to be true Indians and not to dissociate from the Hindus. By this service to his country, His Highness has deserved the blessings of God and man alike.

The country's gratitude is due to H. H. the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

To me all these difficulties and troubles seem to be nothing else than different stages, through which we, as presently circumstanced, must pass before reaching our goal—our promised land ; and I, for my part, shall be satisfied, if the lesson of self-help and self-dependance has been permanently brought home to the Indian minds, after all these troubles and tribulations suffered by them. (It is a truism to say, that ultimately nations are, by themselves, made and they cannot be elevated by any foreign agency, much less by a Government like ours. We should try to be men and, above all, prove to be worthy of our education and of the cause which we have the honour to represent. The spirit of self-help and self-dependance has been conspicuously brought out before the Indian mind, since the eventful period which saw the Partition of Bengal carried into effect amidst the universal chorus of protest by the people and the subsequent Russianised policy of our Administrators to repress our countrymen, whenever and wherever they tried to assert their manhood.) Consequently, at the last session of the Indian National Congress, where all shades of Indian cultured opinion are focussed, an imprimatur

These difficulties and troubles should bring home to our mind the lesson of self-help and self-dependance.

was given to this most important principle, which is henceforth to be the chief and central plank in the platform of the Congress movement.

With that view, we should take up District Organisations first.

We meet here under a mandate from the Indian National Congress delivered to us, through the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Berhampur. To bring about the work of our national regeneration, we want, first of all, a proper machinery and organisation for such gigantic a task. The organisation of the Districts, therefore, we should take up first; because these, together with suitable committees for the sub-divisional and other towns in the district, are the true units for the national organisation. It is a happy day for the country that steps are being taken to form District Associations throughout the Province. When they are formed, it will be easy to reach all the strata of our society and to inspire them with the new idea of self-help and self-dependence. It has all along been said against us that all of our political propaganda concern only the educated portion of our community and that there was nothing in them to carry the masses. Time has come when proper steps ought to be taken to make our movements sufficiently wide, so as to include, within it, work for all sections of our community; and further we should form our programme of work in such a way that the masses as well as the educated members of our community may interest themselves in it equally. In other words, the District Associations will form the base and the Indian National Congress the apex of our national organisation. It is for you, gentlemen, to make the work of these Associations a success and to make them true and helpful assistants in the national work.

There organisations must include work for all sections of our community.

Special utili-

From one point of view, these District bodies are

more important than the Congress or the Conferences ; because these latter bodies can, at best, lay down only general principles for our guidance, whereas the District Associations will have to bring home these general principles to the minds of the different sections of our society and to carry them into practice, adapting them at the same time to the different circumstances and requirements of each district. The task is difficult, but nothing can be nobler and more patriotic than the one, which presents before us, through these bodies to be created ere long. No one is more qualified to carry out the task indicated here, than those whom I see before me and who represent all that is best in the district. I speak from the bottom of my heart, when I say that we should sacrifice everything to carry out the work before us. Although I feel my voice weak and my words poor to adequately appeal to you for impressing upon you the supreme necessity of the work, yet I know that whatever I may lack in my power of expression will be amply made up by the noble cause which speaks for itself and by the very fact that all of you are inspired with one feeling to devote yourselves to the cause of our mother country. There is another advantage of the District Associations over the larger bodies and that is this :—in it we can take up works which concern us more immediately and directly and which, by the very nature of things, cannot be taken up by the latter. It is, therefore, expected that we shall get more workers here, because we shall have to work here for our own immediate interest in the narrow and parochial sense of the work. Take, for instance, the irrigation question of the District, its sanitary wants, the canker of litigation and the development of Industries and Manufactures ;—

ty of these organisations.

These organisations will develop "corporate feeling" amongst us.

these are questions, which affect more or less every one inhabiting in the District and, if proper remedies are provided for grievances under each of these heads, I am sure, every one will feel the utility of an Organisation, like the one which we are going to inaugurate to day. Above all, working under the auspices of such organisations, that "corporate feeling," the want of which is reproached by many Westerners, will immeasurably develop amongst the people. That being the case, there can be no better schooling for our political training, than to work for these Organisations. This should be an additional stimulus for devoting our best energies to the carrying out of the work of the District Organisation.

The evil of litigation ; arbitration, proper remedy.

I shall now address a few words, by way of reference only, to the numerous proposals, that will be brought before you for your deliberation and decision. I see with much pleasure that one of the items in your agenda is to take steps "to induce the people of the country to settle their differences chiefly by arbitration and not to go to Courts on that account." Consider for a moment what a monster is this evil of litigation. It is admitted on all hands that justice should be cheap, quick and sure. Putting this test to the proceedings of our Law Courts, we must admit that we are not satisfied with their works. I do not blame at all the officers presiding over our Courts, but the system of practice and procedure obtaining in them is so foreign and unsuitable to the spirit and genius of the Indian people, that we cannot conscientiously say that the justice, we obtain in our British Courts, is pure, unadulterated and palatable to us all. First, it is so very costly that it is doubtful whether decree-holders in many cases practically gain anything after winning a suit. This

fact specially tells upon the petty suitors, who form an overwhelming majority. In such cases, it is practically denying the justice. In the returns and statistics, supplied by the Government, we find only the costs of stamps used for Court-fees and for the fees for administering oaths on affidavits (which are increasing year after year) and of fees chargeable for serving and executing process issued by Courts. But those, who are conversant with the actual state of things, are painfully aware that these costs only represent a fraction of the entire amount necessary to be spent by those unfortunate men, who have to enter the precincts of our British Law Courts. If we take into account the trouble and worry, consequent upon litigation, we cannot but sigh for the good old days, when our differences were satisfactorily settled by our village elders without any cost to either of the parties. It is impossible to bring back those good old days, but that is no reason why we should not at least exert ourselves, as a sort of beginning, to settle our petty differences, whose number is legion, by means of arbitration. Nearly two-thirds of the suits before our courts (I speak here only of Bengal and I do think that the case is substantially true in the other Provinces) are under the value of Rs. 50 or less. I do not see why everybody should not welcome the machinery by which these suits at least can be settled by the elder and respectable gentlemen of the village. If we can accomplish this much, we shall see that much relief will be given to the poor members of our society. As regards justice, I do not think there is anybody who will venture to raise a single word against the probity and soundness of decision of the arbitrators. In this way the people will get justice cheaply and from near at

Excessive
cost, trouble
and worry
consequent
upon litigation.

Our country-
men would
welcome the
machinery
of arbitration.

hand and they will be saved the trouble and the unnecessary loss of time and money, without which they cannot at present hope for it. The majority of our people are poor and are but ill-acquainted with the intricacies of the highly scientific system of judicial procedure. They will not only get better justice, but will feel that they are receiving it, if they are not required to go to Courts in all petty differences and allowed the facility of having them satisfactorily settled by suitable arbitrators nearer home.

Economic
history of
India under
British rule
—the ruin
of her indus-
tries and ma-
nufactures.

The students of the economic history of India are painfully aware, how (the selfish policy of the East India Company in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, killed the industries of this country) The matter is now one of the well established historical facts; I need not, therefore, trouble you with all the details thereof. (This matter is characterised with much truth as "one of the great tragedies in the industrial history of modern times." "The policy pursued," as Henry St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company said in 1823, "had reduced India from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country." The then Court of Directors had to admit it. They said :—"The suffering, caused to numerous classes in India by the commercial revolution, could hardly be paralleled in the History of Commerce." Great Britain, by ruining the industries and manufactures of India, is mainly responsible before God and man for its present abject poverty.)

Suppression
by our Go-
vernment of
swadeshi
and boycott
is doubly
wrong.

(That the British Government has one conscience for India and another for England is conclusively proved by her trade relation with this country. It is doubly wrong, therefore, for her to repress the spirit of swadeshi and boycott of foreign goods recently

developed by the modern Indians.) In the beginning of this movement, I, for my part, thought that the Government of India, powerless as it is to retaliate, would at least give its moral, if not active support, to our endeavours to revive our lost industries and manufactures by infusing, amongst the people, the spirit of dealing with country-made goods only and eschewing foreign ones. But from what we experienced and are daily experiencing at its hands, our hopes are gone. ("The nation of merchants" has unmasked itself and the Government of India, as its faithful henchman, is trying to repress our swadeshi spirit. It pained me most, that even Lord Minto, as our guest in the Calcutta Exhibition, insinuated that all our efforts, in this connection, are dishonest. The Home Government, in their faith in the fetish of free trade, will not allow India a free hand to manage its economic matters, so as to develop its nascent industries. The Indian Government is powerless to retaliate the measures adopted by the pressure of Manchester, Paisley and Lancashire, the effect of which is to kill the infant industries of India and finally, as if to fill the cup of our misery, repressive measures are had recourse to, for curbing our national spirit, whereby alone we can hope to recover our lost economic position. So much is this the case, that in many places District Magistrates are conducting themselves in a way which is scarcely distinguishable from that of the agents of Manchester and Paisley.) //

It has been said in quarters least expected, that there is more harm than good in preaching and leaving the doctrines of swadeshi and boycott. But, I ask seriously these honest gentlemen to answer the following question. Circumstanced as we are and as

Swadeshi and boycott are the only means to revive our industries.

We should
make every
sacrifice to
swadeshi
and boycott
success.

the British Government is interested in the welfare of the industries and manufactures of the people of their own country, what remedy or what procedure of conduct do they wish us to adopt for regenerating our industries ? (How can we revive the industries of our country, if there be not a strong dissatisfaction amongst us with the present state of things ? And what are the present state of things ? We are, for the present, dependant upon foreign countries, specially England, for even the most absolute necessities of life and our country is flooded with foreign goods.) How can we check it and how can we divert a part of our national energies (which are dormant now) to the development of the resources of our country by creating new industries and by reviving the older ones, wherever that is practicable, save and except by concentrating the national mind upon the utter rottenness of the present condition. I ask what sacrifice is there which is not worth submitting to, for the bringing back of the national mind to country-made good ? It is the duty of the Government of India to protect our infant industries, but we know our Administrators will not do this. We should, therefore, ourselves do this with double energy, because our Government is not national. I, therefore, appeal to our countrymen that they should continue their swadeshi and boycott, within the bounds of law, but without any fear from the unholy repression. No duty is nobler, no sacrifice is holier than this. I may, therefore, dismiss, once for all as utter nonsense, the arguments against swadeshi and boycott. (These two are the real keys to our national regeneration.) The repressive measures, directed to "hammer swadeshi and boycott," should be accepted by us, as so many challenges to our manhood and we should try to prove, to our

ruled, and to the civilized world, that we are men and can develop our resources in spite even of the opposition of the interested men.

The question of Sanitation is another topic for which we ourselves can do much. (There is scarcely a single village in Bengal where there is good drinkable water throughout the year. A people, suffering from malaria and who are an easy prey to all sorts of epidemic diseases, are scarcely capable of any work, much less the work of nation-building.) Our first concern should, therefore, be to improve our individual and communal health by improving the sanitary conditions that surround us. There is much room for sanitary improvement by teaching the simple lessons of hygiene. We can form village-committees for imparting elementary lessons on hygiene, which, when duly impressed upon the minds of our village men, will go a great way to improve our physical condition. Those, who know intimately the conditions of our village life, are painfully aware how the majority of the inhabitants of our villages are ignorant of and indifferent to the elementary and fundamental principles of hygiene. We owe a duty to these countrymen of ours to improve their knowledge in sanitary matters. There is no fear on account of heavy expenditure. To live a simple and healthy life according to the simple and elementary principles of hygiene is neither much expensive nor very difficult.

(Regarding good drinking water in the villages of Bengal, our Road-cess fund can go a great way to supply our want, if it is properly administered. Thanks to the labours of the patriotic editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, we are perhaps in view of a better state of things in this respect. The misappropriation

Village sanitation.

Proper application of the Road cess fund.

of the Road-cess fund has been brought home to the Government of Bengal and we all await its decision on the point. In order to see that the benefits of the Road-cess are palpable and direct to those who pay the cess, two things are absolutely necessary :—(1) that a reasonable part of the cess-money should be required by the State to be spent on the spot for the supply of good drinking water and (2) that there should be a proper and suitable machinery in every village or group of villages to demand its share of the cess-fund for applying the same to its legitimate purpose)

Want of proper drainage is the principal cause of malaria which is decimating our country.

(Want of good drainage is another of our grievances. It is equally felt in the rural area and in the urban portion.) In view of the fact that this portion of our programme will be dealt with by an expert, I do not think it necessary that I should take much of your time by any attempt to elaborately discuss the subject. (That obstructed drainage and consequent water-logging are the main causes of malaria which yearly makes havoc in Bengal has been established long ago, but our paternal Government has practically done nothing to save the people from its clutches.) Although our life has very few things worth living for, yet it is none the less painful to see many people passing away from preventible causes. Go to any village in any district and you will find that its inhabitants are eking out a miserable existence ready to succumb to fell diseases and death. It is impossible to restrain tears from trickling down our eyes, when we see the present miserable state of our villages and when we are told of their prosperous and plentiful conditions in days gone by, when the people were well-fed, healthy and contented. Despite the apparently looking prosperous condition of few of our

Prosperous condition of few of our

large towns, the condition of all of our villages, where the true nation lives, is practically the same as described before. It is high time that we should exert ourselves to remove this state of things. The prosperous condition of our large towns are not natural and healthy, but they are abnormal and exceptional ; and it is these towns which furnish our Anglo-Indian Officials and many foreign travellers. with arguments to shew that India under British Rule is daily improving, so much so, that it has now been converted into a beautiful garden. But to the Indians, this is nothing but myth and nothing but an unnatural state of things, utilised by some of our Administrators to hide the true condition of our people—the result of their mal-administration.

large towns
is no index
to the real
situation in
the country.

Regarding the question of the education of our boys, there are many things, which we can do ourselves. The boys are the future citizens. There is nothing more important and more necessary. So we should take all possible care and give our first attention to their proper education. The Government of India has recently announced its intention to make primary education free in this country. We must admit that this is a move in the right direction. But I think that making primary education free is but a step to make it compulsory. This being so, the question naturally arises (how far it is possible for our Government to manage this education without allowing the people of this country to participate in its management. I, for myself, (and I hope you will all agree with me) can not see unconcerned that the education of our boys should be under the control of the Education Department only, where the people of this country have practically no voice or no control. The people,

Education
of our boys.

The proposed scheme of free primary education must provide for its control by the people.

Beginning of National Education.

Government should spend more money for secondary education and should devise proper scheme for technical education.

whose boys are to be educated, must be allowed to shape their education. This is the practise in all civilized countries and this should be more so in this country, governed by a system of foreign bureaucracy which, to quote Mr. Morley, "know so little of the mind of the people." Our demand in this connection, therefore, ought to be that the scheme of free primary education must contain some provision for the control, by the people of this country, of such education, Laudable as the desire of the Government may be, still there are much left for us to do in the matter of the education of our boys. Under the present circumstances of the country, we can open ourselves day or night schools, in strictly national line, where the scheme, propounded in the aims and objects of the National Council of Education, Bengal, can be tried and given effect to. We can there combine, with suitable literary courses of study, such practical training which will help our boys to earn their future livelihood and which will teach them the true dignity of labour and to revive or improve the arts and manufactures, which are practically dying out. The question of National Education is a great question, but its true and proper foundation must be laid in the proper education of boys—specially those living in the villages. By moving in the line shortly indicated above, we can help the noble cause with which the fate of our country is indissolubly united. The secondary education is starved ; there is practically no technical education. We should demand that the Government of India should come forward liberally to do their duty in reference to these two very urgent reforms.) (The Supreme Government has recently declared the necessity of the improvement of the secondary education, but practi-

cally nullified it by saying that they are not going to pay anything towards its expenditure. This means that either the Provincial Governments will not be able to carry out the intentions of the India Government or will have recourse to further taxation, which will prove "the last straw on the camel's back." It is known to every body that our Government scandalously neglects their duty under the head of education. It expends only a pittance for education, although it vaunts, before the civilized world, that the mission of England in India is to educate her sons. How English administration discharges its duty will be apparent from the fact that it expends in India the magnificent amount of annas eight only per head of the total population, whereas in the six colonies now forming the "Commonwealth of Australia" (where the Government is controlled by and is responsible to the people) it expends from Rupees 5 and annas 13 in Tasmania to Rupees 12, annas 2 and pies 11 in West Australia per head of the total population. It is high time therefore that our Administration should remedy this state of things.)

(The masses and the middle-class gentlemen of our country are notoriously poor,—they in fact live from hand to mouth. Something ought to be done to help them in their miseries that we may take them along with us in the political work. The purely agricultural population and the artisan class are poor beyond all description. Steps ought to be taken for supplying those miserable creatures of God with proper instruction and suitable capital on easy terms for the improvement of their respective industries.) This can be effected in two ways :—(1) by bringing home to them the result of recent scientific researches and investigations by which much improvement may be made to agriculture

Banks on co-operative credit system should be established for agricultural and artisan classes.

and other industries and (2) by starting experimental farms (which can only be done by well-to-do people) where new agriculture and new and scientific methods may be tried to shew the people the utility of all these modern appliances. Those who know the contemporary history of Siberia, once arid but now agriculturally a flourishing country, will understand what is possible to do here in our country that is naturally so well-suited for agriculture. The agriculturists of this country, as Mr. Voelkar said in his report, suffer not so much from their ignorance, as they do from their chronic poverty. However much they know the condition of the soil, its necessary manure and its products, still their knowledge can be, with much utility, supplemented by the modern scientific appliances. They suffer from want of money and the first touch of famine carry many of them off the face of this world. If village-men unite to establish *Dharmagolas* or grain banks for the distribution of paddy on easy terms and free of interest in strictly select cases, many of the ravages of high price and famine can be reduced.

Such banks for groups of villages will be equally beneficial.

Equally, if small banks on co-operative credit system can be established for groups of villages, many artisans, who are now suffering from want of capital, may be given a start in life.

We need not apprehend any opposition from the *mahajan* class.

These banks on co-operative credit system are likely to be opposed to by the *mahajan* class. This *mahajan* class, however condemned for their usury, still serve an important economic purpose. By a reasonable management of these banks, this opposition, I think, can be neutralized by bringing the *mahajans* to reduce their present high rate of interest.

An appeal to

I have tried to indicate here only those questions

which need for the present to be taken up by our village and town organisations. But when the organisations will be perfected and the people will learn to mix with each other more freely, there will not only crop up more questions for our solution, but, along with them, ways and means will be found for getting over the difficulties which seem to face us now. Therefore I appeal to you all—lose no time to perfect these organisations, wherein lies the germ of our future national regeneration. I appeal to the well-to-do to devote their wealth to it. I appeal to the leisurely men to devote their time to it. I appeal to the educated men to devote their knowledge to it. I appeal to the men of influence to utilize their influence in the society for it and finally I appeal to you one and all for inaugurating and carrying into perfection these local organisations, because when these organisations are perfected and do their respective duties properly, you will find the future fate of our country assured.

perfect our
District or-
ganisation.

As I come to the last portion of my speech, I shall make only a few observations regarding the recent successive repressive measures under the cumulative result of which the whole of our country are now groaning. These measures shew that wise statesmanship has left our Administrators, so much so, that they think that by repression they will be able to curb the new spirit in India. But they forget the lesson of history of the whole world and unless they can falsify this history, this history will repeat itself here. No amount of repression has ever been able to curb the spirit animating a whole nation. The Educated India has learned to accept these repressive measures as so many challenges to its manhood and will stand by them unconcerned without moving an inch from the

Successive
repressive
measures
prove want
of wise sta-
tesmanship
in our pre-
sent day
rulers.

path of duty dictated alike by the new spirit of nationality and conscience.

Deportation
of Lala Laj-
pat Rai and
Ajit Singh—
Mr. Morley's
explanation
aggravates
it.

(The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh,) without any trial and without giving them any opportunity to hear them in their defence, (is a barbarism) which no sane man can think without abhorrence. (Mr. Morley excuses himself by saying that Regulation III of 1818,—“a standing law” and “not an exceptional law”—is a weapon at the hand of the Government, not to use which “would have been absurd,” “in the face of the risk of a conflagration.” You will mark here that Mr. Morley, in his new interpretation of liberalism, declares that the law is “not an exceptional law.” This declaration, if it means anything, seems to adumbrate his view, that the law, as has hitherto been the case, will not be treated as one to be resorted to only in exceptional circumstances, but will in future be applied more freely. This is an improvement, of which, I for one should think, the biographer of Burke ought to be ashamed. Mr. Morley says:—“The speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai were very *greatly dominated by sedition*, by a good deal of intolerable rhodomontade ; * * * the speeches of this agitator, as well as the language used by Ajit Singh *are scattered all over India* and I think these *malicious incitements to revolt* were an instrument in disseminating the sedition ;” * * * * “that Lala Lajpat Rai has been the organiser-in-chief of the agitation and of the systematic propagandism.” These are the charges brought against Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The reasons given and which were approved of by Mr. Morley for not prosecuting these agitators are stated in the following words :—“that a prosecution advertises far and wide the subject

against which objection is taken, that it brings the matter to the ears of thousands who would never have heard of it otherwise and that it attracts public attention to the prosecution of men who pose as martyrs for the good of their country. The speeches of counsel are, after all, even more harmful than the original libel. Then when the sentences are pronounced there are pathetic scenes in Court; there are accounts published of how they are attended on the road and how they are conducted in procession through the streets." In all these official statements we are asked to believe that Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh talked nothing but sedition and Lala Lajpat Rai was the head of an organisation, the object of which was to preach amongst the people "malicious incitements to revolt." It is *ipsi dixitism* pure and simple and is something more than what we can swallow, even if it comes from so high a personage as our philosopher-liberal Secretary of State. If all these were true, nothing could have been easier than to prosecute and secure a conviction for them. But as the official statement contains a secret fear to face the counsel for the defence in such cases, the Indian people will be very slow to believe the truth of the assertion. I remember to have read in J. S. Mill's book "that it is not enough that justice is done, but it must be done in such way that he, to whom it is done, must feel that justice is being done.")

{Mr. Morley, who as Chief Secretary for Ireland, had resisted the Irish Crimes Act, supported the deportation of these two gentlemen. He explained away the seeming and apparent inconsistency by taking up the position that it is not true "that Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom, is exactly on the same footing as

Mr. Morley's position as Chief Secretary for Ireland and as Secretary of State for India inconsistent.

these 300,000,000 people—composite, heterogeneous, with different histories, different races, different faiths.” It means that India, being a conquered and subject country, is not Ireland which is an integral part of the kingdom of Great Britain and that inhabitants of India, divided as they are by nationality, history and religion, are not like inhabitants of Ireland, who are homogeneous, being members of the same race and same religious faith and having common history.)

Mr. Morley's
sympathy for
Indians is
not real.

(Mr. Morley concluded his speech by growing eloquent over the question of shewing sympathy towards the Indians. But I believe, he can have no true sympathy for us, because he admits that the Indians, belonging to a subject race, are not of the same status with the English, the Scotch and the Irish,—a position which can only be taken by casting the Proclamation of 1858 into the four winds.) (No real sympathy can exist between parties amongst whom there is no feeling of respect. What Mr. Morley thinks of the Indians will appear from the manner in which he quoted J. S. Mill. He said :—“The ruling country ought to be able to do for its subjects all that could be done by a succession of absolute monarchs guaranteed by irresistible force against the precariousness of tenure attendant on barbarous despotisms and qualified by their genius to anticipate all that experience has taught to the more advanced nations. *If we do not attempt to realize this ideal, we are guilty of a dereliction of the highest moral trust that can devolve upon a nation.*” The words, I have italicized here, find no place in the book from which the quotation is made. Instead of them there is the following :—“Such is the ideal rule of a free people over a barbarous or semi-barbarous one. We need not expect to see that ideal realised ;

but unless some approach to it is, the rulers" &c. &c. Here Mr. Morley evidently accepts the same form of ideal rule for the Indians as J. S. Mill prescribed for them, because the latter considered them only "barbarous or semi-barbarous." Mr. Morley's sympathy can at best mean only the patronising sympathy of a master towards his slave ; but India will scornfully reject this kind of travesty of sympathy.)

(Regarding his claim for Ireland and its homogeneity, I think every observer of passing events in Ireland and its history will join issue with Mr. Morley. By analysing the argument, admitting all its elements to be true, we find that Mr. Morley seems to propound that dissemination of seditious matter in divided and heterogeneous India is more harmful than it is in homogeneous Ireland. Consequently a prosecution for sedition in India, which naturally gives greater publicity to the seditious matter, is more injurious and may "lead to dire results" in India than it is in Ireland. I, for my part, cannot follow the logic here. It seems to me that Mr. Morley here is more under the influence of "*idola theatri*" than under ratiocinative reasoning. If the Indians are hopelessly divided, then such silly "incitements to revolt," as are fathered upon Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh, may naturally neutralize themselves by falling upon the ears of the members of the divided races, whereas when similar incitements fall upon the ears of the members of a race, who are united and have common aspiration, must "lead to dire results.")

Ireland's case does not clinch Mr. Morley's argument.

(Therefore, it is clear that Mr. Morley can not defend either before God or man the unjustifiable position taken up by him to sanction and support the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. Those.

Mr. Morley can not justify these deportations.

who know Lala Lajput Rai (as is evidently clear from Mr. Gokhle's letter on the subject) are averse to believe that the noble Lala, with his education and culture, is capable of committing an offence of the nature insinuated by Mr. Morley. But what is the evidence by which Mr. Morley is convinced of the guilt of Lala Lajpat and Ajit Singh? Unless and until we are in possession of the evidence, we cannot be satisfied either with the defence by Mr. Morley of the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh or with their deportation. Therefore we must unceasingly demand either for the prosecution of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh or for their immediate release.)

Mr. Morley takes away the right of free speech and free public meeting.

Regarding other repressive measures I must be very brief, because I have already taken up much of your time. Mr. Morley says :—"that it is one of the difficult experiments that have ever been tried, I think, in human history, whether you can carry or, what I think for myself, you will have to carry on in India personal Government along with free speech and free right of public meeting." Mr. Morley solves these difficulties by resorting to taking away, from the Punjab and Eastern Bengal and Assam, the right of public meeting and to restrict the liberty of the Press of this country and with that view he evidently sanctioned the Ordinance and Resolution of the Government of India dealing with liberty of public meetings and of the Press respectively. He does not attempt to take any measure to remove "the matter of discontent" amongst the people, but tries to repress the people whenever they will give vent to their discontent (often forsooth expressed in strong language not unjustifiable perhaps under the circumstances and for the manner in which they are treated) either in the

Press or on the Platform. This is liberalism with a vengeance. The Indians have outgrown, by many stages, that state of ignorance wherein it is possible to put them down in this way.)

(Risley Circular is Carlyle Circular applied to the whole of India. It passes my reasoning to understand how it was possible for Lord Minto to do the very same thing for which he practically dismissed Sir B. Fuller. Lord Minto made an improvement upon Carlyle Circular, because he wanted to taboo the Teachers and the Professors of Educational Institutions who, to the credit of Mr. Carlyle and Sir Andrew Fraser, were left untouched in the former Circular which was, by the bye, condemned by Parliament. Truth to say—has any case been made out against our Students and Professors that they should be put under the worry of such needless and irritating interference by Government as is contemplated in the Resolution dated the 6th May, 1907? But the Government must know that no amount of repression will be able to curb the new spirit which is now animating India from one end to the other. All repressions defeat themselves;) so in the meantime let us do our duty to our country manfully and constitutionally.

Risley Circular is Carlyle Circular applied to the whole of India.

(Union of Judicial and Executive functions in the District Officer is a scandal in this country. It is not an Imperial question only, but is also one, which even affects the distant villages of this country. Those, who are familiar with the facts of the case, are aware that the union is supported only on grounds of state policy, whatever that may mean, and that ultimately it is the question of "prestige and influence over the people," which dissuades our Administrators from depriving the District Magistrates of their judicial power. That the

Separation of the Judicial from the Executive function urgently required.

union is dangerous is admitted by the highest authorities in the country and is proved by unquestionable facts. Save and except Sir James Stephen, who tried to roll back the tide of opinion in favour of the separation of the two functions, all eminent men have practically condemned it. Lord Dufferin has called the separation of Judicial from Executive function to be "counsel of perfection." And it passes my understanding why this "counsel of perfection" is delayed in execution and is always postponed.)

Mr. Morley, instead of attending to it, proposes to give us such dolls as the Advisory Council &c.

(Mr. Morley said in his last Budget speech :—"Nobody appreciates, more than I do, the danger, the mischief, the iniquity of what is called reason of state. I know all about that". If that be so, why "Honest John" should not do away with all this nonsense about the "State policy" and about the fetish of official prestige and should not strike at the root of this unmitigated evil, which more than anything else, brings the English Rule into contempt and causes nameless sufferings to the people of this country? Instead of removing the causes of our real grievances, Mr. Morley proposes to give us such dolls as the Advisory Council of Notables and the expansion of our Legislative Councils, without enlarging their powers and functions and does not take any step, which would bring us even within a measurable distance of giving us a reasonable share of control over the Executive Government and Finance. It is just and proper, therefore, that we should, meeting in this District Conference, join our voice in the universal chorus of protest against the union of Judicial and Executive functions and swell the voice of the national demand for the speedy separation of the two.)

cannot (I shall conclude my speech by referring to Mr.

Morley's proposed reforms which he holds forth before the Educated Indians and which he wants them to remain satisfied with. A little examination will show that these expanded Councils will be so many shams as they are now. What we want is not an additional opportunity to talk and talk, but to have some machinery for the adequate exercise by us of some tangible power over the Administration of our own affairs. Mr. Morley is determined not to give us anything of the kind and, at the same time, he opens before us a vista of future expectations to which no true Indian can, without losing all self-respect and without forsaking his duty to his country, be reconciled. He said in the last Budget speech :—"Last year I told the House that India, for a long time to come, so far as my imagination would reach, would be the theatre of absolute and personal Government." This then is the ideal which Mr. Morley, the philosopher-liberal wants us to accept as our political goal. But it is needless for me to say that we cannot, we should not accept this ideal. Our ideal is Self-Government under the suzerainty of England.) Now as it is apparent that we have little hope from our present alien rulers for our salvation and as no nation can raise itself by foreign agency, we must try to improve ourselves and try to do our duty to our country and countrymen constitutionally and as men. In the proper discharge of this duty lies our manhood and salvation. So God help us.

accept Mr.
Morley's re-
forms pro-
posed.

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