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REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 13th July 1907.

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I.—FOREIGN POLITICS.

ADDRESSING the members of the Persian Parliament, the *Nama-i-Maqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 1st July
Persian politics. impresses upon them the advisability of taking the

English Parliament as their model, which has been in existence for the last five hundred years. The paper considers it undesirable that, unlike in England, the appointment and the dismissal of the Prime Minister in Persia should rest with the Emperor, independently of any parliamentary interference, the Parliament having the power of recommending his dismissal only. This, according to the paper, is a flaw in the constitution to which are, evidently, due the dismissal of Mashir-ud-Dowleh and the restoration of Amin Pascha. As for the question of the right of interpellation, the paper approves of the procedure of the British Parliament under which the Secretary of State is bound to answer any material question on any event occurring in the East or the West and affecting the nation or the State in the slightest degree, and recommends its adoption in Persia, so that the local Parliament may be in a position to interpellate the Minister in charge of foreign affairs on the subject of the Russian loan and the *rapprochement* between that country and England.

2. The *Nama-i-Maqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 8th July
Persian politics. makes an elaborate reference to the reflections
made, of late, by various foreign papers on the
Persian Parliament and its workings, touching mainly the following points, among others:—

(1) The weakness of the Parliament as a representative body and want of a thorough information on its part of its own duties. (2) The waning of the popular sympathy with the Parliament. (3) The tendency of the country to return to despotism. (4) The aversion of the Parliament to (a) the liberty of the press, (b) the system of free education, (c) the compulsory enlistment of soldiers, and (d) the preparation of the budget, the latter being a circumstance leading to many evil consequences calculated to make it, of course, possible for Government to incline the Parliamentary representatives to agree to a loan from Russia and England on terms ruinous to the State and to, incidentally, enable the powers to achieve the object latent in their *rapprochement*, over and above those relating to commerce and administration.

The *Hablul Matin* repudiates the charges inflicted upon the Parliament, except the one relating to the budget question. The Persians, who have lately emancipated themselves from the oppression of despotic rule and who have to a certain extent enjoyed the blessing of constitutional government, will not, in its opinion, be disposed to welcome despotism while there is a single man breathing among them. The paper grudges to admit the truth of the statement that the members of Parliament are against the vindication of public opinion, through the medium of the public journals, and that they dislike to introduce free education and the system of militia, inasmuch as the importance and the advantages of these are so evident that no sensible Government can deny them. In reference to the budget question the paper, of course, regrets the indifference of the Parliament to it, and remarking this attitude as highly detrimental to the interest of the State, advises its members to be sufficiently alive to the importance of the matter and to be up and doing about it.

3. To the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 5th July, the establishment of self-government in the Transvaal and the approaching grant of similar rights to Orangia, suggest the moral that this is because the Boers are not inoffensive creatures like the Indians, but are an unruly and strong people. The English can never be safe amongst such a people after committing acts of injustice and oppression. Sooner or later they must suffer the effect of such acts and that was what they had to do six years ago during the war. Why will not a powerful race like this be reckoned the Englishman's equal? And the Indian agitators are inoffensive and peacefully disposed, and that is why, in spite of possessing virtues equal or superior to those of the Englishman's, they are seditionists and nothing but "enemies" of the English.

NAMA-I-MAQADDAS
HABLUL MATIN,
July 1st, 1907.

HABLUL MATIN,
July 8th, 1907.

SAMAY,
July 5th, 1907.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—Police.

BEHAR BANDHU,
July 6th, 1907.

4. Referring to the fact of the native servant of the late Mr. E. Bakers having been allowed to go scot-free, on the death of his master, caused by the sudden discharge of a loaded gun in the latter's room, while the servant

The accidental death of Mr. E. Bakers. had been admiring it, holding it up in his hand, the *Behar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July remarks that this is the only instance of a black man's being let off without punishment in the event of a European having been killed by his shot.

HOWRAH HITAISHI,
July 6th, 1907.

5. The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 6th July says that thefts, including cattle-lifting, are occurring frequently

Thefts in a village in the in Jagarampur village under the Jagatballavpur thana in the Howrah district.

the *bandmashes* stole a calf belonging to a poor man named Hara Chand Bhuiya, killed it in the outskirts of the village and took away its skin. They also tried to steal a cow belonging to one Nakurh Kharha of the same village, but failed. The village chaukidar who has been recently transferred to it from Changghurul has not gone on his rounds even for one night. The Sub-Inspector of the local thana was informed of the matter, but to no effect.

BEHAR MITRA,
July 6th, 1907.

6. Since the decision of Justice Mitter of the local High Court that, like swords, the "guptis" also fall under the

The arrest of "gupti owners" in East Bengal. category of arms, the police, says the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 6th July, have been making

a considerable number of arrests in Eastern Bengal. The houses of the *gupti* owners are being searched and great oppression is being committed upon them in that way.

HINDI BANGAVASI,
July 8th, 1907.

7. Noticing the reward offered by Government for discovering the murderer of Mr. Crabbe, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 8th July calls attention to the

Railway murders. murder of Sachindra Kumar, regarding which, the paper says, not only no reward was offered, but the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, in reply to the question in the Legislative Council, did not hesitate to call it death due to an accident, in the very presence of Sir Andrew Fraser, although the facts, being duly considered, it could not be a case of murder.

The police, which is a rotten one, has a hard task before it, and if it fails to arrest the murderer in the present case, the public verdict will be that it is wholly inefficient.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 10th, 1907.

8. A correspondent of the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July

Liquor-shops kept open after 9 P.M. in Howrah. says that the rule requiring all wineshops to be closed after 9 P.M. is openly violated in Howrah.

After the appointed hour a wine-shop in Howrah is seen to keep one of its doors slightly open, so that a light burning inside may be seen from outside, and a man sits at the door. If a purchaser comes, this man brings him wine from inside; the buyer then enters into the shop by the door above referred to, and after having his drink, comes out singing noisily. While all this is freely done, police constables are seen standing near by. These shops are not very far from the local police-station.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

HITVARA,
June 30th, 1907.

9. Reviewing the report of a correspondent of its contemporaries on the trial of the rioters at Rawalpindi, the *Hitvara* [Calcutta] of the 30th June remarks that it makes

The trial of the rioters at Rawalpindi. one's hair stand on end to go through the description given by the correspondent of the way in which the trial is being conducted. In fact, it is hard to fancy that a Magistrate belonging to a nation which boasts of its civilization should conduct himself in this way in his judicial proceedings.

BHARAT MITRA,
July 6th, 1907.

10. In giving an account of the trial of the rioters at Rawalpindi, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 6th July

The trial of the rioters at Rawalpindi. comments upon the severe treatment of the witnesses by the trying Magistrate.

11. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 30th June compares the punishment awarded by the Sessions Court of Motihari to the

HITVARTA,
June 30th, 1907.

The sentence in the Bloomfield murder case. accused in the late Mr. Bloomfield's murder case with that awarded, some time back, to the

Europeans accused of murdering the late Dr. Suresh, of Barrackpur, and remarks that the law is the same, but that it is applied cleverly and in a different way by the European Judges, in different cases before this trial.

12. Referring to the conviction of the proprietor of the "Kesav Printing Works" for infringement of the provisions of the

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 5th, 1907.

A prosecution for infringement of the Printing Press Act, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th July observes that the Magistrate, Mr.

R. N. Singh, though he refused to allow the objection raised by the pleader for the accused that the prosecution being for infringement of that particular Act and not for sedition, the alleged seditious extract from the *Yugantar* and *Sonar Bangla* need not be read in court, yet remarked that Government was not vindictive. If that was a fact, how was it that the Magistrate, in convicting the accused for the offence committed, alluded to the spread of sedition?

13. The same paper regrets that while enlarging the accused on bail, the Madras High Court has refused to transfer the Coconada riot cases.

DAILY HITAVADI.

the Coconada riot case to any other district, a strong argument on the subject notwithstanding.

14. The *Behar Bandu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July announces with regret the punishment of one month's imprisonment awarded by the Magistrate of Agra to Bhoj Dutta,

BEHAR BANDHU,
July 6th, 1907.

The case against the Editor of *Musafir* concluded. the Editor of the *Musafir*, for indecent writing as distinguished from seditious and defamatory, and adds that the District Judge having refused to admit the accused to bail, the local High Court has been appealed to on the subject.

15. Referring to the punishment inflicted on Muhammadan rioters at Jamalpur for breaking the image of *Basanti Devi*, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 6th July reminds the Government that the infliction of only a

BANGAVASI,
July 6th, 1907.

month's imprisonment on the perpetrators of such a heinous crime is ridiculously light. Punishment so light for such offences might lead to the gravest consequences. Government is going to appeal against the acquittal of Satis Chandra Roy of Comilla and of Rashvehari Mandal of Madhepura. The writer asks Government to see that full justice is done in the case.

16. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 8th July supports the memorial lately submitted to the Lieutenant-

HINDI BANGAVASI,
July 8th, 1907.

Process peons of civil courts. Governor of Bengal by the Marwari Association, a very influential body of Calcutta, praying for the reformation of the process-serving department of the civil courts and suggesting that processes may be served by means of registered letters, the present arrangement having given rise to many abuses as pointed out in the memorial.

17. The *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes:—

SANDHYA,
July 10th, 1907.

"The marble-faced Magistrate." We wrote some long time ago that the face of Magistrate Kingsford of the Calcutta Police Court seemed to be cased in marble. One has only to look once at the pale face of this Magistrate to realise if what we said was true or not, and occasionally this face of marble is seen to be lined with a smile. And no sooner does the Magistrate smile his wretched smile, than his lips screw at the corners in a peculiar fashion. And with this screwing up of the corners of the lips smilingly, comes the noosing of the accused by a tug being given to the rope round his neck.

Mr. Magistrate Kingsford has hurriedly got out of his sick-bed in order to try the case of the *Yugantar*. And in the course of the trial, smiling his stiff, screwed-up and seductive smile, he inquired if subscriptions were being raised to help the *Yugantar* to conduct its case.

You shameless *feringhi*, are you wholly lost to a sense of shame? You have subscribed a fund even for such low *feeringhis* as are conceived at Cowringhee and born at the Medical College when they are charged with murder; you have devised machinery to make out cases of murder outright

into cases of bursting of the spleen, and yet you are sarcastic about subscribing in aid of the case of the *Yugantur*. But this is the nature of all utterly shameless creatures.

It is this screwed-up smiling mouth of the Magistrate that implies the sudden tugging and noosing. The Magistrate remarked that two sureties of Rs. 5,000 each was too small, and that he would raise the amount of the sureties if there was any probability of the accused escaping. Mr. Swinhoe fixed the amount of the sureties, but Mr. Magistrate Kingsford looks unfavourably on Mr. Swinhoe's arrangement.

To think that Bhupen Datta will escape. You know not Bhupen Datta. We do not know the family Mr. Magistrate Kingsford is descended from. But it is certain that the family of Bhupen Dutta is far superior to that of Kingsford in respectability, and Bhupen is a man of a kind far superior to this marble-faced Magistrate. Demons now trample on the gods.

(d)—*Education.*

HITVARTA,
June 30th, 1907.

18. The Governor of Madras has outstripped, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 30th June, Sir B. Fuller in his severity of dealing with the people, as it appears from the punishment he has lately awarded to the students of the Rajahmundry College.

19. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th July moralises in the following terms on the case of Sunder Lal, who has been refused admission to the LL.B. Examination of the Allahabad University under circumstances which leave no doubt to the paper that the exclusion has been on political grounds, since Sunder Lal is a patriot and an advocate of *swadeshi*.

The student community should derive a lesson from this case, such as (1), there are no men of independence in colleges under Government control. The learned men of the University will ditto the Government biddings, so education in a University means no escape from the clutches of Government. (2) The student community should know that study in any institution connected with a University is sure to bring on troubles like these experienced by Sunder Lal, and (3) the degrees conferred by the University may be revoked at any time on such grounds as attending *swadeshi* meetings, crying *Bande Mataram*, carrying on *swadeshi* agitation, etc.

Students who therefore mean to serve their country in the ways indicated above should know that they will be expelled from such colleges.

The same rules apply to colleges not receiving Government aid, but which send up candidates for the University examinations, for on the complaint of police officers, conductors of Anglo-Indian newspapers, Government pleaders, Rai Bahadurs and such like, who alone the Government believes, such colleges will be disaffiliated. In short, service of the motherland and reading in a Government institution will not go hand in hand.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 7th, 1907.

20. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th July publishes a letter complaining that Mr. Little, Principal of the Presidency College, is insisting on all candidates for admission into that college who intend studying for the Arts branch of the Intermediate Examination taking up mathematics, rather than Sanskrit, History, etc., which latter subjects, it is pointed out, would prove more useful to them than Mathematics in the B. A. (A Course), which is the goal of very many of the students who go in for the Arts branch of the Intermediate Examination.

DAILY HITAVADI
July 9th, 1907.

21. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July, after announcing that the Managing Committee of the Panitras High School in School near Uluberia has been called upon by the authorities to show cause why the Government aid to it should not be discontinued because its Head Master and some of its students attended some time ago *swadeshi* lectures at Mugkalyan by Surendra Nath Banerji and Kali Prosonna Kabyabisarad, proceeds to observe that the fact that the officials are not ashamed to hold the mere attendance at a *swadeshi* meeting as culpable, suggests that they have come to regard love of one's country itself as a crime. But is the money with which this school is aided

brought over from England or paid out of the proceeds of the taxes levied from the people of this country? Can it be a just policy that the people's education should not be assisted from funds raised from them? It is to prevent oppression of this kind by the officials that *swaraj* is now being demanded.

No Bengali should admit as culpable love of one's own fatherland or attendance at the lectures of leaders honoured by the entire country. It should not be forgotten that a half-educated but free man is better than a highly-educated slave. So, if necessary, Government aid on such conditions should be foregone, even at the sacrifice of some of the teaching facilities of the school.

Continuing, the paper reminds the Bengalis how the large extent to which they have succeeded in the boycotting of things British has drawn on them encomiums from America and Ireland, and exhorts them not to sacrifice this esteem in the eyes of the world for a paltry sum of money. In conclusion, Bengalis are bidden to remember that their very existence as a nation is bound up with the success or otherwise of this *swadeshi* agitation, and to act accordingly.

(g)—*Railways and Communications, including Canals and Irrigation.*

22. The *Behar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July draws the attention of the East Indian Railway authorities to the general

A railway complaint.

BEHAR BANDHU,
July 6th, 1907.

being written on the walls of the privies at the various stations on the line, as also on the female compartments in the train, the rude and illiterate railway employés generally enter into the female privies and compartments, to the great annoyance of the female passengers; and in order to remove this malpractice recommends the suggestions of one of its friends that instead of the word "Female," the picture of a woman should be drawn on the walls of the privies and the external part of the female compartment indicative of the fact that the privies and the compartments concerned are intended for the use of female passengers exclusively.

23. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 6th July publishes a complaint made by a correspondent against female booking-

Female booking-clerks at the

clerks at the Howrah railway station. Third-

class passengers find it difficult, nay, almost

impossible, to purchase their tickets. The booking-clerks are supremely indifferent to their duty, and the sufferings of the passengers are indescribable. Passengers are often unable to proceed on their journey for want of tickets. In one instance a female booking-clerk was about to strike a passenger with a piece of wood for the offence of being very importunate for a ticket. Will not the railway authorities attend to the convenience of the third-class passengers?

24. The *Ratnakar* [Asansol] of the 6th July bespeaks the attention of the East Indian Railway traffic authorities to

Suggested improvements on the

the necessity for an up and a down train being run between Burdwan and Asansol, in the morning

and in the evening respectively, the exact timings of which should be such as to suit the convenience of passengers from the stations of Mankar, Panagar and Rajbandh and the neighbouring villages who have business to transact in the courts at Asansol. The paper also complains of the mismanagement prevailing in connexion with the trains to and from Kulti station, and then proceeds to suggest the necessity for the following works of improvement:—

- (1) The opening of a booking-office on the down platform at Asansol station.
- (2) The construction of a platform at Kulti station.
- (3) The raising of the platform at Sitarampur junction which abuts on the main line from its present height of one foot to one of two feet, which is the level of the other platform at the same junction which abuts on the branch line to Barakar.
- (4) The improvement of the present waiting accommodation at Panagar, which is open on all sides and roofed over with corrugated iron.

BANGAVASI.
July 6th, 1907.

RATNAKAR.
July 6th, 1907.

- (5) The construction at the same station of a special waiting-room for females.
- (6) The construction of an over-bridge and a platform, or at least the latter, at Oyaria.
- (7) The construction of waiting accommodation for females at Ondal junction.
- (8) The construction of two verandahs on the north and south faces of the waiting-room at Kalipahari station which is situated adjacent to the booking-office, or the putting up of doors to it, and also the screening off of a part of it, and reserving it for the use of females only.

(h)—General.

25. The *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the

Proceedings against the *Yugantar*. 4th July cannot understand what good would be done by taking proceedings against the *Yugantar* under section 124A, Indian Penal Code. It would

simply add to the prevailing sensation. Every Indian knows that the Government is very powerful. If one or two newspapers use very strong language of protest and if Government is unable to tolerate it, the matter may be dealt with in other ways. Where is the necessity of creating sensation purposely and raise a wave of agitation all over the country? Again, those who needlessly publish strong seditious writings have a very low conception of their duties. Everyone will admit that from them the country can expect harm rather than good under existing circumstances. But this severe policy of Government does not appear at all to be commendable.

26. Referring to the prosecution of the *Yugantar*, the *Bharat Mitra*

The prosecution of the *Yugantar*. [Calcutta] of the 6th July remarks that now the question of sedition is making its way into Western Bengal also, which has so long been free from it and the Lieutenant-Governor of which province has been invariably praised for coolness of temper. The paper does not think Government will gain much by the prosecution. The executive officers had better consider, beforehand, with due deliberation, what harm has been done to Government by the writings of the *Yugantar* and what profit will accrue to it, should the paper be punished.

27. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 5th July publishes the following in English:—

In dealing with my present subject, I must say that Government has already adopted some measures for quelling these disturbances. The first has been the interdicting of holding political meetings in certain disturbed areas in the Punjab and in Eastern Bengal. The second has been the prohibition of school-boys and masters from mixing with politics on pain of disaffiliation of those schools or stopping the grants-in-aid. The third has been what is called the Sedition Circular. Before discussing the efficacy of these measures, I must say that they have been introduced rather late in the field. To my mind it appears that these troubles are mostly due to the liberal principle with which the British people have governed India, to the introduction of the freedom of press, freedom of speech, and to the dissemination of European literature, European history and European jurisprudence through the European system of education. I think Macaulay committed the fundamental mistake when he fought for the introduction of the European system of education in India. The British people again committed the same blunder in Egypt and in Egypt, no less than in India, the people are manipulating the press and the platform with such success and vigour against their alien rulers that it has made administration extremely difficult, and it does not augur well for the future. While on this subject I cannot resist the temptation of relating an anecdote in connexion with the policy of the much-maligned sovereign of Europe, Sultan Abdul Hamid. Just after the Russo-Turkish war the Sultan introduced reforms in various departments of administration, and at that time a French traveller and statesman reached the capital of the Sultan and had the honour of the interview with him. During his conversation with the French diplomat, the Sultan mentioned the various reforms which he had introduced.

SRI SRI VISHNU
PRIYA-O ANANDA
BAZAR PATRIKA.
July 4th, 1907.

BHARAT MITRA.
July 6th, 1907.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR.
July 5th, 1907.

The French statesman expressed his approval of all the reforms which had been introduced by the Sultan, and at the same time he enquired of the Sultan why he had not given freedom to the press of the country. The Sultan very wisely replied that he appreciated the benefits of a free press, but he said he also knew its bad effects if introduced among people who had never tasted what liberty was. He said that if he were to introduce freedom of the press now in his country, it would be like presenting a loaded gun to a savage. The savage never knows its use and never had heard of it; and what would he do? Out of mere fun he would very probably level his gun against his father, son and wife or perhaps kill himself, before fully knowing its terrible effects. And time has proved the truth of the Sultan's wise saying. Notwithstanding the combined European diplomacy aimed against the Sultan, that sovereign is every day strengthening his hold on his empire, whereas the British people, adopting an opposite policy are suffering for its consequences both in Egypt and India, notwithstanding the insular position of the latter country. If it be impolitic to introduce freedom of the press in Turkey, it is much more so in India where a vast country is governed by a handful of foreigners, removed far away from their native country.

Now, let me turn my attention to the subject of my present topic. As I have said before, the repressive measures adopted by Government have been introduced rather late in the field. The mischief, I fear, has become more deep seated than what the British Government can conceive of. A careful observer of things must not have failed to detect seeds of disaffection and an attitude of defiance in the writings of the Bengali Press. There is no press censorship in Bengal. There is a Bengali Translator of Government, and he is a Bengali Hindu. In Bombay the Government has a similar officer, but he is a Muhammadan, and the difference is that while in Bombay we hear every year of State prosecutions of newspapers, in Bengal we have not heard of any such thing since the prosecution of the *Bangabasi* during the Age of Consent Bill agitation. The Bengali literature is also full of seditious writings. From Bengali literature, we come to the Bengali drama and the Bengal stage, and here also we find the same spirit moving the authors of the drama and the managers of the stage. Nil Darpan, Protap Aditya, Serajuddowla and Mir Kasim are the favourite dramas with the stage-goers.

Anniversary celebrations of Sivaji and Protap Aditya are going on unchecked. There is then the *Bir Ashtami* festival. Though harmless in appearance, all these germinate seeds of disaffection and defiance in the minds of the readers, and stage-goers and sightseers. The Government have slept so long, depending on their fancied security, little reflecting how weak they are amidst their outward strength. When the Nawab of Dacca in his last budget speech in the Imperial Council and Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhury in his same speech in the Eastern Bengal Legislative Council raised notes of alarm regarding the present unrest, Government officials well-nigh pooh-poohed them, but they have now come to understand, to their utter regret and mortification, how true they were.

The Government of Sir Denzil Ibbetson with remarkable foresight and strength of mind has deported Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh and also prosecuted some seditious speakers. The Government has shown commendable energy, but it appears to me that the Government is showing rather too much zeal in prosecuting the Punjabi speakers and which I fear may stand in the way of a fair and impartial trial. By all means, let the mischief-makers be tried and punished, but let them have a fair and impartial trial. While I am praising the Government of Sir Denzil Ibbetson for its energy in dealing with the Punjab seditious, I must say that the action of the Imperial Government raises a smile in my face, seeing how the Government is lopping off small branches, leaving the tree with its root entire, how small buckets of water are being thrown away, leaving the brook and its source intact. I am really astonished to see how purblind the Government is. While the real mischief-makers, the Bengali political agitators, are romping about the whole country delivering seditious speeches unscathed, the men who are less harmful than themselves are being prosecuted. Lajpat Roy and Ajit Singh may go away, but Lajpats and Ajits will be created the next day when the source and the fountain-head is there. Every proconsul is not as strong as Sir Denzil, and I

think Government ought not to have delegated the task of dealing with seditious speakers and writers to Provincial Governors entirely. "Diseases desperate grown must with desperate remedies be removed or not at all." The disease in the present case has taken a deep root in the body-politic of India, and if the Government wants to eradicate the evil, it must act vigorously and with energy. Before finishing my article on this subject I wish to touch on one point which I think is very important, but I believe is very sadly neglected by Government.

It is admitted now on all hands that the present form of government is rather mechanical and impersonal. There is hardly any touch and much less sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. Even Indian officials are not treated with such respect and courtesy by the European Civilian and non-Civilian as their position in society and the official circle deserves. This matter has received the attention of Mr. Morley and other English statesmen; and I hope that the British Government and British people would take such steps as would remove the long-felt grievances of the Indian people. I need not therefore dwell upon the subject at any greater length. I now propose to deal with a more important subject to-day and which I fear has not up to date received the attention of the Government or the British people. We control and manage family, society and Government by praise or blame and approbation or disapprobation. The repressive measures and prosecutions above described are no doubt acts of disapprobation; but what about the acts of approbation which the Government adopts in order to reward a loyal individual or a community? The Government at most gives some titles for which the recipients of the honour must pay some amount to Government, if he wants any emblem of that honour by way of robe and sword. This is no doubt befitting the successors of the East India Company, but not befitting the inheritors of the throne of the Great Mogul.

An oriental race must be governed on the genius of an oriental country. The Hindu and the Muhammadan rulers of this country when they were pleased with any individual, used to bestow *jaigirs* in the shape of *Lakhraj*, *Ayma*, *Pirottor* and *Brahmottor*. Since the days of the Great Moghuls thousands and thousands of acres of land have been reclaimed by the British Government from the vast woods and *char lands* which are so abundant in this country. Can the Government show that they have granted by way of *jaigir* a single pole of land to any Indian for his loyalty? Far from doing this Government has resumed many *Badshahi* and non-*Badshahi* *lakhraj* lands and has imposed land revenue and cesses thereon. My proposal is that Government should inaugurate the system of granting *jaigirs* to exceptionally loyal subjects. During the time of the Muhammadan rulers the zamindars were merely collectors of land revenue—their status was never hereditary. On the model of the English fiscal system the British Government has made the zamindars of Bengal hereditary landlords, and most of these idle drones are fattening upon the industry of their tenants, tyrannising over them, and leading the luxurious life of a debauchee, and in East Bengal specially, are supplying the sinews of war by which the Hindu nationalists are waging a campaign against the Government by boycotting and picketing British manufactures. My second proposal therefore is to reduce the status of the zamindars to a position which they held during the time of the Musalman rulers, and thereby to reward honest, industrious, educated and loyal subjects, possessing administrative capacity, by granting them the zamindaris in turn. My proposal may appear revolutionary to many, but I have spoken out what I thought best, as I have arrogated to myself the task of being as outspoken as *Huque Dost*.

28. Under the heading "What is the cause of the present unrest?"

"What is the cause of the present unrest?" The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July says:—

In a letter to the *London Times* Lord Curzon said that in his time there was nothing like sedition or unrest in India. Will the late hired Badsha of India explain why within two years after the close of his administration the fire of discontent burst into a conflagration in this country? Does he not know to whose vanity, short-sightedness and love of power is due this widespread discontent, this towering indignation? Why has he affected such an attitude of ignorance?

Who does not know that that vain-glorious man, inflated with the pride of imperialism, Lord Curzon, shot a mortal shaft through the hearts of the peaceful population of India by his Universities Act, his Official Secrets Act, his abolition of the system of competitive examinations, and last, though not the least, his carrying out of the partition of Bengal? Did not he set the whole country on fire by calling all Indians liars? He alone is at the bottom of this violent commotion, this terrible excitement in this vast sea of humanity. With a heart as hard as adamant he trampled the Indian subjects under foot and haughtily laughed away their humble and dolorous prayers. It is for this reason that they grew excited and indignant, and held protest meetings in every village in this vast country. The rigour of his administration made even the sedate and peace-loving inhabitants lose all patience. Even respectable Indian ladies held meetings and expressed indignation at his doings. Such excitement, such incidents, were never before witnessed in India. Although Lord Curzon carried relentlessness and haughtiness to the extremest point, yet he never was panic-stricken on account of so-called sedition and did not create alarm by deporting agitators without a trial. Under his successor the tide began to turn and Sir Bampfylde Fuller was obliged to fly from India. The discontent and bitterness seemed to abate at the manifestation of firmness by Lord Minto.

Whence came this sedition all on a sudden? Lord Curzon never found it. Where, then, is its source? The answer is, the *swadeshi* agitation is the source. It did not exist at the time of Lord Curzon and he therefore did not find sedition in India. When the Indian National Congress was first founded, the Government were terror-struck because they suspected sedition at its bottom. They tried to defeat its object by the policy of divide-and-rule and set the Muhammadans against the Congress. Subsequently they found that the Congress did no harm to the British merchants and the policy of division was then abandoned.

It was when the *swadeshi* agitation was commenced that the British merchants began to experience substantial loss to their trade. Government then found that sedition had raised its hydra-head to demolish the British Empire in India. Presently their equanimity was disturbed, and to kill the monster of sedition in the form of *swadeshi* agitation the Gurkha appeared at Barisal with his *lathi*, and severe repression began at various other places in East Bengal. Those people who once called the Bengalis indolent, and indifferent to the improvement of native arts and industries, now turned to nip the *swadeshi* agitation in the bud. Finding that British labourers were about to starve by the success of the *swadeshi* agitation, it was termed "sedition" by the officials. Even Lord Minto himself, not to speak of other people less eminent, in opening the Indian Industrial Exhibition, tried to distinguish between what he styled "honest" *swadeshi* and its reverse. But even such attempts, as also the gigantic efforts of Sir Bampfylde Fuller in suppressing the *swadeshi* agitation in East Bengal, signally failed. This agitation is now in official parlance known as sedition.

The resignation or dismissal of Sir Bampfylde Fuller was another potent cause of unrest in India. For, after this event, the Indian Civilians began to discover sedition among the Indians, and Anglo-Indian journals made gigantic efforts to discover sedition and stamp out *swadeshi*. On the other hand, the authorities, failing to suppress the *swadeshi* agitation with the Gurkha's *lathi*, and by the persecution of the devoted patriots, took to the policy of divide-and-rule. As a consequence of this policy, the Hindus of East Bengal were horribly oppressed. The reports of riot cases in East Bengal bear testimony to the inhuman oppression upon Hindus by the Musalman *gundas*. The Nawab of Dacca, who now so loudly disclaims all connection with the Musalman *gundas*, publicly addressed the lower class Musalmans thus: "The Hindus are the enemies of the Musalmans. They severely oppress and insult the Musalmans." Did he not know what would be the consequence and what was the meaning of what he said? But what has earned the Nawab a loan from Government and an easy life in the splendid apartments of *Asan Manjil*, has sent the Editor of the *Punjabi* to jail, and Lala Lajpat Rai to banishment in far-off Burma.

Had it not been for the loss that was likely to be occasioned to the jute trade of the British merchants and for the request made by the Bengal Chamber of

Commerce to Government to stop the oppressions, it is very doubtful if Government would have at all cared to check the disturbances in East Bengal.

India is now the country where the Civilians and the British merchants have everything in their own way. It is there that all their desires are fulfilled. Whether it be the acquisition of wealth or the exercise of power, there is no other country in the world where their object can be so easily accomplished as in India. It is because the Civilian and the British merchant are afraid of losing their dearly-prized privileges on account of the *swadeshi* agitation that they have created the sedition-scare in India. The present unrest in India is the outcome of the evil designs of the officials, and not the result of the political or *swadeshi* agitation of the country's leaders. But the Minister for India across the seas has failed to grasp the real cause of unrest. He therefore said that the disturbances were caused by the violence used by the Hindus towards the Muhammadans to force the latter to accept the boycott. Needless to say that our present Viceroy has chosen to follow the advice of the officials, and Mr. Morley in his turn has accepted his views, and consequently refused to grant a Royal Commission of Enquiry. The real cause of the present unrest in India is to be found in the undue partiality of the officials for their countrymen, their intense love of power and the crooked policy of divide-and-rule.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July, 5th 1907.

29. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th July writes as follows:—

"The civilian rule in India."

We have now understood that the English will never give us self-government, for it is against their national interest to do so. The extensive trade and enormous revenue of India are in their hands, and they will never willingly part with them. This is why the *Times* is telling us that benevolent despotism is the best form of government for India.

Not even the King-Emperor has the power to say anything against the interest of the English nation. His Majesty has, therefore, no concern with the joys and sorrows of the Indians. Now and then we hear from His Majesty only faint echoes of the versions of Indian affairs which officials in India give to the Secretary of State. There is, it may very well be said, hardly any connexion between the Indians and their sovereign. In fact, the entire English nation is our Sovereign. And its sovereignty is vested in the Indian civilians, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. If these men can only protect and further the interests of the English nation, no one will ever say anything about their doings. The civilians are, consequently, in an intoxication of power, crushing the Indians with a severely hard rule. Their despotism is a thousand times worse than the despotism of the Russian Czar. The system of government obtaining at present in India is unique on the face of the earth. It is causing the degeneration of both the Indians and the English.

The maxim that "the king can do no wrong" has been long exploded in Europe, but is, in a manner, in force in India. The authorities tell the Indians that whatever a European does is just. No District Magistrate is, therefore, ever punished for any unjust or wrong action of his. Moreover, those who have the power to punish despotic Magistrates leave no stone unturned to prove them innocent. This is why Sir Andrew Fraser grew indignant and supported Mr. Lyall when in the Legislative Council Babu Bhupendra Nath spoke of the latter's misdoings. This is why, when Gurkhas committed oppressions in Barisal, and Mr. Kemp prohibited the holding of the Barisal Conference, Mr. Emerson, Magistrate, and Mr. Jack, Settlement Officer, had nothing to say. This is why the white men who are really responsible for the riots, which have occurred in Comilla, Jamalpur, Rawalpindi and Coconada, are spending their days merrily, while those who were simply instruments in their hands in committing those riots are suffering severe punishments. However heinous the conduct of a civilian may be, he is sure to get the support of his fellow-civilians. Mr. Morley and Lord Minto may be honest and honourable men, but the Indians can hardly find any solace in that so long as civilians will continue to commit oppressions with impunity.

In a civilised country like India, such crooked policy as is at present guiding the Government of India is sure to produce poisonous effects.

The sun does not set over the British dominions. But do the English feel happier now with this vast empire than they did before? Have Englishmen of the present day the same courage and heroism as they had more than a hundred years ago? The reader is aware how a few exciting speeches delivered by Ajit Singh, a patriotic youth of the Punjab, in an exuberance of patriotism, upset the English with the notion that arrangements had been made in the country for a repetition of the sepoy mutiny. The manner in which the authorities have demonstrated the significance of the policy of divide-and-rule in Eastern Bengal, has led the Musalmans to think that the Government is dependent on their support. Are not all these signs of weakness? If the policy which the English have adopted for governing India had not been different from the one they follow in governing England, their weakness would not have been manifest so soon. The present discontent is due as much to the extreme poverty among the Indians as it is to this difference of policy and the placing of large powers in the hands of the civilians. But the authorities, guided by these civilians, consider this discontent as seditious and have resolved to suppress it by repressive measures. Will the rulers once consider what the ultimate result of this sort of administration will be?

30. Referring to the reforms proposed to be introduced in the Indian administration by Mr. Morley, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th July observes:—

HITAVADI,
July 5th, 1907.

We have already had ample proof of the so-called sympathy of "Honest" John, and we must say that an open enemy is preferable to a false friend. The much-vaunted and long-talked of reforms in the administration of which we have just now had the outlines, are not at all such as can give satisfaction to the Indians. The reason is that these reforms will not lead them to the path of self-government. The Indians refuse to be slaves to official absolutism for ever. But still Mr. John Morley would have them continue in chains. We confess we never came across another such high-souled Secretary of State.

At the close of his budget speech Mr. Morley made a very amusing statement. He said that Englishmen held India only for the good of the Indians, and not for that of England, and that however much the latter might protest, Englishmen must continue to force benefits upon them. Now, what can we say in reply to such statements as these? It was for our good that the English first took possession of this country by forgery and fraud, and it is for our good that Englishmen, from Mr. Morley downwards, are taking possession of our wealth, our heart's blood, without the least scruple. They have enriched their own country at our expense only for our good, and it is with that laudable object in view that the alien rulers are *looting* and carrying away all our treasures. We cannot help laughing at these remarks. But Mr. Morley had the hardihood to utter these words in Parliament. Are not those people who refuse to believe in these statements terrible seditious?

31. Under the heading "The Secretary of State for India's sympathy," the *Hitavarta* [Calcutta] of the 7th July criticises Mr. Morley's Budget speech. the various salient points in the Budget speech of Mr. Morley, the perusal of which, says the paper, has removed all hopes from people's mind.

HITAVARTA,
July 7th, 1907.

The picture drawn by Mr. Morley before the Parliament has been, according to it, the very reverse of what it actually is. Mr. Morley felt no shame in making the statement that a rebellion was imminent in India and that no member should expressly contradict him. In this way he stifled any criticism of his speech. Is this the work of a saint or a rogue? Referring to plague mortality, Mr. Morley saw no cause of anxiety, since the population of India consisted of thirty millions of souls and it was no matter if ten to twenty lakhs of them disappeared. These expressions came from the mouth of Mr. Morley, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party.

Remarks about the banishment of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh have been separately dealt with. Mr. Morley saw no good in the prosecution of

these two men or their case being considered in Parliament. Mr. Morley would have been more correct if he had said that a trial would have shown the officials in their true colours.

In considering the educated men of India as his enemies, he has only condemned the British administration of India.

Mr. Morley had not the courage to institute an enquiry into the causes of discontent in India, and his proposal to increase the powers of the officials as a means of removing it shows that according to Mr. Morley increase of high-handedness would make the people contented. Has anybody seen an incarnation of a greater saint than Mr. Morley?

Mr. Morley had been talking a great deal for some time about administrative reforms in India, but what he said of them in the House of Commons the other day would not satisfy the educated people of India, as it would not pave the way to self-government. The Indians no longer wish to submit to the oppression of Government officials.

Mr. Morley concluded by saying that Englishmen would not give up doing good to the Indians, protest however strongly the latter may. It is for doing good to us that the English took possession of India by forgery, it is to benefit us that they have enriched themselves at our expense, it is for our good that Englishmen feel no shame in depriving us of our wealth, and it is for our good that they are robbing us. Is it not funny? Mr. Morley felt no shame in making statements like these. Many other shameless creatures had made them before. If men do not believe incarnations of truth like these, are they not seditious?

NAVASAKTI,
July, 10th 1907.

32. The *Navasakti* [Calcutta] of the 10th July has an article under the heading "Our enemies," in which the writer says:—

These words are not ours. Those who are agitating in this country against the Government of India have received this appellation from the present Secretary of State for India. These two words have sanctified all the atrocities of the police in Bengal, in Madras and in the Punjab, and have invested even the petty *paharwallas* with a sort of unspeakable dignity. The police themselves have so long felt that they were striking at the unsubstantial air. The two words used by Mr. Morley have, as it were by magic, raised the figure of the enemy against whom their *zulm* is to be directed. They are no longer troubled by any difficulty and are free to wreak their vengeance to their hearts' content.

But it is the native-hating Europeans in India who have got what they could never even think of. They never expected that Mr. John Morley would be their best friend. We can adopt the language of Mr. Newman, now touring in East Bengal, and say that, had it not been for the new prestige which the European officials in the Punjab have acquired and the enemies whom they have found, by virtue of Mr. Morley's arrangements, the woman, a native of Jhelum, proceeding to Rawalpindi by rail, could not have been so easily ravished by the European station-master. The ever-fresh, grim words "our enemies" seem to resound in our ears.

The courts of justice also seem to be affected by these words in no small degree. These words have driven all sacredness and purity out of our law-courts as surely as the sun's rays draw out all moisture from wet bodies. There is no Indian, nor any man versed in law, but will admit that no Judge can have independence in the trial of persons prosecuted by the police. In such cases the prosecutor is the man who convicts. Who is there to take note of the impression that is being created in the minds of the Indians by such cases? What justice need be done to those who are enemies? This is the fundamental principle on which Mr. Morley seems to have newly based the foundations of the British Empire in India. The police have now only one thing to think about as a motive for all their actions. It is the two words "our enemies." The Indians have so long been their own enemies. It was only the other day that their eyes were opened, and they now propose not to go against themselves in future. But how strange it is that the moment they ceased to be their own enemies, the words "our enemies" were thundered against them from the far-off island. How strange are the ways of the modern civilised world! O India, take heed now. In India not to hurt one's self is

...and in these days. It was before the great peasant rebellion with which

All studies on hepatitis, cirrhosis, jaundice, polyuria, polydipsia, polyphagia, edema, etc. induced with the human spine, and also to have combined in a single model to compare and to verify the function of the local circulatory potentials.

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10. The Average Number of the Job Day with earliest Work

V.—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

MEDINI BANDHAV,
July 3rd, 1907.

36. The *Medini Bandhav* [Midnapore] of the 3rd July, after narrating how, owing to the overflowing of the Kangsavati and Silavati streams, portion of the Maina and Kanjora parganas and of the Ghatal subdivision have been submerged, concludes with a complaint that the sum of two hundred rupees which Mr. Weston is said to have taken with him to the afflicted villages for the relief of the local inhabitants is quite inadequate to meet the necessities of the situation.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

HITVARTA.
June 30th, 1907.

37. Under the marginally-noted heading the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 30th June advises the Indian people to cease to be too good and to develop their evil propensities which is the secret of success in the present day.

It is due to their good nature, says the paper, that the Indians have been faring as a subject people. Now they had better keep their goodness in reserve, inasmuch as the whole world, evidently, liking untruth, none would value their veracity, and since people all round are robbers, none would take them for saints. Again, seeing that all animals are carnivorous, it is really undesirable that they (Indians) should be so many frogs to them, and it is equally undesirable that they should be the objects of prey, when they are endowed with physical strength.

38. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 30th June is at one with those that think it advisable to utilize the Victoria Memorial Fund in any work of public weal, presuming that since Lord Curzon is no longer in India no Indian people would be willing to see the Victoria Memorial Hall constructed.

39. The *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 4th July writes:—

SRI SRI VISHNU
PRIYA-O-ANANDA
BAZAR PATRIKA
July 4th, 1907.

"Our duty." Intoxicated by the craze for things Western, we have forgotten our own national character, national history and national greatness. We have come nowadays to look upon taking up an attitude of rivalry towards the officials, entering on a controversy over their laws and regulations and preferring a number of unreasonable, selfish claims, as our sole and self-imposed tasks in life. Having abandoned national principles of religion, of society and of family life, we have become wholly absorbed in the politics of the West. The French set up a popular system of government through a revolution, and why should not we do the same? Mazzini and Garibaldi blew the horn of liberty in Italy, and why should we not blow too? The anarchists, socialists, terrorists, nihilists and others are doing ever so many things in Russia, and why should not we too tread in their foot-prints? These are what are the aspirations of a class of people.

The minds of these people, no matter however much they may agitate in speech and in writing about *swadeshi*, remains always attracted only towards the foot-prints of the Europeans. The manner in which the governed in Europe have set up a terrible agitation in the political world, the manner in which, having destroyed the power of the governors, they have set up the power of the governed on the throne, it is of these only that they are always thinking. Our leading writers are busy with the thought of these, our best speakers are satisfied if only as preachers of the "New Spirit" they can descend on worn-out platitudes.

But we have certain things to ask about. Neither a monarchical nor a popular system of Government, do we regard as ministering to the happiness of mankind. If there be no peace, unless oppression on the men living together in society is removed, unless human society is sufficiently freed from disease, bereavements, grief, poverty, untimely deaths, mental anxiety and the like, all systems of government, either the monarchical or the popular, are bad systems of government. If we can have a *raja* like Ram, we should despise your French or American system of popular government as a hellish arrangement. Sri Ram Chandra used to say:—

"If to please the people, I have to part with affection, charity, my own happiness, even Janaki, the wife dearer to me than life, I can easily part with all this. I shall not feel my anguish of mind as anguish at all."

Who will in preference to the monarchical system as represented by a monarch who is prepared to sacrifice self like this for the happiness of his subjects, place himself under your Rousseau or Robespierre's republic or system of popular government? France is now governed under a popular system, and her people have attained to *swaraj*, but are they on that account in the enjoyment of heavenly happiness? It was only the other day that the people of Southern France suddenly assumed an aggressive and militant attitude. What was the cause of it? Did they become infuriated like that without some mental agony? Long-continued oppression and injustice distract men's minds, and it is when their agony resulting from that distraction becomes intolerable, that, seeing no other resource, the oppressed and excited men take up their stand against the governing authorities, and what they suffer for so doing is clearly recorded in history. Why, under a system of popular government, are the people of France suffering so much? Why are Presidents, honored by the people, often killed by the socialists of America? One must understand from all this that a system of popular government is not the ladder, so to speak, by which one may rise to the regions of emancipation. A few stock words favoured by democracy are not the means which lead to emancipation.

It must be admitted that there are various defects in the British administration of the country. It is also a matter for consideration whether or not we should be able to conduct the Government of the country if the English were voluntarily to make it over to us to-day. It should also be considered who this "we" that we are talking of, are. By "we" one understands the Indians. By Indians is indicated, say, Ananda Babu of Dacca, and along with him Nawab Salimulla also has to be reckoned, and with Anath Babu of Mymensingh, Nawab Ali of Dhanbari has also to be taken into account. Tilak of Bombay must include Gokhale and Mehta, and with Ajit Singh and Lajpat Rai thousands of thousands of loyal Hindus and Musalmans of the Punjab have to be taken into consideration. In addition to these, there are the Nizam, the Begum of Bhupal, the Gaekwar and the Maharaja of Jaipur. There are also the chiefs of Kashmir, of Nabha and of Dhar. In this way, the single word "we" includes how many hundreds of mutually opposed aggregations of immense power and influence. Besides the above, there are Hindus and there are Musalmans, there are Brahmos and there are Christians, and there are you and there am I. Hidden behind this single term "we" exist in India innumerable crores of conflicting forces. Who will be the master, who will be the president? Even over this question, "we" shall in the first place cause bloodshed and murder. Thirty three crores constitute India. And there are diversities of religion and of manners and customs. Each individual is a hero in himself acknowledging no superior. To attempt to establish a democracy in India on the analogy of other countries is simply to indulge in vain schemings and to waste time. Democracy has led to serious trouble even in the small States of Europe. The popular systems of government have not always worked well. From the outbreak of strife between different sections of the people, terrible unrest and mischief have resulted. The establishment of a popular system of government at present is impossible in India.

To introduce a popular system of government into India, the country will have to be parcelled out into small States. And in small States feelings of local patriotism are sure to be evoked, as a result of which terrible internecine strife will begin again. It is as the result of terrible internecine strife of this kind, that the goddess of India's prosperity left the land and foreign rulers gained admission into it. If the English depart, we shall again have to lie prostrate at the foot of others. And it is also worth considering of what nature the new government will be.

They who teach us the secret of emancipation in the name of the *Vedanta* and under cover of religion, do not know at all what emancipation means. For men, who, in attempting to preach a small thing like patriotism quite needlessly create in the community unrest and excitement which leads to undesirable consequences and do not for the sake of self protection shrink from resorting to mendacity, for such men, under the spell of *maya* as they are, to volunteer to teach the secret of emancipation is a matter not only of ridicule for an individual, but of injury to the community. But the faults of

our rulers also are many. They wish now to govern the country only in reliance on the sepoy, have no sympathy with their subjects and do not attend to the weepings of the people in grief. Most English Magistrates after coming to this country forget justice and goodness, and regard Indians not as men at all. Their pride is great, their arrogance is intolerable, the injustice perpetrated by them is serious. More regrettable still is the fact that even competent representatives of Royalty like the Governors-General make no effort to check the oppressions and correct the temper of these Magistrates. And in addition, Governors-General like Lord Curzon and Secretaries of State like Mr. Morley are adding to the cup of sorrows of the inoffensive populace. Far from trying to remedy the grievances of the subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII, attending to their piteous wails and inquiring into their tale of grievances, they are seeking with the assistance of brute force to repress even the wails of sorrow uttered by the sufferers. Seeing trouble on both sides, in sore anxiety we only pray to God day and night for Him to do good. May He put sympathy and good sense into the minds of the officials, and good courage, patience, perseverance into ours and teach us what we are to do in the trouble we are in.

BANGAVASI,
July 6th, 1907.

40. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 6th July has an article under the heading "Reminiscences of Plassey," in which the writer says:—

Lord Curzon has earned increased notoriety not only by his Black Hole Monument but also by his proposal to erect a memorial at Plassey and another to the memory of Lord Clive. The last two put us in mind of the long-past incidents at Plassey one by one. We recollect what were the means and appliances which enabled Clive to come off victorious at Plassey. The credit of giving an account of these incidents belongs not only to Behari Babu and Akhoy Babu, but to every English historian. O Lord Curzon, how bold you are! How shameless you are! With what face did you make the proposal to erect a memorial at Plassey? Or is it due to the fact that there is nothing in this world which you are incapable of doing, nothing which you are incapable of saying? Did the English really win Plassey by the power of the sword? Had it been so, this monument might, with propriety, be erected. India was not gained by the sword, and the sword alone will not keep it. What we almost forgot under the administration of the English, Lord Curzon's proposal has revived. We are ready to forget everything, but we can never forget Mirjafar's treachery, Clive's forgery and fraud, the heroism of Mohan Lal, the Bengali General, and the honesty of Admiral Watson. Here were two fruits borne by one and the same tree. Clive and Watson were both of them Englishmen, one a knave and the other a saint. A memorial to such a man as Clive! What a pity! The reader will look up and see the portraits. There is Mirjafar, the traitor, and there are Clive, the forger, the innocent, unfortunate Nawab Serajuddaula, Mohan Lal, the great Bengali General, true to his king and his country.

It is well that it is so. The people were forgetting everything. The proposed memorials will revive the obliterated memories. Let the reader look at the Plassey memorial in the picture, and reflect what we once were and what we are now. The varieties of human character will be reflected on the minds of the Bengalis. This will be both an advantage and a gain.

BANGAVASI,

41. Under the heading "Revival of Past Memories," the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 6th July publishes portraits of Clive, Admiral Watson, Mohan Lal, Nawab Serajuddaula, Nawab Mirjafar and a picture of the Plassey Monument. The letter-press under each runs as follows:—

Under Clive.—He dethroned Nawab Serajuddaula by forgery, fraud and deceit and so contrived to take possession of Bengal. Immediately after the subjugation of Bengal the whole of India came under British rule.

Under Admiral Watson.—He was Clive's right-hand man. He was the Naval Commander of the English. He was a true hero and possessed a generous heart characteristic of a hero. He was not mean-minded like Clive. He alone did not sign the deed of agreement on behalf of Umichand forged by Clive.

Under Mohan Lal.—Look at the picture of Mohan Lal, reader, the Bengali hero and patriot. If on the field of Plassey this devoted patriot had refused to obey the order of the traitor Mirjafar, the Commander-in-Chief, and continued the fight against the English a little longer, then to-day the history of India would have been different.

Under Nawab Serajuddaula.—He is that unfortunate independent Nawab of Bengal, who in trying to save his country's freedom was betrayed by traitorous ministers and lost his kingdom, his life and his treasures through the perfidy of the English. His fall was owing to his child-like simplicity, his want of coolness, and above all, the evil destiny of India.

Under Mirjafar.—Here is that treacherous, ungrateful Mirjafar, traitor to his country. He began to reap the fruits of the wicked deeds which he had committed to gain his selfish ends, even in his life-time. His descendants are to this day suffering the consequences of his misdeeds. Who knows whether there will be expiation for his sins?

Under the Plassey Monument.—Reader, look at the conspicuous memorial of Clive's glory. Clive, the forger, defeated Nawab Serajuddaula by fraud on the field of Plassey on June 23rd, 1757. This is his newly-built memorial. Is this a monument of English victory or of English fraud?

Let the reader preserve that ever-memorable event, exactly 150 years old, engraved on his heart.

42. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 8th July contains an illustrated article on the Plassey Memorial containing the pictures of Lord Clive, Admiral Watson, the memorial pillar, Assistant Commander-in-Chief, Mohan Lal, Nawab Serajuddaulah and Mirjafar, with brief notices about each. Clive is represented as having deprived Serajuddaulah of his throne by forgery and fraud; Admiral Watson as a high-minded and heroic naval commander who declined to sign the document forged by Clive to defraud Umichand; Mohan Lal as a brave and patriotic soldier, who, disregarding the command of his faithless and disloyal superior, Mirjafar, fought on the side of his master, and whose holding on a little longer would have changed the course of Indian history; Serajuddaulah as the last independent but unfortunate ruler of Bengal, who, in going to save the independence of his country, lost both his life and kingdom, being a victim to the machinations of his wicked ministers and the roguery of the English, and lastly, Mirjafar as the traitor, the ungrateful, the disloyal, and the enemy of his country, who, blinded by selfishness, committed a sin, the fruit of which he bore in his own life-time.

The people, says the paper, had well-nigh forgotten all about the battle of Plassey, but the recent proposal to erect a memorial on the battlefield would have the effect of reviving the memory of the various incidents connected with the victory.

Referring to the refusal of His Majesty Edward VII to subscribe to the above memorial, the above journal says that all sensible men would do the same.

43. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 4th July says that the value of *belati* piece-goods imported in Bengal during the success of the boycott. last year was only 18 crores of rupees, three crores less than that of such goods in the previous year. In the current year the import of *belati* piece-goods will be smaller still. Many Magistrates and District Superintendents of Police are going about the markets in the country and trying to force shopkeepers to deal in *belati* articles and threatening the owners of the markets. Gurkhas and Pathans are being imported for compelling people to give up the boycott. But the more these things are being done, the more determined are the Bengalis becoming to boycott *belati* goods. There was no sale of *belati* cloth on the occasion of the last *Janmastami* festival. The Bengali's heart has been conquered by his determination. That the boycott has been successful is proved by (1) the decrease in the imports of the last year, (2) the increasing efforts of the authorities to suppress the *swadeshi*, and (3) the temporary closing of cloth mills in Manchester. One and-a-half lakhs of labourers have been turned out of employment for 15 days in Manchester. When these hungry men will

HINDI BANGAVASI.
July 8th, 1907.

SANJIVANI.
July 4th, 1907.

know that the Bengalis have adopted the boycott owing to Lord Curzon's oppressions and to their having no share in the government of their own country, those hungry operatives will cry in one voice, "Away with the Government whose oppressions have deprived poor people of the means of their livelihood." When *belati* articles will be completely driven out of Bengal markets, ten lakhs of labourers will starve in England. A fierce wail will rise in the British Isles. The day when this will happen is approaching. No amount of oppression will daunt the Bengali. His determination will spread throughout the country. Let all Bengalis apply themselves body and soul to the work of emancipating their mother-country from the thraldom of *belati* articles. The happy day is coming. A fair wind is blowing through God's grace.

BANGAVASI,
July 6th, 1907.

44. Referring to Reuter's telegram about the suspension of work for a fortnight at certain cotton mills in Lancashire owing to an excessive accumulation of piece-goods stock and the consequent enforced inactivity of a hundred and fifty thousands of mill-hands, the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 6th July asks, are there none to be jubilant over this piece of news when there are so many who are in great distress for having no work to do? The people of East Bengal have special cause to be jubilant. The whole of India has, more or less, joined the *swadeshi* cause, and hence one finds the mills in England overstocked. The writer hopes that a day will come when all the cotton mills in England will disappear and there will be rejoicing from one extremity of India to the other.

BASUMATI,
July 6th, 1907.

45. The news, says the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 6th July, that the closure of cotton mills in Lancashire have been closed for one fortnight and that one and-a-half lakhs of labourers have been thrown out of employment, is very portentous for the Indians, for their arts and industries and the *swadeshi* may be consumed in the fire which has been lit in Lancashire. The writer continues:—

The *swadeshi* and the boycott form the foundation of the *swaraj* of the Indians, their hope for the future. At present they are the only means of their self-preservation. The first question that concerns the nation is the question of its existence, and after it come the questions of its future, of political privileges, of the establishment of *swaraj* and of victory. The *swadeshi* and the boycott are the only mainstay of the Indians at the present time; they are the means of their salvation in future, and constitute the first step of their struggle.

As regards the English, the *swadeshi* and the boycott are a great danger at the present time and a source of serious alarm in the future. The future lies in the womb of time. But the present is full of imminent peril.

The peril of the English is assuming form in Lancashire and Manchester. It is only a sign of the future, a small beginning of the future danger. This is why the little bit of news has agitated all India. The *swadeshi* and the boycott are the eyesore of the English. The *swadeshi* is being crushed by law, and the boycott by the executive authorities.

SANJIVANI,
July 4th, 1907.

46. A correspondent of the *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 4th July writes from Naraiuganj that the Musalmans are proclaiming freely that "the Nawab Saheb of Dacca is the lord of 22 districts; Lord Curzon has given the Nawab Saheb authority; a friendship has been formed between the *Maharani*'s son and our Nawab; and the *Maharani*'s son will do whatever the Nawab Saheb will ask him to do. We shall pay rents to the Nawab Saheb; we shall no longer have to pay rent to the English Government. If the Hindus fall at the Nawab's feet, there will be no more quarrelling between Hindus and Musalmans."

SAMAY,
July 6th, 1907.

47. According to the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 5th July there is a serious misapprehension at the bottom of the ill-feeling which now exists between the rulers and the ruled. And for this misapprehension the rulers will suffer more than the ruled. The latter lie prostrate at the feet of the others, dead, exist in name and not in actuality. It is the same whether they exist or not. Existence for men whose sole task in life is to lick the feet of others had better

cease. People who for want of food are harassed by the pangs of hunger were better dead. What is the good of living when one is a thief, as it were, in one's own home, when one has no right to what is one's own? The sooner all traces of existence on earth are lost of men who live only to work as drudges to minister to others' happiness, the better. Considering therefore the condition of the people of India, it is better that their flickering spark of life should be extinguished. They would be gainers rather than losers thereby.

But as for the English, they are the rulers of India. India to them is a source of happiness in a great many directions. They are taking everything and devouring everything and acquiring everything in it. As rulers they are doing anything and everything in the country, as merchants they are putting all its wealth into their stomachs, as officials they are drawing fat pay and pensions from it; they are, in short, enjoying it in every way possible. They are making it in a great many ways possible for men of their country to come out to this country and make money at will out of it. The very dogs of their country are to be worshipped by the people of India. If they then lose all this profit out of India from excess of greed and pride, and by reason of oppression, how greatly will they be losers? How can they who used to be so intelligent have become so foolish? Perhaps it is all the irrevocable work of time. It is time which may have made them stupid.

How can one give the English credit for intelligence when one sees them failing to keep the toy in their hands in position and, in consequence, getting angry not with themselves but with the toy? How comes it that they are now looked upon with so much ill-will by the people of India over whom they, by their cunning, easily established their supremacy; who, hitherto misled by their seductive language, had come to implicitly trust them and regard them as the equals of gods, and who used to be blind to their faults and to have an eye only for their virtues? Whose fault is it that this has come about? Let a truthful answer be given to this question, how comes it that the same Indians who had learned to regard an imitation of English ways in their daily life with the highest satisfaction, now dislike even to tread an Englishman's shadow and have vowed to boycott in disgust all English principles and manners?

How can one give the English credit for good sense when one sees them agitated at heart in spite of having learnt by experience that an attitude of extreme selfishness passes unchallenged in this country, that the humiliation and imprisonment of the Natu brothers, Tilak and others have brought about nothing untoward, and when by deporting Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh they have learned that in India nothing is too bad a thing to do. Why, after all this, have they lost control over themselves? What they are doing in this state of mental anarchy only detracts from their prestige and adds to their shame. They will never be injured by the people of India. If they ever receive any injury as regards India, they will themselves be responsible for doing that injury. If the Indians were the men to do any injury, they would have inflicted injury ever so long ago.

48. In maintaining the proposition that the Bengalis were a race of

"The deterioration of the Bengalis." brave and hardy warriors in ancient times and retained their martial character long afterwards,

the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th July makes the following quotation from a letter dated the 20th September 1807, written by Lord Minto, the ancestor of the present Viceroy, to the Hon'ble A. M. Eliot regarding the people of Bengal:—

"I never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people whose form I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest possible cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time."

There can be no comparison between the Bengalis of 1807 as described above and as they are now, malaria-sticken and feeble, a race of professional clerks. The heart almost ceases to beat to think what a sorry pass they have come to after a century of British rule. The peace enjoyed under British rule has thoroughly demoralised them. Add to this the rigorous criminal laws which have thoroughly emasculated the Bengalis. During the Pathan and Mogul administrations, though nominally a subject people, the Bengalis were,

DAILY HITAVADI
July 5th, 1907.

to a great extent, independent. It was for this reason that their physical and mental qualities did not deteriorate. That they retained their physique unimpaired during the first 50 years of British rule is proved by the foregoing quotation.

It is under the English that the Bengalis are suffering the consequences of real subjection. The system of education introduced by the English, the peculiarity of the changes in the condition of the country consequent on the establishment of British rule, and the fear of the enforcement of the Indian Penal Code have robbed the Bengalis of their native energy. So rigorous are the laws and prohibitions that any civilised nation in the world would find it difficult to submit to them. The laws are so hard and fast as almost to preclude the people from the exercise of their natural powers. The Madrassis and the Bengalis have suffered the greatest in this respect. Living under the shelter of English rule, the Bengalis have lost all their manliness. The railway lines laid by the English have generated malaria and have brought the country to the verge of ruin.

Now that the Bengalis have taken to physical exercises and are animated by the remembrance of their past glory, gladly submitting to imprisonment for their country's cause, the day of their advancement cannot be far distant. Dr. Hunter was also of the same opinion. He says :—

"In the Buddhist era the Bengalis sent warlike fleets to the east and the west and colonised the islands of the Archipelago. . . . Religious prejudices combined with the changes of nature to make the Bengalis unenterprising upon Ocean. But what they have been they may under a higher civilisation again become. . . . To anyone acquainted with the revolutions of races, it must seem mere impertinence ever to despair of a people, and in maritime courage, as in other national virtues, I firmly believe that the inhabitants of Bengal have a new career before them under British rule."

Dr. Hunter delighted to think of the Bengalis as above, and considered the revival of national life and the display of courage and manliness among the Bengalis a glory and credit to British rule. But such is the degradation which has come upon English society nowadays that Englishmen are actually in dread of these things. Hence we find such a shower of abuse upon Bengalis from all quarters. But it will not frighten them out of the path of their duty. The Bengali will pursue the road he has deliberately chosen and will not stop before reaching the summit of his ambition.

HOWRAH HITAISHI,
July 6th, 1907.

49. The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 6th July says that the prevailing high prices of food-grains in Bengal are due as much to exportation as to an increase in the cultivation of jute and a proportionate decrease in the cultivation of paddy. Jute cultivation has almost supplanted the *aus* paddy cultivation, which used to give the cultivator food for at least six months. Besides this, the area under the *aman* paddy has also been reduced for the sake of jute.

Cultivators, in general, are under the impression that they derive greater profit from jute than from paddy, because jute brings them more ready money than paddy does. But they are mistaken. Considering that jute cultivation requires much greater care, labour and expense than paddy cultivation and that the prices of paddy and straw have greatly increased, it can never be said that the cultivator obtains larger profits from jute than from paddy. Besides this, the steeping and washing of jute ruin his health and breed malaria, cholera and other epidemics in the country by rendering impure the sources of drinking water. The simple cultivators do not understand that the ready money they earn by selling jute is all spent in paying the expenses of its cultivation and interest due to money-lenders, and in purchasing medicines and gew-gaws of foreign make. While the cultivators' resources are thus frittered away, the country depends on Burma for its supply of food-grains. It is, therefore, quite natural that prices should run high.

BEHAR BANDHU
July 6th, 1907.

50. The *Behar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July reports that at a meeting attended by six thousand people held in Bombay on the 30th June last, there were two Bengali speakers who held forth at great length on *swadesh* and the *swadeshi*. Drawing a picture of the present miserable condition of India, they referred to the fact of a vast amount of money having gone out into foreign countries from their motherland and also to that of several crores being every year slipping from her hand, observing in the

end that it is the duty of every Indian to serve his country to the utter disregard of the fear of being sent to jail or punished with fine for that. Pundit Tilak, who also was present on the occasion, then spoke as follows:—

— “Lajpat Rai has been deported without any offence being proved against him. Government can punish with deportation any one it likes. The Marhattas have understood this full well since the deportation of the Natu brothers. We have now been nicknamed “our enemies” by the Secretary of State, evidently because we have got insight into the condition of our country. In fine, be mindful of the *swadeshi* and the boycott, and protest against the oppressive dealings (of the Government executive officers) with due regard to the laws of the land.”

51. The *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July reports that a meeting of the Congressists will be held in Bombay, on the 20th instant, to discuss points relating to the present condition of India.

52. Making a brief reference to the revolt of the wine-growers in France and to the fact of their leader, Mr. Albert, having passed off unarrested after interviewing the chief French officer on the subject,

A meeting of the Congressists in Bombay. The French wine-growers' revolt. on his undertaking that he would induce his associates to be friendly to Government, the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July contrasts the dealing of the French Government with its subject people with that of the British Government with Lajpat Rai as manifested in his deportation without a judicial trial.

53. Under the marginally-noted head line the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 6th July refers to the speech lately delivered by Count Okuma at a meeting of the

An invaluable advice. Indian students in Tokio, of which the key note is that, if the Indians do not forget their religious difference and lay aside their party feeling, they cannot expect to regain their former independence and their lost glory and enjoy the blessing of self-government like the Canadians, the Australians and the inhabitants of Cape Colony. The Indians can gain nothing, says the speaker, by annoying the British Government. Surely, no nation has gained by revolution. Rather, revolution has generally been at the root of the destruction of many.

The paper acknowledges the wisdom of the speech and advises the Indians to attend to it. Some are of opinion, says the paper, that religion has nothing to do with the State. In fact, they can be right so far, if they think that, should all the Indians unite for a common cause, the religious difference will, of itself, cease to exist, but never so, if they are under the impression that the Indians can advance, in the sphere of politics, with their religious difference keeping as good as it at present is.

54. In concluding an extract from an article published in its contemporary the *Urdui-Mualla*, criticizing the anti *swadeshi* spirit of the Muhammadans and their unsympathetic attitude towards Lajpat Rai, in his present

Observations of a Moslem writer in the *Urdui-Mualla*. troubles, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 6th July remarks that, reflecting upon the text of the extract, its readers can full well understand that, notwithstanding the fact of the Muhammadans trying their best to injure the Hindus, hamper the progress of their agitation and do wrong to such of them as have devoted themselves to the cause of their country, there are still a few among the former such as sympathise with the Hindus, in every way, and consider India their native land and its good as their personal well-being.

55. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th July publishes a communicated article in which the writer says:—

The situation. A cry of sedition has been raised all round. The question is whether the repressive measures that are being adopted will really serve the purposes of the rulers. Government seems to be bent upon restoring order by means of brute force alone. Had the Indians been a barbarous people, even then it is doubtful whether such measures would have succeeded. If instead of satisfying the yearnings of those in whose hearts a desire for *swaraj* has manifested itself, violence is used to crush them, the attempt is bound to come to a very bitter end. This is the teaching of

BEHAR BANDHU,
July 6th, 1907.

BEHAR BANDHU.

BEHAR BANDHU,

BHARAT MITRA,
July 6th, 1907.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 8th, 1907.

history. If a spirit of bitterness spreads all over the country, Government must find it extremely difficult to save itself. We are not opposed to British rule. But we want that the Government should help to foster the growth of the noble desires that have been implanted in the minds of the Indians by the system of civilised administration established in India. If the Government will not do its duty, or if it seeks to eradicate those deep-rooted desires by brute force, then it will simply lay the axe at its own feet.

We believe the time has come when the system of government in this country should be so reformed that it can satisfy the most cherished desires of the people. When this is done the false sedition scare will vanish. But if such a system be introduced, it will injure the interest of certain self-seeking officials. In these days such statesmen as would favour the desired reforms in the Indian administration are extremely rare in England. The manner in which the man in whose honesty the Indians had the full confidence has behaved himself, has given the rudest shock to the Indian people. The feeling of confidence between the ruler and the ruled is gone. The attempt to restore that confidence by force is ridiculous. The persecutions are only adding to the present discontent in the country.

In attempting to point out its error, the native journals have incurred the dire displeasure of the Government. The Anglo-Indian papers are only adding fuel to the flame. The authorities, too, are so misguided that they do not look to the good of the subject but are anxious only to crush him and serve their selfish ends. The interests of the English merchant are gravely injured by the *swadeshi* movement, and the rulers in their anxiety to protect the interests of their countrymen are opposing the *swadeshi* agitation. Who can say what will be the end of this conflict of interests between the people and the Government?

56. Speaking of the present political situation in India in figurative language, the *Sandhya* [Calcutta] of the 10th July

The situation : an exhortation. writes how hitherto the people of India had been paddling their boats in a dried-up channel into which the flood-water has now come. The waves of the *feringhi*'s anger, as was to be expected, have for the time cast some of the boats adrift, but nevertheless the flood will ultimately help the easy passage of the boat to the *ghat* of *swaraj*.

Continuing the paper writes:—Be not amazed, be not fascinated. Be amazed rather that these *feringhis* did not catch you and hang you on the trees. Cast off your infatuation, learn what the *feringhi* is, not from what you read in the books, but from what you see of the way he acts. It is strange that you have not yet come to know him.

It is not the time now to sit helpless and inactive, nor to make a sensation and show oneself off. It is the time to protect our *kot* (jurisdiction). The fortress must be built up patiently and from within, and then only can strength be gained to come outside and make a struggle.

Be not terrified at the sight of the waves of the *feringhi*'s anger. A flood is dangerous only near the shallows and banks. It makes no difference where the waters are deep.

Be not afraid, be not infatuated, believe that the day of emancipation is nigh. We see it in prophetic vision, that happy morn when the *feringhi* will no longer be able to put his finger in your pie, when you will be the master in your own homes and the *feringhi* will minister to you like a servant. It is absolutely sure to come, and it is because the *feringhis* also have realised this that they are so frantic. As the man possessed by an evil spirit knows the approach of the exorciser even from a great distance, and begins jumping about in fright, so has the *feringhi* also been seized with pangs of terror. Understand from this that the exorciser is approaching and the ghost is about to leave.

Holding to this belief immovably, tide over the first rush of the incoming flood. And afterwards on a flooded river of love unfurl the sail of boycott on your boat and guide it into your home and then contemptuously defy the *feringhi* and set about protecting your *kot* (jurisdiction). And when the work of protecting the *kot* has been completed, then come out and take your stand defiantly and see what your *feringhi* will do.

57. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th July asks, why should there be now so much bitterness between the rulers and the ruled in India? This is a question which most people nowadays are pondering over. It is a fact that almost all Englishmen in India have come to be native-haters. A little reflection will show why it should be so. Formerly those Englishmen who chose to come here were generally of a different type from those that come now. They really loved the people as a father loves his sons. To the Indians they were so many gods possessing the highest and noblest souls. Such Englishmen are seldom found now.

Again, man, by his very nature, is power-loving. Those who unquestionably bow to his power are looked upon with favour. Formerly the Indians quietly submitted to everything that Englishmen might do. But those days are gone. Western education has opened the eyes of the Indians. They have begun to realise their condition and understand their rights. They refuse to submit to oppression and demand those rights to which they think themselves entitled under the proclamation of the Queen. They have begun to eschew British goods and thereby inflict loss on the English. A collision has thus become unavoidable. It is natural therefore that there should arise bitter feelings between the two parties. Education must spread among the Indians more and more as days pass on, and the more they appreciate and value their just rights, the greater must be the hatred of the dominant race for them. The question now is whether the dominant race is justified in being jealous of the weaker one when the latter demands power. Those who expect that the weak must remain weak for ever must be pronounced to be insane. Change is the law of nature and is therefore unavoidable. The powerful must grow weak and the weak must grow powerful. Nature has said it Englishmen proudly assert that it is to them that the Indians owe their power to stand on their own legs. If this is true, why then are they angry with us? Every Englishman ought to know that the Indians will not remain steeped in ignorance for ever. Knowledge must bring with it a hankering for power. If the English, instead of resenting the granting of power gladly assent to it, the result cannot fail to be profitable both to the ruler and the ruled! Why do the English object to the demands of the Indian National Congress? This "why" admits of only one answer. It is that the English do not like to see a subject race enjoy rights which Englishmen alone enjoy.

The Indians took up *swadeshi* as a means of self-defence when they perceived the real intentions of the English. This has exasperated the latter. The cry of "sedition" has been raised all round. Persecutions of innocent men, deportations without trial, restriction of free speech and free writing, and other forms of oppression are being freely resorted to. Brute force, worthy of a barbarous people, is having everything in its own way in the administration of this country, although, the "Honest" John Morley is at the helm of Indian affairs. Most people are doubting whether the Englishmen of the present generation are the descendants and relations of those who abolished the African slave trade. This national downfall of the English is due solely to their desire to lord it over others. The impression is becoming general in this country that the English are capable of adopting all sorts of repressive measures to keep their power intact.

Now, we too must prepare ourselves. The more we improve with time the more shall we come into collision with these power-loving people. Various are the ways in which we shall be persecuted and harassed. But it will not do to be intimidated by them. We must stand firm with courage for the sake of our country. We shall have to encounter the fiercest storms, waves after waves will pass over our heads. We must resist them without flinching. Let no one be grieved at the prospect, nor give way to dejection. It will not do to quail at the sight of dark, lowering clouds. You must take heart at the prospect of cheerful moonlit night before you.

58. The *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes as follows:—

"The things we want." We want (1) food, (2) immunity from disease, (3) security against enemies and (4) protection of honour. Let us see what stands in the way of our getting these.

DAILY HITAVADI.
July 8th, 1907.

SANJIVANI,
July 9th, 1907.

Not very long ago the prosperous condition of agriculture in India used to strike Western nations with wonder. But now famine has become chronic in the land, being always present in one province or another. Our enquiries into this subject have taught us that at present scarcity of money is the cause of famines in the country, but there is the danger of scarcity of food-grains also becoming, before long, another cause of them. We clearly see that the spread of Western civilisation and its inseparable companion, luxury, in the country and the cupidity of Western merchants are responsible for the prevailing scarcity of money among the Indians. And the only means of removing this poverty lies in eschewing Western ideas and thus getting rid of luxury. If this is not done, the Indian nation will soon become extinct.

NAVASKTI,
July 10th, 1907

59. In discussing the question "Who is responsible for the acts of oppression being committed on the people of Barisal and its Barisal?" the *Navasakti* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes that against the opinion of many

who think that the one party responsible are the rulers, it holds that it is not the English but the seventy millions of treacherous and lying Bengalis who are solely accountable for the setting on the people of Barisal of parties of Gurkhas and for the committing on them day by day of acts of devilish oppression. That the English are committing inhuman oppression at Barisal is because they have to deal with that one district alone, but if all the 47 districts of Bengal had been fired with the *swadeshi* fervour and rigidly adhered to the boycott, the English would have seen darkness all round and, as far as can be judged, could not have managed to send Gurkhas and punitive police forces into all the districts.

The paper concludes with a call to the people of all the other districts of Bengal, if they wish to save their fellow-countrymen of Barisal, to combine and to practically adhere, as Barisal has adhered, to the boycott. Such a combination will place the English in serious difficulties, and barring such a combination, there is no way of mitigating the sufferings of the Barisal people.

60. The *Navasakti* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes as follows:—

Should the English leave India? No more of your professions of kindness for us. The fire that burns in our hearts cannot be quenched by anything but that heavenly thing *swaraj*. You say that if you do us the favour of leaving India, there will be anarchy in the country. We say, let it be so. If you really have any kindness for us, leave us alone. We love unrest more than peace and quiet overhung with the impending shadow of death.

There was a time when the Mahrattas used to set fire to our houses in the dead silence of night and give to our skies a dreadful appearance with their blazing fires, and when they used to realise "chauth" from poor people and commit oppressions on women and children. We admit all this out of respect for the histories you have written. But you yourselves have written that, with the help of Bengali soldiers, Nawab Ali Vardi drove the indomitable Mahrattas twelve times out of Bengal.

We admit that Pindari hordes used to sack and plunder towns and villages. We admit that thieves and dacoits used to infest roads and rivers. But it must be admitted at the same time that the country was not at that time a desert waste—our mother was well-watered and rich in crops. Comfort and happiness, learning, wisdom, courage, heroism, glory and manliness bedecked the people of the country in those days. The Mahrattas were not dacoits. They were a powerful and heroic nation bent on conquest. They were India's pillar of glory. On the other hand, there was such strength, such heroism, manliness and courage among the masses that they were making glorious progress in spite of vast difficulties.

You have taken a plea—the plea of unrest. Unrest is necessary for the development of manliness. Man can never become worthy of his name without struggle, the struggle for existence. You yourselves say that the French Revolution gave the world a progress which it would otherwise have taken centuries to achieve. Why do you then try to frighten us with prospects of unrest and anarchy? We want manliness, advancement and *swaraj*. One who becomes eager to catch the moon does not fear slight falls. We are

ready to have those old days back when Mahrattas, Pindaris and dacoits infested the country, as well as to welcome the days of unrest and anarchy which, you say, will come if you leave this country. It is better to die once than to die by inches every day. And why should we die at all? Why should the path which has led other nations of the world to life, lead us to death?

61. A correspondent of the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes as follows:—

Swadeshi and Bande Mataram.

Englishmen should know that the Bengalis will suffer all sorts of persecution, beating, imprisonment, and even death rather than forsake *swadeshi* and *Bande Mataram*. It is not in the power of the English to make us lose sight of our aim. We have learnt to discriminate between *swadeshi* and *bid shi*. We have known our duty and we shall not forget it. Come, brethren, let us engage ourselves in the work of serving our own country for the protection of justice and religion. Let those who call you "cowards" see how dutiful and patriotic you are, and how you can suffer oppressions in serving the cause of your country. You will, moreover, have to show that you are really heroes in action.

DAILY HITAVADI,
July 10th, 1907.

U. IYA PAPERS.

62. The *Ukalipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th June states that a portion of the road between Jajpur and Bhalak lies in

The Jajpur-Bhadrak road.

Cuttack and another portion in the Balasore

district. Thus the responsibility, so far as the repairs of this road are concerned, is divided between the Cuttack and the Balasore District Boards. As a consequence, no particular attention is paid to the road by either of the District Boards. That portion of the road which lies between the Baitarani and the Chhatabar village, and which crosses the High Level Canal at Parbatipur, stands in need of immediate repairs. This portion belongs to the Balasore district, and it is the duty of the Balasore District Board to make ferry arrangements at Parbatipur with a view to enable passengers, beasts of burden, conveyances, and vehicles to cross the High Level Canal, that has several feet of water there. As a matter of fact, no ferry arrangements have been made up to date, and this has resulted in the greatest discomfort and inconvenience imaginable to the passengers who travel on that road. It is a matter of deep regret that the people of Bhadrak and Jajpur, who pay the road and public works cesses, should suffer inconvenience on an important road like the one between Jajpur and Bhadrak. It is not understood why the Irrigation Department, which has made ferry arrangements at all important places on the canal, should have overlooked to make similar arrangements at Parbatipur on the Jajpur-Bhadrak Road. A bridge may, if necessary, be constructed on the canal at Barbatipur at a moderate cost to remove all complaints, and the cost may be shared between the Government on the one hand and the District Boards on the other. The writer exhorts the District Boards of Balasore and Cuttack to attend to this public grievance without delay.

UTKALDIPAKA,
June 22th, 1907.

63. The same paper states that the Cuttack Municipality has taken immediate charge of the ferry-ghats on the Kath-

The Mahanady and Kathjori ferry-ghats in immediate charge of the Cuttack Municipality. jori and Mahanady without letting them in farm, as was the case before. The writer hopes that as

the Municipality has taken charge of the onerous duties in connexion with the ferry-ghats named above, the Municipal Commissioners will be good enough to inspect the ferry arrangements personally every now and then, with a view to afford comfort and convenience to the passengers.

UTKALDIPAKA.

64. Referring to the Cocoanada riots in the Godabhari district of the Madras Presidency, the same paper observes that the bad temper of Dr. Kemp was responsible for the mischiefs that were committed there. Why does then the Government apprehend a general unrest among the people, when, as in Cocoanada, a particular Englishman was concerned?

UTKALDIPAKA.

65. The same paper quotes from the Calcutta *Englishman* lines in support of its proposition that the revision settlement in Orissa is injurious to the interests of the people and that it should be stopped at once, and

UTKALDIPAKA.

observes that the paragraph of the *Englishman* alluded to will attract the notice of the Government.

Government thinks that the revision settlement will not increase litigation among the people, but the facts are otherwise. Already civil suits and criminal cases have been started in Orissa in connexion with the crops standing on *nij jote* lands, and these cases will no doubt ruin both the landlords and the tenants. Government will find this out after a careful enquiry.

The tenants as well as the landlords need protection, and Government need not tempt them to waste their resources in litigation. The zamindars had to spend a good deal during the last settlement. It is not fair that they should be troubled again so soon. The zamindars have lost a substantial portion of their previous income, and Government has compelled them to execute *Kabuliya*s surrendering their rights to mines. The writer hopes that the Government will be persuaded to stop the revision settlement work, which has helped nobody but has troubled everybody.

66. The Dhenkanal correspondent of the *Gurjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 29th June states that the entire village Bhuban

A great fire in Dhenkanal. has been reduced to ashes by fire and that the sufferings of the village people are indescribable.

67. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 22nd June states that tiger-scare prevails in village Nuapali and that one day a tiger snatched away an infant from the lap of its mother.

68. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th June states that rice was sold at Cuttack, Puri, and Balasore at 9, 10 and 8 seers, respectively, in the last week.

69. The Jajpur correspondent of the same paper states that even coarse rice was not available in that town of the Cuttack district at 11 or 12 pice per seer.

70. The *Bamra* correspondent of the *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 22nd June states that a woman died by falling into a well at Firingee Bahal.

71. The Jagatpur correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th June states that a small tiger is killing goats and sheep at night in that part of the Cuttack district.

72. The same correspondent states that a man of Padmapur, together with his son, died by falling into the flood-water of the Mahanadi while attempting to cross the river over the stone weir.

73. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th June states that it rained almost every day in Cuttack in the last week. It is said that constant rain has hindered agricultural operations to a certain extent.

74. The *Sambalpur Hitaishini* [Bamra] of the 22nd June states that there was no rain in Narsingpur in the last week and that agricultural operations were not proceeding so satisfactorily as would have been the case otherwise.

75. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th June states that the *Snanjatra* festival in Puri passed off quietly and successfully without any hitch or hindrance. But the number of pilgrims being only five thousand, the temple servants, as also the shop-keepers who expected to earn a little on the occasion, were very much disappointed.

NARAYAN CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA,

Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,

The 13th July, 1907.

REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL
FOR THE

Week ending Saturday, 13th July 1907.

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I.—FOREIGN POLITICS.

875. In contrasting the letter addressed by Lord Curzon to the Amir ^{Lord Curzon and Amir Habibullah.} inviting him to the Delhi Durbar with the invitation extended to him by Lord Minto, the *Bengalee* points out that by his want of tact, Lord

BENGALEE.
27th June 1907.

Curzon very nearly succeeded in bringing about a rupture of the diplomatic relations of this country with Afghanistan. It contrasts the attitude of Mr. Morley in connection with his Afghan policy, fundamentally different from that of Lord Curzon, with his attitude in reference to the partition, and enquires what prevents Mr. Morley from reversing the partition as speedily as he has reversed Lord Curzon's policy in the matter of Afghanistan.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(a)—Police.

876. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in citing a case reported by the *Ranakar* of Asansol, urges on the Deputy Inspector-General in charge of the Bengal Railway Police to take early and adequate notice of the doings of

^{Sergeant Gibbs of the Railway Police at Asansol.} Sergeant Gibbs of the Railway Police at Asansol. It would appear that a young woman, accompanied by her youthful brother, came to Asansol station to leave by a passenger train on the 13th instant. They had procured tickets and were waiting for the train, when suddenly the Sergeant arrested the lad and gave him in charge of two constables in the presence of several gentlemen, who interceded with him for the lad's release, as his sister would be without any male escort. The boy was not released, and the sister being unable to proceed, was obliged to take refuge in the *musafirkhana*. Subsequently, the boy was released by the jamadar, and he was seen making a house-to-house search for his sister, of whom no trace could be found. The complaint, says the journal, is a serious one, and the police authorities should certainly not sleep over it.

AMRITA BAZAR
Patrika.
27th June 1907.

877. The *Bengalee* draws attention to the acts of oppression daily committed by the Gurkhas stationed at Barisal.

BENGALEE.
22nd June 1907.

^{Affairs at Barisal.} It appears that nobody can walk the roads by day or night without being insulted and molested by these men. Nobody is allowed to walk out with umbrellas in the public streets. Whenever such persons happen to come across Gurkhas, be he young or old, school-boy or not, he is sure to be molested and his umbrella broken. Passengers by steamers arriving late at night can scarcely reach their destination without being similarly treated, and vendors are compelled to give these men a commission out of the real price of articles for sale. The Gurkhas and Military Police have been imported into Barisal on the plea of preserving order, but they constitute a menace to the public peace. If the object is to discourage or suppress the *swadeshi* movement by intimidation, then the rulers may as well consider their labours lost. Englishmen are forgetting their own traditions and Imperialism is notoriously shortsighted.

878. A correspondent of the *Bengalee* complaining of the lawlessness prevailing in the Khulna district, reports a recent ^{Lawlessness at Rudaghara (Khulna).} case in which, during the marriage of one of the daughters of Babu Ram Lall Bhattacharjee in his native village, the nuptial party were attacked with a shower of brick-bats from outside the house in which the party were assembled. The same thing was repeated on the following night, and the bridegroom and party were obliged to engage the services of *gundas* and *lathials* to escort them home, for fear of being attacked on the way.

BENGALEE.
23rd June 1907.

879. The *Hindo Patriot* makes certain suggestions in connection with ^{Sir Punch: Or how to make his place attractive.} Punchayets. It urges that the post of President of Punchayets could be made attractive if only some real power, and not its shadow, could be offered them, and proposes that they be placed as a sort of watch over the thana officials. It does not mean that these Punchayets should supervise the work of Sub-Inspectors of thanas or interfere with police investigation in any way, but that they should be granted the privilege of helping the

HINDOO PATRIOT.
3rd July 1907.

police by taking down information of crime committed within their respective jurisdictions and reporting the conduct, good or bad, of the police subordinates from the Sub-Inspector down to the chaukidar. The Presidents should also be made members of an independent Bench of Magistrates empowered to try certain classes of cases. If these suggestions be accepted by Government, the police will be under a healthy surveillance, and the officers at the headquarters towns and subdivisions will find the respite and relief which they require.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA.

19th June 1907.

The latest sensation in Rawalpindi case, expresses dissatisfaction at the conduct of the special trying Magistrate in handing over Abdulla, one of the prosecution witnesses, to the

police whom he had accused. The result was that the young man was handcuffed and then taken to the District Judge, where he was compelled to make serious allegations against Sirdar Beant Singh, one of the pleaders for the defence. The attempts made by the police to get this defence pleader into trouble resulted in the Sirdar and his colleagues withdrawing from the case. If Messrs. Hansraj, Amolakram and others were refused a trial it might have created a scandal, but the disgraceful scenes almost daily enacted in the Court of the special Magistrate of Rawalpindi would have been avoided. The men hauled up as rioters must be convicted whether innocent or guilty, in order to preserve the so-called prestige of the Government; but, as a matter of fact, this prestige would be enhanced if a fair trial were given to the accused.

880. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, writing on the subject of the Rawal-

pindi case, expresses dissatisfaction at the conduct of the special trying Magistrate in handing over

Ibid. Abdulla, one of the prosecution witnesses, to the

police whom he had accused. The result was that the young man was handcuffed and then taken to the District Judge, where he was compelled to make serious allegations against Sirdar Beant Singh, one of the pleaders for the defence. The attempts made by the police to get this defence pleader into trouble resulted in the Sirdar and his colleagues withdrawing from the case. If Messrs. Hansraj, Amolakram and others were refused a trial it might have created a scandal, but the disgraceful scenes almost daily enacted in the Court of the special Magistrate of Rawalpindi would have been avoided. The men hauled up as rioters must be convicted whether innocent or guilty, in order to preserve the so-called prestige of the Government; but, as a matter of fact, this prestige would be enhanced if a fair trial were given to the accused.

881. The *Bengalee* is shocked at the scandalous incidents at Rawalpindi

connected with the withdrawal of Sirdar Beant Singh and his colleagues from the riot case. To

deprive the defence of legal help by intimidating the pleaders is such a disgraceful proceeding that the matter should be thoroughly enquired into and the guilty parties punished. It is surprising to find that the Court has apparently taken no notice of this matter.

882. *Bande Mataram* writes that the people have been recently revising old ideas and worn out superstitions, and finds that

Ibid. the following among many other cherished superstitions have departed into the limbo of forgotten follies:—The belief in British liberalism; in the freedom of the press and platform; in the *Pax Britannica*, and in the political honesty of Mr. Morley. But the greatest of all has been the fall of the belief in the imperturbable impartiality of British justice.

The "bureaucrats who misgovern us at the present moment" have utterly forgotten the simple truth that, by imposing the strain of a burden of taxation which the people find unbearable, in addition to the strain of a series of perversions of justice, which deny the people protection, the existence of a State ceases to be justified, and "from that moment the governing power. . . is doomed by the inevitable operation of nature."

The refusal of bail to the Rawalpindi pleaders "on the mere statement of the prosecuting officials" by the Chief Court in the Punjab, "supposed to be the highest repository of British justice," is "one of the most deadly of the many wounds which the bureaucracy have been recently dealing to their own moral prestige and reputation for justice."

"But the most glaringly, paradoxically unsound case of all," in the opinion of the journal, is the one which occurred "in our midst," and in which Srijut Girindranath Sen received a monstrously severe sentence for a trifling offence. "This same British justice. . . . was graciously pleased to give the accused a chance of disproving his offence, but at the same time, in the plenitude of its justice and wisdom, refused to give him bail." In spite of all this, *Bande Mataram* acclaims British justice with hymns of praise and adoration. "Hail, thou ineffable, incomprehensible, indescribable, unspeakable British justice! Hail, thou transcendent mystery! *Tubhyam bhuyistham nama uktim vidhema."*

883. Harking back to the trial of the Rawalpindi pleaders, *Bande*

Ibid. *Mataram* says that it has not been denied that the More about British justice. identification has been a scandalous farce and that

BANDE MATARAM.
24th June 1907.

the police in Court were allowed to make signs to the witnesses so that they might be sure to identify the right persons. But more staggering still is the persecution to which the defence pleaders were subjected, in order to force them to throw up their briefs. But the "climax, apex, the acme, the culminating point" which British justice reached in this case was when Abdullah, who first recanted his confession, extorted by the police, was forced afterwards to "recant his recantation and balance his charge against the police by a charge against the leading pleader for the defence." After all, says the journal, the British Empire must be maintained at any cost!

884. In connection with the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and the state of affairs at Rawalpindi, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that some of the best men of the town have been thrown into *hajat* and bail refused them, for what reason nobody knows. The result is, before any offence has been proved against them, they have been made to pass through the horrors of an Indian jail. The trials are all a farce and the police are having everything their own way. It appeals to His Excellency Lord Minto to put a stop to such cruel proceedings, and rescue the people of Rawalpindi, who are entirely in the hands of the police.

Lala Lajpat Rai and Rawalpindi affairs. 885. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that the spectacle which Rawalpindi has been presenting almost daily since the last two months is a disgrace to civilization. It

cannot believe that Englishmen in India have suddenly sunk so low as to lose all moral perceptions. Englishmen are said to be the most just men in the world. That reputation is about to be swept away owing to the judicial scandals at Rawalpindi. Not a day passes without some outrageous sensation. The list of accused persons shows that more than half of them are men holding very high positions in the local Indian society. And they have been charged with rioting and arson. The paper draws special attention to the case of Chetram, a very respectable man of Rawalpindi.

886. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* criticises the action of Justices Stephen and Coxe in refusing bail to Babu Girindra Nath Sen, though practically admitting that he had not committed any offence. It also finds fault with Justices Mitter and Caspersz for not granting bail to an innocent man and also failing to acquit him of the offence of which he had been unjustly convicted and thus relieved him of the odium cast upon his character through no fault of his own. The Magistrate who sent an innocent man to jail did not receive a word of censure. In jail Babu Girindra Nath, though suffering from a severe and acute boil, was subjected to such hard work as coir-works, the oil-mill, and breaking bricks and stones. The result was he became ill, suffered all along from dysentery, and found himself much reduced. He was not weighed fortnightly nor even on the date of his release, and there is therefore no means of knowing his actual loss of weight. He was also subjected to further torture by being taunted and mocked, and his consolation lies in the fact that he has the sympathy of the whole country on his side and that his countrymen have profited by his sufferings.

887. The *Bengalee* comments adversely on the action of the authorities in convicting Babu Girindra Nath Sen although, in the opinion of the High Court, he had committed no offence, and attributes his punishment to the fact that he was a prominent *swadeshi* worker. The treatment he received in prison tends to confirm this belief. *Swadeshism* will not be suppressed by sending innocent men to jail and treating them with severity while there. Repression will cause it to thrive and prosper. Babu Girindra Nath goes back to society with his influence and prestige enhanced, and "we believe with a firmer determination to work for the *swadeshi* cause."

888. Commenting on an interesting and instructive discussion relating to the release of accused persons on bail, which took place between Mr. Jackson, Counsel for the accused, and Justices Mitter and Caspersz, the *Bengalee* deplores the conduct of the Judiciary in India in failing to act upon the wholesome principle that accused persons should be admitted to bail in

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22nd June 1907.

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23rd June 1907.

all but exceptional cases. This is a feature of the Rawalpindi as well as the Coconada cases, and there are indications that the judicial decisions are too often subordinated to political considerations. If people lose faith in the independence and justice of the Courts of law, one of the greatest bulwarks of the State is gone.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
25th June 1907.

889. The conviction and sentences in the Comilla shooting case will, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* considers, make people more disgusted with the administration of justice in this country, as there was not a scrap of legal evidence against the accused. The present policy of Government is incomprehensible, for the rulers seemed to be trying to make the people love them by first characterising them as disloyal and then deporting or sending them to jail. At Comilla and at Rawalpindi the authorities have done their very best to destroy one of the strongest pillars of the British Government in this country by trampling justice under foot.

BENGALEE,
27th June 1907.

890. In commenting on the conviction of the prisoners in connection with the Comilla gun-shot case, the *Bengalee* says that, of the three persons who sat in judgment upon the case, the Judge and two assessors, one declared the prisoners to be not guilty. As this assessor knew English and was consequently able to follow the proceedings much more closely than the other who was ignorant of English, in which the Judge delivered his charge and some of the witnesses gave their evidence, there seems to be an element of doubt as to the guilt of the accused.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
29th June 1907.

891. The judgment of Mr. Cumming in the Comilla shooting case, will, says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, remain on record as an example of the justice which the King's subjects in India can expect at the hands of young Civilians who pose as learned Judges. Mr. Cumming had two assessors, one a Hindu and the other a Muhammadan, to help him with their verdict. The Hindu verdict was one of "not guilty," and the Muhammadan verdict just the opposite. But Mr. Cumming dismissed both as tainted, on the ground that he thought the verdicts those of partisans and not of men who had carefully weighed the evidence. The accused had therefore to depend on the non-partisan verdict of the Judge alone. Two shots were fired and one man fell dead. There was no evidence available to show which shot struck the deceased, and although Mr. Cumming admits that whether Nibaran or the other man fired the fatal shot will never be known, he ordered the former to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. Mr. Morley may be asked, says the journal, whether such judgments would make the Indians friends or enemies of British rule in India.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
30th June 1907.

892. The results of the Comilla shooting case and the Jamalpur *mela* case make it quite plain, says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, that in a certain class of cases no fair and impartial justice is to be had in this country. Hundreds of others can be cited to show how the Government by winning such cases at any cost is only doing irreparable harm to its own prestige instead of maintaining it.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
27th June 1907.

893. In reviewing the judgment of Judge Cumming in the Comilla in which shooting case, he sentenced one of the accused, Nibaran, to death and two others to transportation for life, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* endeavours to point out that the guilt of the accused was not firmly established. The finding that it was "clearly proved beyond doubt that Makbul, running to where the flash of the gun was seen, caught Nibaran with a gun in his hand and that he was rescued by Mangal Singh," does not explain one little fact. How could Makbul recognise the men when the lane was pitch dark, and how did Makbul dare enter the lane when he himself might have been murdered like the deceased Musalman baker? Also, were Nibaran and the two other men waiting to be seized and recognised by Makbul after having fired the fatal shot, or, instead of allowing Makbul to go away without a scratch on his person, would they not have fractured his skull when he seized Mangal, and thus done away with all evidence of their crime? But it goes on to say:

"Judges need not be very exact as regards facts or reasoning when they have to establish a theory on which they have set their hearts." "Either Nibaran or Lalit or somebody else fired the gun and therefore Nibaran is guilty of murder and sentenced to be hanged. But if it turns out afterwards, when Lalit is caught, that it was he who had shot the man dead, what would happen? Of course he will also be hanged like Nibaran."

894. Referring to the notice served by the District Magistrate of Monghyr on Babu Rash Behari Lal Mondal to

Babu Rash Behari Lal Mondal. show cause why the order discharging him and his servants should not be reversed and why they should not be committed to the Sessions, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that it is a public scandal that persons discharged by a competent Court should again be sought to be condemned and punished, and that at the cost of the starving people of India. It "shows a feeling bordering on actual vindictiveness on the part of responsible officials in the position of District Magistrates and Subdivisional Officers. It is a great and absolute pity that the subordinates of Sir A. Fraser should be allowed, by their indiscreet and reckless actions, to put him to such an awkward position as he has been put by this fresh development of Babu Rash Behari's case."

895. The *Bengalee* hears that Mr. Lyall, the Magistrate of Bhagalpur, *Ibid.* intends to move the Sessions Judge of Bhagalpur with a view to reviving the case against Babu Rash Behari Mandle and procure his committal, and of

those accused along with him, to the Sessions. The case was declared to be false by the Deputy Magistrate, and as Mr. Lyall has shown a personal feeling in connection with the case, it trusts it will not be permitted to be revived before the Legal Remembrancer has been consulted. Moreover the journal is doubtful whether the Sessions Judge of Bhagalpur has any jurisdiction after the case had been transferred to Monghyr.

896. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* finds fault with the judgment of Mr. Garlick, the trying Magistrate in the Jamalpur *mela* case. *Ibid.* on the ground that he had made out a new case of his own. He accepted neither the version of the Hindus nor the Muhammadans, but his own, which he evolved from his own inner consciousness and then condemned the Hindus.

897. A correspondent of the *Hindoo Patriot* writes about Mr. Dey, the senior Deputy Magistrate of Puri, to the effect that he has been repeatedly treating with sneers and insults witnesses attending his Court. Referring to the Magistrate's judicial qualifications, the correspondent says that he has a supreme disregard for the law and is guided entirely by his whims.

(d)—*Education.*

898. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* condemns as monstrous the Resolution of the

The students of the Rajahmundry College. Madras Government regarding the students of the Rajahmundry College. Even if there was some

breach of discipline, the students did not deserve such ferocious punishment as has been meted out to them. This is not how discipline is maintained in English colleges, and the Government cannot hope to eradicate disloyalty by these drastic measures.

899. Referring to the punishment of the Rajahmundry students, *Bande Mataram* *Ibid.* says that the orders of the Madras

Government should have a very wholesome effect on public opinion and activity, for they will turn the idea of the National College from an aspiration to an urgent necessity. The spur of an immediate political urgency has been required in every case to force the Indians into action, and for this latest help towards the cause of national education the journal is much obliged to Mr. Mark Hunter and the Government of Madras.

900. The argument that it is selfish to expose students to all the risks *Students then and now.* of the present nationalist activities and "keep ourselves safe in the background" is considered by *Bande Mataram* to be a very shallow device for concealing the real truth that

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3rd July 1907.

a share in patriotic work is the only training of the character the students are likely to get in these days, and that in some quarters it is not thought desirable that the character of young people should be trained by the habit of patriotic service. The education imparted in Indian schools and colleges serves neither the cause of a nation nor of humanity. Young men have been ridiculed enough for making Government service the goal of their aspirations, but now that they have risen above such petty and sordid considerations about education, the bureaucracy and timid heads of educational institutions talk of the prospects of the young men being marred by agitators. The Hindu *Shastras* advocate education by actual service, and it is incomprehensible how education can suffer by transferring that service from an individual to the mother-country. If it is contended that it encourages rowdyism, then the journal answers that the students of a former decade were more spirited and more ready to average insults offered even by their professor. The Presidency, the Hooghly, and the Rajshahi Colleges were in those days centres of constant self-assertion against the uncomplimentary language of unsympathetic European professors towards the people of the soil. A different spirit seems to govern the students and their well-wishers to-day.

BANDE MATARAM,
15th July 1907.

901. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writes *Bande Mataram*, has through sheer perseverance succeeded in making

the Government of India accept his proposal regarding the Ranchi College scheme, and thus relieve the revenues of Bengal of an unnecessary superfluity. This triumph of tenacity indicates the adoption of a policy which advocates spending—profitably or unprofitably—of surpluses, so as to give the Government renewed opportunities to tax the people and thus cripple their resources further. "The education that the Government imparts is bad in quality and worse in spirit; it is ruinous to the intellect, the physique, and the morale of the race, and the money spent on it is worse than wasted." Until the people secure control over their money, it is useless to protest from the Press or the platform. To remove the evil, it is necessary to go to the root.

(e)—*Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.*

INDIAN MIRROR,
20th June 1907.

902. A correspondent of the *Indian Mirror* writes from Asansol condemning an artificial agitation got up there for the removal of Mr. Scott, the present Chairman of the

local Municipality, and the appointment of the Subdivisional Officer of Asansol in his place. Mr. Scott, who is the District Engineer of the East Indian Railway Company, has devoted much more of his time and attention to the welfare of the rate-payers than any other Chairman, and the people are very grateful to him and unwilling to lose his services.

BANDE MATARAM,
16th July 1907.

903. *Bande Mataram* highly approves of the decision of the Katwa Municipality not to waste rate-payers' money in presenting an address of welcome to the Lieutenant-Governor who is shortly expected there. The Municipality has thus done its duty by the rate-payers and adopted a dignified attitude which ought to serve as an object-lesson to other erring Municipalities. The Commissioners who were led by the local Assistant Surgeon, Ganendra Nath Mukerji, are to be congratulated in the matter, but it is unfortunate to find that an upstart Rate-payers' Association is attempting to get up an opposition to the decision of the Commissioners and present an address to the Lieutenant-Governor. "It is a shame that such men are allowed access to decent society" and they may well be asked, "Who is there so base as to trifle with the people's money? If any, speak; for him have we offended."

(g)—*Railways and Communications, including Canals and Irrigations.*

BENGALEE,
4th July 1907.

904. The *Bengalee* is surprised to learn that an order has been issued to the effect that the holders of week-end concession tickets are not to avail themselves of the 113 and 115 up trains which arrive at Sealdah on Monday morning at 9-15 A.M. and 9-35 A.M., respectively. These are the only two trains that suit office people coming from their villages, and if this order is

not forthwith rescinded, the benefit of week-end concession tickets will practically be denied to office people, the very ones who are intended to be chiefly benefited.

(h)—General.

905. The *Indian Mirror* blames Lord Curzon for all the unrest now prevailing in India, as it is due to his retrograde and repressive policy. "The Government of Lord Minto is to be given every credit for the manner

in which it is trying to allay the prevailing unrest, but by a curious fatality the situation is getting worse and worse every day. East, West, North and South, wherever one's eyes may travel, there is nothing but deep unrest, deepening yet more by every stringent measure taken by the Government. . . . Mr. Morley is determined that the partition should remain. Well, if the partition remains, we are afraid the Government will find it an exceedingly difficult task to restore peace and order in the province." In throwing out the Punjab Colonisation Bill the Government of India have acted very wisely, as having regard to the manifest danger involved in the further spread of unrest, the Government should do all in its power to conciliate the popular feeling. England, owing to her position, has many enemies, and she realises that Russia is still capable of mischief. She should therefore seek to make the Indians contented and happy, for a contented and loyal population is a hundred times more valuable asset than the most efficient army. If Mr. Morley would only rise above the influence of the bureaucracy he would see how much room there is for improving the Indian administration.

INDIAN MIRROR.
20th June, 1907.

906. The *Bande Mataram* commenting upon the remarks of the *Hindu* of Madras on the Coconada cooly strike, in the course of which that paper remarked that the lower strata of the people cannot be cowed down into submission with half the ease and celerity with which the educated classes can be brought down by the display of military strength, writes:—

"The whole plan of nationalist campaign rests on the basis of this potential strength of the people which does not require for its reawakening years of mass education but only tangible instances of bureaucratic high-handedness. Education is not a very effective means of national regeneration. The responsiveness of untampered and unsophisticated nature, its want of calculation, and its speedy decision have to be turned to advantage."

BANDE MATARAM.
21st June 1907.

907. Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code is described by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as another Regulation 3 of 1818, as it jeopardises the safety of all educated men who take any interest in politics. The Magistrate is empowered to punish not only the person who disseminates, but those who attempt to disseminate or even abet the dissemination of any seditious matter. The Magistrate is the originator of the prosecution, he is also the prosecutor and again the final judge. To add to the gravity of the situation, the accused is denied the right of appeal and the Magistrate's order has to be accepted as final. Sub-section (c) of section 108 is even more dangerous than sub-section (a) for whoever speaks against a Magistrate or Collector may be prosecuted and punished as a *bulmash*. No one can therefore threaten to expose the high-handed proceedings of an officer in the newspapers, lest he be charged with criminal intimidation under section 108 and be punished.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA.
24th June 1907.

908. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* warns political agitators to beware, as by resorting to section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code any Magistrate may put them to immense trouble. This section was not extensively resorted to previously, because the authorities had not completely lost their senses, but now they have discarded even their decency, and their passions having been roused, they are capable of doing things which would not have been dreamt of before. The Magistrate has the power to prosecute even those who live beyond his jurisdiction and bind them down, as well as demand sureties for such large amounts as will inevitably result in their having to rot in jail. Maulvi Leakat Husain has been hauled

Section 108 of the Criminal
Procedure Code and Leakat
Husain's case.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA.
25th June 1907.

up under section 108 for simply expounding the meaning of a text in the *Koran*, though his leaflet is written in Urdu, which is not the language of the Backergunge district. "Every Musalman is interested in this case; for if Maulvi Leakat is convicted, then there are texts in the *Koran* which no learned Maulvi will be able to explain without making himself liable to a prosecution under section 108."

BENGALEE
25th June 1897

909. The Jamalpur correspondent of the *Bengalee* reports that Mr. Clarke

Mr. Clarke and the Jamalpur has issued an order or injunction restraining the *mela*. committee of the management of the Jamalpur *mela* from incurring any expenditure without his sanction. This autocratic interference with a public institution is said to be due to Mr. Clarke's desire to appropriate five thousand rupees out of the surplus of the *mela* funds for the construction of a boarding-house for Muhammadan students. The object is an excellent one, but why, asks the journal, should the money be abstracted from the *mela* coffers and not from Mr. Clarke's own pocket? This officer has evidently taken over the "favourite wife" from its late lamented proprietor, and it remains to be seen whether he will share the fate of the "old 'un."

BENGALEE
25th June 1897

910. The speech of Sir William Clarke, Chief Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, made on the occasion of an evening party in honour of Mr. Justice Chatterjee, the newly appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, is highly approved by the *Bengalee*, which considers it to be conciliatory and full of good feeling towards the Indian community. The kindly feeling between race and race should certainly be evidenced by deed as well as by word. "Of the expression of sympathy we have had an unstinted measure from Mr. Morley down to the humblest European official. But our complaint is that we see so little of the practical manifestation of this sympathy." Its absence is responsible for the present tension and unrest. The accomplishment and maintenance of the partition in spite of public opinion, the method of dealing with the prisoners at Rawalpindi and Coconada, and the present policy of repression, deportation without trial, restrictions of the right of public meetings and of the general attitude of the Government towards the Hindu population are certainly not consistent with that kindness of feeling and sympathy which Sir William emphasises. The people would rejoice if such a policy were followed, but it must be embodied in deeds and not in words.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA
25th June 1897

911. During the nineteenth century, writes the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the British Government showed some respect for the three rules. public opinion and offered excuses when it could not do so, but in the beginning of the twentieth century not only was the united voice of an entire nation ignored in the matter of the partition of Bengal, but it was remorselessly trampled under foot by the governing authorities. The Indians are now being made to realise that they are a conquered people and that they deserve to be treated as such. Repression is the order of the day, and instead of discontent being removed, it is increased in every way and then sought to be entirely silenced by brute force. If Clive and other military geniuses of England founded the Indian Empire, it is the British Courts of justice that have been able to place it on a firm footing. The Judges nowadays are, however, influenced more by political considerations than by a strong sense of justice, and the result is that the moral prestige of the Government is dwindling away in this country—

" What is the Iron Rule?

" The rule of savage men:
If evil be done unto you,
Evil do you again.
This is the Iron Rule."

" What is the Silver Rule?

" The rule of worldly men:
If good your neighbour does to you,
Do good to him again.
This is the silver rule."

" What is the Golden Rule ?
 " The rule of righteous men :
 If evil be done unto you,
 Return you good again
 This is the Golden Rule."

" What is the rule that the English have introduced in this country ? They pride themselves on being the most enlightened nation in the world. There is no doubt, however, that it is not the Golden Rule they have given to the people of India, whose liberty they have taken away. Neither is it the Silver Rule that obtains here, for no people in the world, in either modern or ancient times, have done so much for their conquerors as the Indians have,—indeed, they shed the blood of their own countrymen to enable the English to establish themselves firmly in this country; but in return they have not got the blood from the latter."

912. The stopping of public meetings to put an end to *swadeshi* sermons convinces *Bande Mataram* that the policy of repression has been inaugurated to prevent India from becoming industrially independent of the rest of the world. England's policy is to make India produce raw materials to be worked up by labourers beyond the seas, and she will do all she can to prevent a change in the existing circumstances. The intention is to stamp out the slender beginnings of *swadeshi*, and repression will go on unless and until a change in the political condition of the country enables the people to hold their own against the world.

913. Referring to the liberty of the press established by Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1835, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that it was a free gift of the rulers—notwithstanding the objection of the Government authorities

Why was the press in India made free ?
 in India—with a view to having the most minute particulars of the Indian administration scrutinised and displayed to the gaze of the universe, to seek information and instruction wherever they could be found, and not to rule India as a conquered, ignorant, and enslaved country, but—as a cherished, enlightened, and free one. It is thus plain that the liberty of the press was given to India in order that it would enable the English people at home, including the Secretary of State for India, to see how officials were doing their duty in India and to enable the Indian authorities themselves to discover dangers and pitfalls ahead. It seems the present generation of rulers views the question from a different standpoint. The Indian papers criticise their doings and they resent it keenly. Hence the cry of sedition has been raised by them with a view to crushing them. They have endeavoured, through the Anglo-Indian journals, to create an impression that the Indian papers not only preach rank sedition but promulgate lies. In this way the English public have been persuaded not to put any faith in the Indian press. Ever since the indigenous press came into existence in India, the Indian authorities—who have everything their own way and are practically beyond the control of Parliament—have been actively engaged in taking away the freedom enjoyed by the press. The liberty of the press was a free gift of the rulers and they have a right to take it away. But by so doing they, and not the people, will suffer.

914. The reason of the fresh outburst of repressive measures and the persistent advice of Mr. Newman to arrest certain persons and shut up certain printing presses in Calcutta, is understood by *Bande Mataram* to be a desire to crush *swadeshi* now so as to give British capitalists an opportunity to reap a golden harvest for the next *puja* season. The people are exhorted to be prepared for a fresh outburst of Fullerism in united Bengal and to organise their resources to withstand it. " Let us stand fast as the rock which resists the billow and the sky, determined to do our duty according to the light granted us—to live for the regeneration of the country and die if need be for the cause. . . . Trials and tortures will only make us firm in our determination. . . . If we only persist, and now is the time for us to do so, the darkness that envelopes the country now will in no time disappear before the dawning day that will illumine not only India but the entire East."

BANDE MATARAM,
 25th June 1907.

AMRITA BAZAR
 PATRIKA,
 28th June 1907.

BANDE MATARAM,
 1st July 1907.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
2nd July 1907.

915. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that, though admittedly the administration of India is conducted on despotic principles, the despotism is not like what prevails in Russia. For example, Russia is governed by

one despot while India has thousands, each of whom is dressed in authority from the sole of his foot to the top of his head. The system of rule that prevails in India has thus no parallel in the world, and it is to this that the children of the soil as well as the ruling authorities owe their gradual downfall. In a word, India is ruled by one thousand short-term rulers possessing excessive powers, and being all aliens they have, with rare exceptions, very little sympathy for the Indians. British officials in India are harming themselves and their superiors by the exercise of vast irresponsible powers with which they are invested, and undermining at the same time the glorious constitution which has made England so great. "The hierarchy of officials who govern this country form a happy joint family whose creed is that its members must support and cling to one another, through good or evil repute. It is thus that the subordinate officials have become irresistible to the people and a source of danger to the Empire. There is no doubt that Mr. Morley, Lord Minto and Mr. Hare are incapable of behaving towards the Hindus in the way the Magistrates are alleged to be doing, but this is a poor consolation so long as they see that not a hair of the head of the latter is to be touched."

BENGALEE,
2nd July 1907.

916. The *Bengalee* reports that the Magistrate of Khulna, who has allowed himself to be thrown into an unnecessary state of panic, is doing all in his power to create unrest and irritation in his district.

Babu Veni Bhusan Roy has been launched upon the report of a half-educated Police Inspector who was scarcely able to follow the supposed seditious speech delivered in English. Fortunately the speech was a written one, and a copy was produced in Court. The Magistrate has further caused great indignation by prohibiting, under section 144, the Subdivisional Conference to take place on the 13th and the Pargana Conference on the 28th and 29th June. It is time for higher authority to intervene and put a stop to such eccentricities.

BENGALEE,
4th July 1907.

917. In connection with the repression by the District Magistrate of

Repression in Bagerhat. public meetings in the Khulna district, the *Bengalee* reports a case in which meetings between Hindus and Muhammadans arranged to be convened at Bagerhat were unnecessarily suppressed. After the usual notice had been served, the Secretary to the local Muhammadan Association and the Secretary to the People's Association submitted a joint representation, assuring the authorities that the relations subsisting between the two communities were most cordial and that there was no ground for apprehending a disturbance if the meetings were permitted to be held. But still the meetings were disallowed. It says that the proceeding is absolutely without justification, it is an unwarrantable infringement of the right of holding public meetings and that it should be challenged in a Court of law. The leaders of Bagerhat ought not to take the blow lying down.

BENGALEE,
5th July 1907.

918. The *Bengalee* refutes the official view of the disturbances in East

The disturbances in the new Bengal as due to the *swadeshi* and boycott—to the attempt on the part of the Hindus to enforce by violence the purchase of home-made articles. It states that this view of the situation is absolutely unfounded and prompted by the anti-Hindu feeling common among the officials of the new Province. If the situation is untenable in East Bengal, it is a hundred times more so in the Rajshahi district, where serious riot broke out almost immediately after the Jamalpur disturbances. At Rajshahi the so-called aggressive boycott was nowhere in evidence. Everyone was free to sell or purchase what he liked, and there was no interference with the freedom of trade and individual tastes. In connection with the Wahabi movement, it was the Mullas who did all the mischief. They openly preached amongst the mob, ostensibly on the strength of their scriptures, that the Muhammadans should give up every connection with the Hindus who were *kafirs*. It being found out that this was an impossible task if the Hindus could not be made to give up their usual vocations, the Muhammadans were taught to take up all village functions. Muhammadan shops were started and the Hindus were warned not to come

to the *hâts* to sell their goods. They paid no heed to this warning, and the Mallas incited the mob to loot Hindu shops, unless the shopkeepers submitted to forcible conversion. The policy of Sir B. Fuller of open partisanship with the Muhammadans is one fraught with danger in a country like India, and it certainly stimulated the disturbances in East Bengal. It is no exaggeration to say that the rulers have been playing with fire, as the feeling called forth in the Rajshahi district is anti-Hindu as well as non-Christian.

919. Every fresh item of news from Barisal and Khulna, the two centres of *swadeshi* activities in East and West Bengal, They know not what they do. confirms *Bande Mataram* in the belief that the

bureaucracy is determined to put down the boycott at any cost. respectable gentlemen and school-boys of Nopara, Khulna, have been compelled to execute security bonds for Rs. 100 and Rs. 50, respectively, for holding out threats to shop-keepers and people who deal in *bilati* goods. The elastic section, ostensibly designed to prevent breach of the peace, has put a very effective weapon into the hands of the executive by which they can prevent the use of legitimate persuasion to bring about the exclusive use of *swadeshi* goods. The boycotters may thus be accused of inciting to mutiny, setting class against class and even charged with sedition, but the Christian bureaucracy takes pity upon them and acquits them of the graver charges, saying, "Forgive them for they know not what they do."

BANDE MATARAM.
4th July 1907.

920. *Bande Mataram* rails at the Government for commencing its attack on the "so called freedom of the Press" Press prosecution. in Bengal. Intolerance of free speech and writing is regarded as the sure index not only of unenlightened mediævalism in the existing Government but of its rottenness and instability. No just government or beneficent empire can be overthrown by a campaign of misrepresentation, however extensive and well organized. If the British people and their representatives, both in England and India, are so confident that their administration is the very best that can be given to India under the present circumstances, it is surprising that they should apprehend mischief from "enemies" against whom they are so well secured by the intrinsic merit of their rule. An impeccable administration cannot possibly create discontent, while misrepresentation can easily be met with the assailant's own weapons. To meet the peaceful instruments of Press and platform with imprisonment and persecution or with swords and guns, is a confession not merely of despotism but of weakness and guilt. When the ruler, beaten in the fair fight of argument, eloquence and reason, throws his sword into one scale, it will not be long before God throws His into the other. The purpose of the ages is not going to be frustrated by section 108A, or the destinies of the natives stopped in their inevitable march because Manchester cotton spinners want a market for their wares. The patriotic sentiment in men is immortal, and no amount of repression or coercion will make them renounce their freedom

BANDE MATARAM.
4th July 1907.

921. It is immaterial to *Bande Mataram* whether or not the Government grants "seditious" utterance a further lease of life, as it considers that the policy of repression is ready and will be enforced to-morrow, if not to-day. Sir Andrew Fraser's return from Simla has been signalled by the search of the *Yugantar* office, and its prosecution seems inevitable. The Government is apparently determined to deviate from the wise policy of allowing the people to have their say on the situation, and the journalist who wants to do his duty honestly must be prepared for persecution. His reward will be the strengthening of the cause he suffers for, by attracting to the work the sympathy of the general mass, from whom come the energy and the character of a people.

BANDE MATARAM.
5th July 1907.

IV — NATIVE STATES.

922. The rulers of the Native States in India, says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, being really in a more helpless condition Native States and sedition. than are even the inhabitants of British India, it is no wonder that some of them have outdone the British authorities in the matter of suppressing the political liberty of their subjects. Referring especially to the notification issued by the Maharaja of Kolhapur prohibiting in his State any meeting, public or private, having for its object the consideration of political questions connected with the British Government or the

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Durbar, it says that the action of the ruler of Kolhapur in not allowing his subjects to discuss political matters even in their parlours and compounds, is "out-Heroding Herod with a vengeance." The British Government is foreign and may naturally suspect the loyalty of its Indian subjects, "especially when they are ruled with an iron rod;" but what can be a more humiliating spectacle than that a descendant of the great and immortal founder of the Maharatta Empire has no confidence in his subjects who are mostly Maharratas? Instead of listening to the grievances of their subjects these rulers would gag their mouths. "A more stupid policy cannot be conceived, for it will make the people more discontented and the work of administration more difficult.

INDIAN EMPIRE,
2nd July 1907.

923. The *Indian Empire* ridicules the action of the Indian Princes who are Native States and sedition. expelling sedition from their respective territories. "That most helpless Prince among Indian Princes, the Maharaja of Kashmir, set the ball a-rolling, and it is still kept in motion by some of his brother Chiefs who are like him." His most meritorious deed of forbidding all political speeches within the borders of his territory elicited a public acknowledgment by the Government of India, and seeing this, the Chiefs of Nabha, Jamnagore, Kolhapore and Dhar are competing for a similar public acknowledgment.

INDIAN MIRROR,
18th June 1907.

923a. The *Indian Mirror* supports the *swadeshi* movement, but denounces Moderates and extremists. the boycott and advises the Indians to proceed on the lines suggested by the wise and thoughtful President of the last Madras Provincial Conference. The Extremists deserve the abuse they are receiving from Anglo-Indians but their influence is being greatly exaggerated. They form a "microscopic minority," and this is proved by their tactics having signally failed at the last Congress, as well as at the Berhampore and Madras Conferences. The majority of educated Indians are decidedly moderate in their political views and loyal to the Government. The country at large is unaffected by inflammatory speeches and writings, and the causes of unrest in Bengal and the Punjab are due to the partition, and certain legislative and administrative measures. Every responsible man, be he Indian or Anglo-Indian, should regard it as his duty to do all he can to allay racial hatred and restore confidence between the Government and the people.

INDIAN MIRROR,
19th June 1907

924. In discussing the problem of the present unrest in India, the Will quarrelling and shouting Indian *Mirror* counsels both the rulers and the make us a nation. ruled to adopt a policy of "conciliatory co-ordination." There are abundant proofs on every side that good sense has begun to assert its sway over the rank and file of the people, and if the spirit of conciliation spreads far and wide, Indian unrest will become a thing of the past. The Anglo-Indian who persistently vilifies the people is just as much responsible as the shallow-brained Extremist for producing all this unrest in India. An educated and intelligent man like Captain Kemp should not have been so weak-brained as to go out to assault an Indian boy for shouting "*Bande Mataram*." His nervous and excitable temperament was responsible for the Coconada riot, and the authorities in South India are likewise showing a regrettable lack of nerve at this moment. The Hindu boys should be allowed to go on shouting "*Bande Mataram*," and it will be found that they will give it up altogether when they are tired. The educated classes should act as intermediary between the Government and the people. The Government should confide in them and through them reach the masses, while they should make it their duty to assist the Government by their moderate counsel. "If we want self-government let us work for it in earnest. Let us show we are fit to govern ourselves and we shall have self-government without a doubt. Quarrelling and shouting will not make us a nation. We should act in concert with our rulers and gain their esteem and confidence by our straightforward, manly conduct."

INDIA, LEE,
20th June 1907

925. The *Bengalee* advises British statesmen to seriously ponder over the true formula of British policy in India. the advice of the *Temps*, one of the most influential of French journals, as to the policy which the British Government should follow in

relation to India. The partition of Bengal is accepted as the cause of the prevailing unrest in India, and the simplest cure for the distemper would be its cancellation or modification. The mistake should be avowed and rectified, and a spirit of co-operation should prevail between the rulers and the ruled. The repressive policy is a stupendous mistake, and threatens to render all but impassable the ever-widening gulf between the Government and the people. "Order at the base, autonomy at the summit," says the French journal, "is the true formula of the policy towards dependencies, if we desire that our administration, through and by means of the mutual benefit of governors and governed, is to find in itself the pledges of duration and stability."

926. Referring to the *Statesman's* warning to the Indian reactionaries of "Why not shoot Lajpat Rai?" the prospect before them if a Tory Government

comes into power while the present unrest continues, judging from Sir Howard Vincent's question "Why not shoot Rajpat Rai?"—in which sentence was given "a sudden, illuminating expression to the heart's desire of all Anglo-India and two-thirds of England," *Bande Mataram* assures the *Statesman* that, from the beginning, the nationalist party have faced the possibility of the shooting being started. "The defenders of the established order of things have attempted almost every form of Russian repression except the taking of life—Deportation; condemnation without trial; punishment before conviction; flogging; the gagging of press and platform; police hooliganism; the employment of a Black Hundred; brutal, personal persecution in jail and *hajat*, have all been attempted, though not as yet on the Russian scale." When all these methods have been found ineffective, it is quite possible that the order "Do not hesitate to shoot" may go out. . . . But it is a wild dream to hope that any power can make Indian nationalism fall down and kiss the feet of 'Archangel John.'

927. Mr. Morley has to thank himself, says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*,

Mr. Morley's uncomfortable position and its remedy. The attitude he has assumed with regard to the

Indian Regulation 3 of 1818 has caused him to be well tormented in Parliament, and he cannot expect to escape this unless the present Ministry introduces some drastic measure for his protection. Closure is perhaps a good weapon, but the bowstring and scimitar are better. Mr. Duane, Editor and proprietor of the *Indian World*, started at Calcutta in the last decade of the 18th century, became very troublesome by his trenchant writing and was deported from this country by the Government of Sir John Shore. He was left in England without any information or explanation, and his property, worth about 50,000 dollars, confiscated by the East India Company. It is inexplicable why this excellent method for doing away with disagreeable persons has not been introduced in this country and then transplanted in England. Along with Regulation 3 the Government should provide that independent members of Municipalities, District Boards, and Legislative Councils would be bastinadoed if they proved troublesome. A similar measure may subsequently be introduced in Parliament, and then Calcutta and London will each be turned to a Constantinople, with the Governor-General and a Secretary of State playing the role of the Grand Turk of the two cities.

928. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* quotes passages from judgments of

Mr. Morley authoritatively contradicted. several officers in Eastern Bengal ranking from the European District and Sessions Judge to the

Muhammadan Deputy Magistrate, all of which contain emphatic and authoritative denials that *swadeshi* or boycott, *Bande Mataram* or national volunteers, or again the oppressions of Hindu zamindars and the extortionate demands of Hindu money-lenders had anything to do with the disturbances. Mr. Morley thererore owes it to himself and to his exalted position to enquire how the Muhammadan rowdies suddenly got out of hand, and whether it is not absolutely true that this was so because of the culpably indifferent attitude of officials and the mischievous preachings of certain Mollas who have been known to declare themselves emissaries of certain Government protégés.

929. In a lengthy and severe criticism of Mr. Morley's speech,

Morley analysed. *Bande Mataram* points that the whole speech turns upon a single sentence as its pivot, viz., the state-

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ment that British rule will continue, ought to continue, and must continue. Therefore, every means used for its preservation is legitimate. Compared with that fundamental necessity, "justice does not matter, humanity does not matter, truth does not matter, morality may be trampled on, the laws of God may be defied." The danger of sedition being the cessation of British rule, Mr. Morley, supported by an almost unanimous consensus of British opinion, has said that he would prefer the re-enactment by the British Government of the iniquities and atrocities of ancient and modern tyranny to the risk of losing England's absolute control over India. This is the last word of England to India on the great issue of Indian self-government.

The problem which former British statesmen professed to have before them was that of gradually training and associating the Indians in a European system of government until they were fit to take over absolute control of affairs. This problem is now definitely and for ever put aside as a chimera or a pretence.

All the reforms proposed by the Secretary of State have one single object, one governing idea—an absolute, personal, despotic British control *in touch with the people*.

The journal concludes as follows:—

"We have analysed Mr. Morley's speech at length, because people in India have not the habit of following the turns of British parliamentary eloquence or reading between the lines of the speech of a Cabinet Minister. They are therefore likely to miss its true bearings and fail to understand the policy it enunciates. Read by an eye accustomed to the reservations and implications by which a British Minister makes himself intelligible without committing himself unnecessarily, Mr. Morley's speech is an admirably clear, connected, logically and, let us add, unusually and amazingly frank expression of a very straightforward and coherent policy. To maintain in India an absolute rule as rigid as any Czar's; to keep that rule in close touch with the currents of Indian sentiment, opinion and activity, and to crush any active opposition by an immediate resort to the ordinary weapons of despotism—ordinances, deportations, prosecutions, and a swift and ruthless terrorism;—this is Morleyism as explained by its author."

BENGALER,
26th June 1907.

930. The *Bengalee* charges Mr. Morley with inconsistency in supporting the deportation of the two Indian gentlemen while he opposed the Crime's Act in Ireland. His explanation, as analysed by the journal, is that you may violate the fundamental laws of morality in India, punish a man without trial in this country, but you may not and ought not to do so in Ireland. This view is condemned as monstrous and utterly unworthy of a great statesman who has preached great lessons of political morality. The situation which Mr. Morley has created has given a rude shock to the Indians' sense of security and their feeling of self-respect.

BENGALER,
27th June 1907.

931. The *Bengalee*, in criticising Mr. Morley's speech at the Budget debate in connection with his justification for despotism for all time to come, as a part of the recognized government of India, regrets that such a pronouncement should ever have been made by a responsible Minister of the Crown. It was unnecessary and will do mischief. He need not have indulged in the prophecy about the future government of India, which Indians on their part were resolved to nullify. Mr. Morley's provision of the future will, it says, go far to defeat the object he has in view, viz., to conciliate by his reforms the sentiment of the educated community of India who "will look upon his reforms, not as a definite stage towards the attainment of self-government, which is the goal of their patriotic aspirations, but as an arrangement which keeps in view the permanence of despotic government of India and only provides a means for the ventilation of popular opinion and of popular grievances." Referring to Mr. Morley's citation of certain passages from Mill's "Representative Government," in justification for a despotic government, it states that, tried by the standard laid down by Mill, "the Government of India must be pronounced to have failed and its despotic methods are without justification." In contrasting the reform achieved by the Government of Japan during 40 years with that of the Government of India during the space of 150 years, it states that the Government of India has failed in its despotism, that the Indian

arts and industries have been killed by the policy of the East India Company, and that the sum total of the achievement of the Government of India, as far as national development is concerned, has been *nil*.

932. Referring to the distinction made by Mr. Morley in his speech at the last Budget between "our friends" and "our enemies" in India, the *Bengalee* says that though it is doubtful who are the people referred to by Mr. Morley, it would be presumptuous in anybody to assert that among the 300 millions of the population of India there may not be people who do not wish England well. But there was no occasion to make any reference to these men unless Mr. Morley really believed that their number was on the increase. If Mr. Morley referred to the political agitators—who comprise the educated classes—as enemies, then the masses of the people must be supposed to be friendly because they are ignorant. In connection with Mr. Morley's reference to the seditious speeches of Lala Lajpat Rai, it says that "the world will refuse to believe, on mere *a priori* grounds, that if a man's utterances were seditious any government would have incurred the unnecessary opprobrium of deporting him without trial. As a matter of fact, Mr. Morley will possibly find it difficult to substantiate the charge he so recklessly made, for it was nothing more than political agitation of a perfectly lawful kind of which Lala Lajpat was guilty.

BENGALEE,
28th June 1907.

933. The apostacy of John Morley, says *Bande Mataram*, has come as a surprise and a scandal to the numerous believers in the secret springs of Morleyism. British professors, who regarded him as an *avatar* of the spirit of philosophic Liberalism, but to those who studied the man at closer quarters there was no disappointment. The cast of his opinions clearly showed that he would never be able to sympathise with the aspirations of the Indians and their claims to self-government and autonomy. Mr. Morley talks about the necessity of sympathy as the mainspring of Indian administration, but his idea of such sympathy is "the patronising benevolence of the master possessed of absolute powers of life and death who is generous enough to give his bond slave as much education as is good for him: in the process of that education he tries to be as indulgent as possible, while reserving his right to scourge him occasionally for his own good and, of course, to appropriate all the profits of his labour for the master's own purse." Instead of sympathy, this is a very undesirable form of arrogance and selfishness masquerading as benevolence. It is utterly impossible for Mr. Morley and men like him to understand and sympathise with Asiatics. To them Asia is a home of monstrous religions, barbarous despots, grotesque superstitions, and a primitive morality. The capacity shown by Japan is regarded as a freak or an inexplicable exception, and the application of Mill's dictum to India shows that the Secretary of State cannot appreciate Asiatic civilization, character, and capacity. "European prejudice will always refuse to regard Asiatics as anything but an inferior race, and European selfishness will always deny their fitness to enjoy the rights of men until the inevitable happens and Asia once more spews Europe out of her mouth."

BANDE MATARAM,
28th June 1907.

934. "The year 1907," writes the *Indian Mirror*, "is the Jubilee year of Mr. John Morley, the Liberal Ministry, and the present Indian policy. The year 1857 has the mutiny. Thank God, the history of 1857 has not yet repeated itself, but looking at the frightful extent of the unrest now prevailing in India, we cannot say that we are living in more peaceful times." Coercion is adding to the unrest, and it is surprising to find Mr. Morley, who condemned it in the case of Ireland, acquiesce in the adoption of that policy as regards India. The people of this country had great hopes in the Liberal Government, but its recent action has shattered their expectations. The deportation of Lajpat Rai has been condemned all over India, and the refusal to acquaint the public with his offence is daily embittering their feeling against the Government, while the non-appointment of the Royal Commission to inquire into the causes of the present unrest in India is also very disheartening. Repression should be tempered with clemency, and conciliation go hand in hand with just severity towards wrong-doers. The just and liberal policy of Lord Canning saved India to England at the time of the mutiny, and it depends upon Mr. Morley to deal successfully with the present crisis. The Secretary of State is

INDIAN MIRROR,
28th June 1907.

warned that the eyes of all nations are fixed upon India to see how England discharges her responsibility, and she cannot therefore be too careful in her administration of this country.

BENGALEE,
8th June 1907.

935. In criticising Mr. Morley's speech on the educated section of the Indian community, the *Bengalee*, laying special stress on the Secretary of State's remark that this section has nothing to lose and much to gain from revolutionary changes, states that the educated community are not a set of paupers. They may not be wealthy in the sense in which that word is used in England, but they have a substantial stake in the country and would recoil at the idea of plunging it into the vortex of a revolution. They have said a hundred times from their platforms—and their organs have voiced forth the same truth—that reform and not revolution is what they want. If anything like a revolutionary spirit has shown itself among any class of the population, the Government is directly responsible for it, but that even now it is not too late to mend the situation, provided the Government possesses the necessary statesmanship for it.

INDIAN NATION,
8th July 1907.

936. The *Indian Nation* strongly condemns the conduct of those of its countrymen who are criticising Mr. Morley in a spirit of intolerance. Such writers and speakers display a want of confidence in, and even an utter contempt for, men who, however brilliant their records, happen at this moment to have ideas and opinions different to their own. Their language indicates that they show a worse spirit than what they condemn in Mr. Morley. The latter's two annual speeches and other utterances in Parliament clearly prove that he retains his faculties unimpaired. In spite of all provocation he has not been bitter against the Indians or rude to any of his interrogators, nor is there any inconsistency in his present and past declarations of principle. The dispute between him and his antagonists is one upon a question of facts and it is therefore but fair to believe him when he says that he is in possession of certain facts.

INDIAN EMPIRE,
9th July 1907.

937. Mr. Morley's failure to specify a single speech of Lajpat Rai which was seditious and his reply to Sir Henry Cotton on the subject are described by the *Indian Empire* as his "latest muddle." "Mr. Morley, who is perhaps the weakest of Indian Secretaries within living memory and is entirely under the control of his subordinates, has thus struck a blow at British reputation in India, the gravity of which he and his following have no idea."

BENGALEE,
22nd June 1907.

938. The *Bengalee* takes exception to the commemorative wreaths placed on the Holwell Monument on the anniversary of the tragedy of the Black Hole, and hopes that the Government will not wink at such a "blazing indiscretion." In view of the unrest now prevailing in India, such "an impish proceeding" will reopen old sores and revive old memories, and thereby aggravate the difficulties of the present situation.

BANDE MATARAM,
22nd June 1907.

939. *Bande Mataram*, in the course of an article severely criticising Mr. A. Chowdhuri's policy. Mr. A. Chowdhuri's pronouncements at the Pabna Conference, that a subject people has no politics, that they should give up political agitation and once more revert to self-help as a substitute, contrasts the politics of the old Congress school with the politics of Indian nationalism, which has given up the mendicant policy, preferring to depend on its own strength for the realisation of its ambition.

The old school "dreamed of ignoring the terrible burden that was crushing us to death, of turning away from politics and educating our strength in the village and township, developing our resources, our social, economic, religious life, regardless of the intrusive alien" . . . and so "inaugurating a new revolution, moral and peaceful, only passively resisting the adversary." But side by side sprang up a sprinkling of men in whom there was but one fiery conviction, viz., that "subjection was the one cause which withered and blighted all our national activities, that so long as that cause was not removed, it was a vain dream to expect our national activities to develop themselves; that only by struggle could our strength be educated to action and victory. The resolve was to rise and fight and fall and again rise and fight and fall, waging the battle for ever until this once great and free nation should again be great and

free. It was this last current which boiled up to the surface in the first vehemence of the anti-partition agitation, flung out the challenge of boycott and plunged the Bengali nation into a struggle with the bureaucracy which must now be fought out till the end."

Mr. Chowdhuri's policy therefore would be an excellent one if he could only remove two factors from the political problem—*first* Indian Nationalism; *secondly*, the British Government. And how does he propose doing so? By shutting his eyes to their existence. Ignore the Government, dissociate yourself from the men of violence, and the thing is done. "Such is the political wisdom of Mr. Ashutosh Chowdhuri"

940. Reverting to the consideration of what the Indians should do now, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* points to the treatment What we should do now. accorded to those who have been making political

speeches in the Punjab and to the President of the Khulna Conference Reception Committee in Bengal, and advises the people to shelve political agitation till the authorities are restored to their proper senses. The Indians should divert their energies to non-political channels and improve their condition by self-reliance and the development of their own resources. "We can, in short," says the journal, "secure our practical freedom if we can do only three things:—(1) Take up the education of our boys in our own hands; (2) give up litigation; and (3) eschew foreign articles and revive our own industries."

The Congress and Provincial Conferences have their uses, but the people must seek to regenerate the country through the District Committees. The first work of the latter is to "form important Associations at all central places in the districts and bind them together by a common bond of fellow-feeling. In this way every district can have its national organisation; and when such organisations have been completed in most districts, it will no longer be possible for Government to ignore the voice of the nation in the manner it does now." Every District Committee should secure a number of young men willing to serve the country and each should devote at least six months of his time to patriotic work. In this way every district can achieve its regeneration in the course of ten years with the help of a few scores of earnest workers.

941. The *Bengalee* writes as follows with reference to the *Englishman's* Rarity of Bengali loyalty. views on the subject of Bengali loyalty:—

"The same contemporary declares that 'broadly speaking,' 'there is no evidence' of 'Bengali loyalty.' From a superficial observer, this is perhaps not surprising. The Bengalis are not disloyal, but it is no use mincing matters and disguising the fact that the partition has subjected the loyalty of the Bengalis to an unusually severe strain, so much so that the Bengali, who is now prepared to parade his loyalty, must be either a hypocrite or an unscrupulous title-hunter who knows the season when to take occasion by the hand and make an irresistible demand for a star or a ribbon or perhaps a jewelled sword. As long as the partition remains intact, we can promise no change whatever in the temper of the public mind. When a nation is smarting under a cruel wrong, it is in no mood to sing hosanna to the glory of the authors of that wrong. The belief is universal among Bengalis that the real object of the partition is to weaken the political influence of their nation and thereby arrest their progress. How then can any self-respecting Bengali have the heart to think of 'loyalty?' It will be time for the Bengalis to manifest their loyalty when the partition is annulled. But the absence of loyalty in their case must not be mistaken for disloyalty. *A* may not be disposed to love *B*, but it does not necessarily follow that *A* is longing to cut *B*'s throat."

942. *Bande Mataram* is surprised that France should fall a victim to the romancing of the *Englishman* and be carried away by the impression that Chandernagore is being converted into an arsenal for a future Asiatic rising. This does not reflect credit on her common sense and self-possession. The journal hopes that the people of Chandernagore will enter on a strenuous struggle for regaining their rights.

Bipin Chandra Pal. ing:—

"According to the last number of the *Indian Sociologist*, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal has wired to England his willingness to be the first lecturer under the proposed regulations of the Society of Political Missionaries in India. We learn from the regulations that 'a political

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PATRIKA,
22nd June 1907.

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26th June 1907.

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INDIAN MIRROR,
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missionary, or *Desa-bhakta*, shall give up all his real and personal property to and receive from the Society only bare maintenance for himself and, if married, for his wife and children."

BENGALEE,
28th June 1907.

944. Referring to the memorial addressed to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India by some subjects of the Dhar State in connection with the severe punishments inflicted by that State on those who took part in the celebrations of the *Sivaji* festival at Dhar, the *Bengalee* states that the methods adopted tend not to repress but to create sedition. The offence complained of was nothing more than that the exhibition-card contained the phrase *Bande Mataram* and referred to the taking up of "an independent profession" which of course meant the adoption of arts and industries as a profession, in life. There being nothing wrong in this, resort to repressive measures, which are so unjust, so arbitrary, and so despotic, seems quite unnecessary and will tend to exasperate people and breed discontent. It holds that the Government of India is responsible for this, as it takes the initiative and sets the example in repression which the Tributary States follow.

BANDE MATARAM.
28th June 1907.

945. The Secretary of State having declared that Lajpat Rai was a danger to the State. *Bande Mataram* wonders what Mr. Morley means by the "State," as a temporary and forcible subjugation of three hundred millions of people by a handful of alien bureaucrats is an unnatural condition to which the people can no longer see their way to conform. They demand the constitution of an organised State in India. Lajpat Rai devoted himself to the political regeneration of his country and the attainment of autonomy in conformance with the political teachings of Mr. Morley himself. It is surprising therefore to find the teacher turn round and deport his pupil.

BANDE MATARAM.
25th June 1907.

946. Commenting on the struggle between the French Government and Passive resistance in France. *Bande Mataram* considers the outbreak interesting to the Indians, as it began with passive resistance, very much on the lines advocated in India, the object being to paralyze the Government; and the chief weapon used was the voluntary resignation of the Municipalities which are indispensable instruments of administration in France. The appearance of the military on the scene altered the nature of the movement, and the hot French nature, impatient and incapable of endurance, found it impossible to continue the experiment. It is worth noting that the French Government has hastily passed the more urgent clauses of the Bill for assisting the wine industry and thus given the demonstrators the immediate thing that they wanted, just as the Punjabi agriculturists did.

BENGALEE,
29th June 1907.

947. The *Bengalee* in giving its resume of the full text of Mr. Morley's speech in connection with the proposed reforms, Mr. Morley's proposed reforms. says that these do not give public satisfaction. They do not mark a definite stage towards the attainment of self-government, nor do they give the representatives of the people even the semblance of a share of control over the executive government or the public expenditure. On the whole, it expresses the general disappointment of the people with the reforms, and states that a grim determination has been formed to work out their own salvation. As regards the appointment of one or two Indians on the India Council, it says that the success of the experiment will depend on the men who are appointed. If they are gentlemen such as Mr. R. C. Dutt, the measure will be welcomed. But if Sir Muncherji or men like him are appointed, it would be preferable to do without an Indian member of Council.

BANDE MATARAM.
29th June 1907.

948. Referring to the comments on *swaraj* made nowadays by Anglo Indian writers, *Bande Mataram* notices that, apart from the natural unhinging of reason, for which the prospect of loss of power and prestige or of trade is responsible, there is a great want of appreciation of the movement, its causes and probable effects, not only on the part of the ruling class but of the majority of educated Indians. The former will certainly do their best to crush the movement out of self-interest, but the latter should make it a point to enlighten them, as the want of a true perception of the nature of the movement

is responsible for much of the misunderstanding and irritation. Revolutionary ideas are accepted in spite of anything unseemly, alarming or even preposterous about them, because they fit the crises, and the good they do is well worth having even at the cost of much harm and ruin. Mr. Morley quite realises the truth of this, but "a mind clouded by national self-interest and perverted by European prejudices and contempt for Asiatics forbids him to use his reasoning powers on India as he would have used them in the case of a European country similarly circumstanced." The movement in India is not artificially got up. It has life and vitality, and is rooted deep in the very nature of things and events. India was formerly a centre of human prosperity and a fountain of light, and it should never be forgotten in the present struggle that the overshadowing influence is "a temporary obscuration from which the sun of her destiny is soon to emerge."

949. *Bande Mataram* writes in scathing terms of the Anglo-Indian journals advice to Indians to abandon all thought of democracy, as it is unsuitable to the people of

Lang credit. this country. The country which only the other day was made fit for human habitation is thought ripe for democracy but not India and Egypt which handed the torch of light to the West of the world. Things inconvenient to themselves have always been pronounced impossible by the strong and mighty, but yet they have come to pass, wrought out by faith, perseverance, and sacrifice. John Morley cannot conceive even of a distant future when India will be fit to govern herself, "but this deferring our birthright to the Judgment Day will no longer do." The journal is reminded of a Scotch story about a ragged Highlander, a fugitive from Charles Edward's army after Culloden, who broke into a cottage where a poor old woman was weaving cloth, and seized enough to make himself a coat. Failing to hinder him, the woman asked for payment, but that, he said, would be at the Day of Judgment. "That will be lang credit." England has long been in the habit of getting this "lang credit," but the struggle strenuously entered on means its refusal.

950. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* deals at length with the policy of self-help and organisation as the means by which Put your own house in order. the highest ambition of Indians would gradually be realized. It advocates the appointment by districts of missionaries and committees whose attention should be devoted to the settlement of disputes by arbitration, the establishment of schools on national lines, the giving up of foreign articles, the development of the industrial and agricultural resources, and the sanitary improvement of villages. Politics should not be discussed and internal dissensions and litigation stopped. If this was done, then there would be no necessity to hold public meetings or make speeches for their political rights and privileges, for the Government would then of its own motion satisfy their highest ambitions.

951. The *Indian Nation* expresses its approval of Sir Charles Elliott's contribution to the *Empire Review* on the subject of the present situation, and admits that it is specially pleased with the writer's remarks in Sir Charles Elliott on Indian claims, regard to the extended sphere of influence he proposes for Indians. Though not agreeing in all the details of his suggestions and finding his proposals with regard to employment in offices now reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service rather limited, the journal points out that the recommendations made are on the lines that have often been advocated in its columns, and it hopes that they will receive attention in influential quarters.

952. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* contrasts the action of Englishmen at the time when Nawab Siraj-ud-dowla tried to injure Raja Rajballav, with that of their descendants of to-day. At that time when the Nawab demanded that the Company should send back the Raja, who had sought their protection, to Murshidabad, the Englishmen refused to do so, on the ground that it would be meanness on their part to give him up, and when the Nawab being furious at their refusal invaded Calcutta, they fled to their ships, taking the Raja with them. To-day the Hindus, who have all along been staunch friends of the English, are objects of wrath and persecution to the latter.

BANDE MATARAM,
1st July 1907.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
1st July 1907.

INDIAN NATION,
1st July 1907.

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
2nd July 1907.

HINDOO PATRIOT,
2nd July 1907.

953. In no other country than India, says the *Hindoo Patriot*, have the rulers had a more law-abiding and peace-loving people to govern. Since its pacification and after the direct work of conquest was finished, the labour of the British has been unimpeded by any constant rebellion or agitation against the thousand measures introduced for the betterment of the people—excepting the dark days of the mutiny. But the mutiny of 1857 was purely a military uprising, and the great mass of the civil population had no hand in it. By a train of unfortunate circumstances the people have for long centuries become so accustomed to foreign rule that they now bear such rule as a matter of fact. As the general outcome of their natural desire for peace, the rulers have their work of pacification and settlement simplified, and while the latter take credit for the manifold blessings which they have been able to bestow upon the ruled, it is impossible for them either to forget or to deny how much they owe the people for loyal help in the execution of various works and measures which have gone to make India what it is to-day. The mistakes that at times have been made by the rulers in administering for the welfare of the ruled have been perhaps more than counterbalanced by a temporary spirit of peevishness, discontent, and agitation that at times possesses the inhabitants and makes them see so little of justice and profit in British rule in India. It is for this that reasons are being constantly advanced for the better cultivation of feelings of amity and friendship between the rulers and the ruled.

BANDE MATARAM,
2nd July 1907.

954. A great deal is being made of the unanimous appreciation with which the House of Commons received Mr. Morley's speech on the Budget, but *Bande Mataram* asserts that both the speech and its effect on the British people are matters of supreme indifference to the Indians. The British and Anglo-Indian journals which wish to frighten the people of this country into their old mendicant attitude by trumpeting the above news, merely show that they have no true conception of the nationalist movement. "The mind of our people has at last attained a certain amount of freedom. Faith in unrealities no longer clogs its progress. The Budget speech admirably exposed the true relation between England and India, and betrayed the hollowness of the so-called liberal professions which have so long excited their pernicious influence on the unsophisticated Indian mind, displaced as it was from its own orbit by an unnatural education. Mr. Morley's outspokenness was welcome to the House. Well it was tenfold more welcome to his enemies in India." Whoever is a scourge of India must naturally be a demigod to the British people. This fact was demonstrated at the ovation accorded to Warren Hastings when he appeared at the bar in the House to give evidence in connection with the renewal of the East India charter. The scourge of India, who was impeached 27 years before, was honoured as a hero and god, his action justified by biographers and historians, and himself exalted to the skies. Mr. Morley is now recognised as a worthy successor of Hastings and accorded an unanimous applause.

BANDE MATARAM,
2nd July 1907.

955. The meeting of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal with the Viceroy at Simla is regarded by a contributor to *Bande Mataram* as a portent of evil, for the writer apprehends as a result of it, repressive measures of the worst kind. "Deportation, prosecution, seizure of blocks, expulsion of students from schools and colleges; in fact all the machinery of oppression is to be set in motion to crush the new spirit." The nationalists must therefore be prepared to meet all the devices and brutalities that despotism can invent to bolster up an immoral and unnatural system of government. Mr. Morley has no hesitation whatever in sanctioning repressive measures to suppress the national movement, as he says it is "not for our interest, but for the interest of millions committed to our care." Almost the same benevolent intention and supreme disinterestedness brought about the independence of America.

To meet the present difficulties a complete change of tactics is suggested. The newspapers and speakers should stop abusing the adversary and dwell solely upon the patient, self-sacrificing, and strenuous work (not at all aggressive, but entirely passive) that is waiting to be done. Close the market by educating public opinion, and showing the necessity for eschewing foreign goods as a sort of protection to the country. Travelling from village to

village, from district to district, people ought to raise funds for the encouragement of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce for the benefit of the starving millions. And the people must be firmly convinced "that progress under a system of repression," as Professor Roger, M. P., said, "is the most useful process by which the social education of a people may be perfected."

The writer rails at British despotism, and gives the following examples of British justice furnished by the recent disturbances at Jamalpur and trials at Rawalpindi:—

- (a) The writer of the Red Pamphlet arrested by way of show and let out on a bail of Rs. 1,000 without even the appearance of a trial, whereas Liakat Husain bailed for Rs. 20,000 is to be tried and in all probability handsomely punished.
- (b) Cutcheries of Hindu zamindars searched without complaints or warrants, and their safes broken open by the police and *gundas* in the presence of the District Magistrate.
- (c) Complaints of Hindus rejected and those of Muhammadans readily accepted and enquired into.
- (d) Police and Magistrates inactive and hooligans breaking down Hindu idols, looting Hindu houses, and outraging Hindu women.
- (e) One month's rigorous imprisonment to a Hindu for abusing a policeman, and bail refused by the highest Court in Bengal, although a rule was issued to set aside the conviction.
- (f) Advising prosecutions and appeals from acquittals as Legal Remembrancer, and afterwards sitting in appeal or revision over cases coming from the districts concerned.
- (g) The sight of a Deputy Magistrate sitting with his Joint or Assistant trying a case against the Hindus—a novel and interesting spectacle.
- (h) The transfer of Sub-Magistrates who found that the attacks of Muhammadan *gundas* on the Hindus were not the result of boycott but of inflammatory incitements against the Hindus.
- (i) In Rawalpindi men who could find bail to any amount and who would never think of absconding, refused bail.
- (j) Starting a campaign of plunder and *gundatism* against pleaders defending the accused and compelling them to retire from the defence.
- (k) Parading the accused in police custody before witnesses for identification.
- (l) Allowing the police even to make signs in Court to witnesses to identify the accused.
- (m) Not taking the slightest notice of complaints by the accused of ill-treatment by the police in *hajat*.
- (n) Imprisoning a witness who said his first evidence was given under police compulsion and afterwards implicating a leading pleader for the defence by the same witness for tampering with his evidence.

956. The *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* relates a story supporting its assertion

They don't understand each other. that though, being more enlightened than their neighbours, the Hindus abhorred blood, they were adepts in the art of war. The Raja of Cascar, who was made a prisoner by Mirza, the son of Tamerlane, slew his captor by transfixing him with an arrow only by the sound of his voice although his eyes had been put out. It was thus evident that if the Hindus lost their independence it was not because they had neglected to train themselves in the use of arms, but because they were so different from the other races of the world. The Hindu race has just now fallen under the dire displeasure of the powers that be, notwithstanding that only six years ago they gave undisputed evidence of their deep attachment to British rule by mourning over the death of Queen Victoria in such a manner that Lord Curzon, who mixed incognito with the meeting of three lakhs of people specially convened for the occasion, was simply staggered at the sight. These people are now put down as a disloyal lot and their leaders the

AMRITA BAZAR
PATRIKA,
3rd July 1907.

"enemies" of England, although they have done nothing to deserve such treatment at the hands of their rulers. Even granting that there are some extremists who are foolish enough to say that they do not desire to live under the rule of England, surely the Government is powerful enough to ignore them altogether. If Englishmen do not understand the Hindus, the Hindus also do not understand the English. The Hindus are the best friends of the English in India, and because they are their best friends, therefore they seem to be the objects of bitter persecution.

HINDOO PATRIOT,
4th July 1907.

957. The *Hindoo Patriot* says that considered from every point of view, the dissimilarity between the two countries, India and Ireland, and the two races of people is so great that any comparison of the wrongs or wants of both of them may seem useless. Although their cases are by no means parallel, events have so shaped themselves in the two countries as to justify the comparison so frequently traced in the yearnings of both for a wider outlet for their national energies. Although there are differences and parallels in the needs of the two countries, one fact appears clear in the evolution of both countries, viz., that the Indians as well as the Irish find the growing necessity for exercising a far wider control of their own affairs than the English has been disposed to give them up to the present. That such wider control safeguarded by certain restrictions by the Imperial Government is the only solution of the problem co-existing in both countries, is what must eventually appear most expedient to the most broad-minded of English statesmen.

INDIAN MIRROR,
4th July 1907.

958. The *Indian Mirror* says that the time has come when the Hindus all over the country should bestir themselves to protect their own interests. The Bengali Hindus, in particular, have much need to be on their guard in view of the calumny and persecution which they are meeting on all sides. The Anglo-Indian papers contain from day to day nothing but the vilest denunciation of the Bengalis. In the disposal of appointments the Bengali Hindus are being deliberately kept in the background, while preference is given to all other creeds. Private employers may be at liberty to employ whomsoever they like, but the Government is not justified in showing its preference to this or that community in violation of the principles laid down in the Royal Proclamation of 1858. The Hindus form the bulk of the population, and in point of education and culture are ahead of all other races in India. All they want is fair play and no favouritism. The Bengali Hindus should form a league to defend their rights and interests, or they will soon find themselves in an extremely miserable plight.

BENGALIE,
4th July 1907.

959. In connection with Mr. Morley's speech in reference to the permanence of British rule in India (as it now prevails) to the perpetuation of India's subordinate and dependant position, and that the Indian's great drawback seems to be that he is peculiarly responsive to sympathy, in consequence of which he must pay the penalty of being eternally subject to a personal government, the *Bengalee* says that no misconception could be more radical than that Mr. Morley should imagine that the people of India are at one with him on this point. "It is true enough that the Indian people are opposed to an over-centralised government, and that in one notable instance they have demanded a more independent local government than an administration with a Lieutenant-Governor at its head. But their plea is not that such a government would be more sympathetic, but that it would be more efficient and less subject to local prejudices. For the rest, it were fatuity to assert that the people of India, in the present state of their development, could have any predilection for mere personal rule in any of its forms, whether in the centre or at the ends. An autocratic District Magistrate is just as little palatable to us as an autocratic Viceroy. The transition from a mere autocracy to a representative and popular form of government may be difficult enough, but the transition from an autocratic bureaucracy, the members of which are mostly alien, to representative government is still more difficult." In connection with Mr. Morley's defence of Sir Denzil Ibbetson and the Government of India in the position they took up in deporting Lala Lajpat Rai instead of prosecuting him, it says that there is nothing in the conditions he lays down as justifying a deportation,

which is not equally common in a majority of the cases, where the offence alleged is against the State.

960. To justify the aggressive conduct of the occidental nations in general and the English people in particular, and to show that they are better specimens of the Christian humanity.

MUSSALMAN,
6th July 1907.

Christian humanity. To show that they are better specimens of the human race than the Muhammadans whom they had subjugated or ousted, European historians, writes the *Mussalman*, have taken every opportunity to darken the pages of Muhammadan history. The Europeans have posed as incarnations of humanity, kindness, and civilisation, and depicted the Moslems as barbarians of the worst type, but history has never again witnessed such brutality and imhumanity as was perpetrated by the "robust" and "kind-hearted" Europeans during their holy (?) campaign against the Saracens. The journal quotes graphic descriptions of the "slaughter, rapine, and outrage" committed by the Crusaders, and points out that such an act as dragging the corpse of a Muhammadan from its grave was repeated only the other day in the Soudan, with the body of the Mahdi by Lord Kitchener. The conduct of the Christians in butchering the inhabitants of every city or fortress they captured is contrasted with that of Saladin, who, under similar circumstances, spared the lives of the inhabitants and allowed the vanquished Christians to return with their riches. A perusal of the dark deeds of the Christians will enlighten people as to their magnanimity and humanity, and it is deplorable that these people have never hesitated to calumniate Muhammadan civilisation and Muhammadanism.

961. Referring to an article in the *Statist* of 8th June, the *Hindoo Patriot* says that the most remarkable feature of

HINDOO PATRIOT,
5th July 1907.

A return to common sense. the article is its absolute freedom from any kind of prejudice or passion, and that its attitude towards Indians is quite unlike that of most of its contemporaries. The *Statist* says:—"British government, British education, and a free press could not fail to stir up a desire amongst educated Indians for a large participation in the management of Indian affairs. . . . Having expected agitation, Mr. Morley is not too greatly disturbed by it. He does not conceal either from himself and from the public that it is a grave event. But he sees also that it is one which if rightly dealt with, will prove to be beneficial." Again it says:—"At present there is a great chasm between the Government and the people. The Government is ignorant of the real opinions of the people. The people are ignorant of the real intentions of the Government. Thus on the one hand, the Government is likely to make mistakes because it misunderstands the feelings of the people. On the other hand, the intentions of the Government can easily be misrepresented by dishonest agitators." The *Hindoo Patriot* endorses every word of this.

962. *Bande Mataram* does not deny the fact that the Vernacular Press has of late become extremely bold in its tone, but

BANDE MATARAM,
5th July 1907.

The Vernacular Press: A re-trospect. describes it as the necessary result of the law of reaction which does not wait on the administrative convenience of an alien Government. The first impact of Western civilisation imparted a stimulus to independent thinking in the matter of politics as well as in other matters. The patriotic tone of the literature of those days was more vigorous and intense than at present. Ranga Lal Mukherji, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, Hem Chandra Banerji, Vidyasagar, Akshoy Kumar Dutta and others, helped by their writings the growth of nationalism, while the *Soma-Prakasa*, the *Patrika*, the *Halehasar Patrika*, and even the originators of the *Bangavasi*, all helped to rouse the patriotic spirit of the country. But later, a sort of timid acquiescing spirit began to vitiate all mental activities and set all energy flowing in a stereotyped channel. The first thinkers made use of the new light in presenting Indian civilisation in its true character and in seeking to restore its ascendancy, whereas the later school completely succumbed to the new influence, and mentally dazed and paralysed, commenced worshipping it for its own sake, like primitive earth-dwellers overpowered by the splendour of the sun. A politically-designed and unnatural education screened the Indians from their past and fostered a dependent spirit and moderate politics. The nationalist creed therefore suffered a lamentable check, and the boldness of both vernacular and Anglo-

vernacular newspapers could not rise higher than to draw the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor to the high-handedness of a *jaburdast* mufassal *hakim*. But the national spirit has reawakened with the *swadeshi* movement, and whoever writes or speaks does so under its direct inspiration. "In seeking to prevent its free expression, the alien bureaucracy has been thoroughly misled as to the true depth of the feeling. It is not to yield to bureaucratic violence that the spirit so long tamed and overlaid by our own weakness has burst forth again with such force and universality. It is the final and triumphant resurgence of an eternal and indestructible instinct which was clouded over for a while, but could not perish."

OFFICE OF THE INSPR.-GENL.
OF POLICE, L. P.,
WRITERS' BUILDINGS,
The 13th July 1907.

F. N. WARDEN,
Persl. Asst. to the Inspr.-Genl. of Police, L. P.

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