Amrita Bazar Patrika

REG. NO. C. 59

BI-WEEKLY---PUBLISHED EVERY SUNDAY AND THURSDAY

VOL LI CALCUTTA SUNDAY MARCH 2 1919 NO 18

The Black Bills.

Pandit Malaviya's Indiement in Council.

The following is the continuation of Pandit Malaviya's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on the "Rowlatt Bills."

Now, my Lord, what is the Rowlatt Committee's finding in regard to the origin of these revolutionary and anarchical ideas. They have found that the movement was the outcome of perverted religion and perverted patriotism. They have found that these men had got the idea that it was their religious duty, that it was their patriotic duty, to attempt to subvert the English Government. They have found that these young men were not prompted, at any rate in the beginning, by any sordid idea of personal gain. These young men made up their minds to sacrifice their lives in the cause to which they strongly gave their adherence. Now that being so, what is it that should be done? I submit, sir with great respect and with great reluctance, that the responsibility for this state of things coming into existence does no rest merely upon the young men, who went the wrong path. It rests upon the Government it rests upon the administration, both Provincial and Imperial, it rests upon all of us who failed to persuade the Government to adopt the right measures to remedy the grievances, to set them right. But while we take note of the causes, we do regret the effects. And why is it that I am asking Your Excellency's attention and the attention of the Council to this fact now? It is for this reason, that, while we all deplore the existence of such anarchical tendencies, such revolutionary crime as exists in Bengal, we should take note of the root causes which have fed those diseases, and strike at those causes as well as their effects. It is only then that we can reasonably hope for the lasting improvement in the state of things which we all join in regretting and condemning. That is what I most respectfully and most earnestly submit to your Excellency's Government and to the Council. Let us adopt those measures which will be efficacious in removing these root causes as well as their effects.

Now, my Lord, as I have shown, there are two classes of revolutionary and anarchical crimes. The one was connected with and sprang out of the war. So far as that is concerned, the existing provisions of the Defence of India Act are ample to deal with this class of cases. As my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Mr. Banerjea has pointed out, those provisions will continue in force for six months after the war. Any disaffection, any anarchical or revolutionary tendency arising out of or by reason of the war, can well be dealt under the Defence of India Act. So far as this class of cases is concerned, therefore, it is not that we are running away from making provision for anarchical or revolutionary crime. There is neither veiled nor unveiled sympathy in the minds of any reasonable Indian with such crime. We all deplore, we all detest it. We went to root it out, but we want to apply the right methods and not to foster it by adopting wrong methods.

PROBABLE EFFECT OF REFORMS.

As regards the other class of revolutionary crime which has arisen out of and has been fed by political, social and economic causes of discontent, we reasonably expect that as reforms are introduced things will alter and improve. Now let us see what is the state of things in regard to that? Whatever was the position before the war, during the war, His Majesty's Government have made a most momentous pronouncement in regard to their relation with India. They have said that the goal of British policy is responsible government in India Now that goal may be achieved in five years, in ten years in twenty-five years, or evn in fifty years. But the goal having been fixed I have not the least doubt, no reasonable man has any doubt, that that goal will be achieved. It must be. Your Excellency and your colleague. Mr. Montagu, have made a most memorable contribution for which we are grateful, of proposals for progress towards that goal. These proposals are before the Government. Your own Report on constitutional reforms furnishes the most excellent reasons why we ought to take a fair, judicial and even almost a lenient view of the misguided activities of the few men who have gone into the wrong path. You yourself have pointed out how many causes of complaint there have been; how many matters there are in which Indians have been complaining without their grievances having been redressed. You have formulated your proposals for redressing those grievances. The matter is before the Government. The Reform Committees which have been appointed will shortly recommend what should be the franchise for the reformed Councils and what should be the subjects which should be made over to them. We are expecting that the statute which is to initiate the proposed change will be introduced into Parliament about Easter.

Now My Lord, this the hopeful state of things in which we find ourselves. There is another important circumstance to which I wish to invite attention. The war has come to an end. During the war India made a glorious contribution to the cause of the Empire. Whatever doubts, whatever misgivings some men might have had before the war about the loyalty of India India has proved her loyalty by the blood which Indians have shed in the several theatres of war. India has proved her loyalty by the contribution in men, money and munition which she has made, and to which Your Excellency made a handsome reference even this morning. Now, in the face of that loyalty, in the face of that deep-seated, widespread, proved loyalty, loyalty which has been demonstrated beyond cavil or dispute, what is it that we, the people of India, expect of the Governmentof India? We except that even if there should be some misguided youth who have not yet been influenced by the new trend of events, we should deal with patience with them. We should trust to liberal and just measures of reform in order to win them over to the side of constitutionalism and of the Government. Now, my Lord, in the Report to which I have referred so many times, you Lordship and the Right Hon Mr. Montagu said:—

"We have tried to describe India's chief pre-occupations at the time when war broke out. The war has affected India in many ways, but above all it has become the predominant factor in the present political situation. Whatever qualigcations may be needed in the case of particular classes, the people of India as a whole are in genuine sympathy with the cause which the Allies represent. The reasons of the entry of Britain into the war appealed to the educated classes, and they have never faltered in their allegiance. However much they may find fault with the Government, they are true in their loyalty to the British Crown, and, as it would be easy to show from their own lips, they fully recognise and value the higher arms of British policy."

INDIA'S LOYALTY.

In the next paragraph your Excellency and your noble colleague said:—

"The loyalty of the country generally was emphasised by the attempt made by very small sections of the population to create trouble."

I submit, My Lord, that with that deliberate conclusion which you have embodied in the Report and which represents nothing but the fact, I submit that with that conclusion established beyond a cavil or dispute, ond should have expected that even if the evil tendency had not entirely died out, the Government of India would resist, more strongly resist, any suggestion for legislation of the charecter that is now proposed; that in recognition of the part that people of India have played in the great war, the Government of India would stand forth boldly and firmly to oppose any suggestion that there should be a perpetuation of special emergency measures which were adopted for the period of the war under the Defence of India Act; and I must say, Sir, with respect, but with regret, that we have been disappointed beyond expression that the Government of India itself should have come forward at this juncture with the proposed legislation. I ask, Sir, that the Government should reconsider its position. I ask that the Government should not lead people to think that all the great sacrifices which they have made during the war have already begun to be forgotten. The Government should give no ground no room for thinking that the magnificent effort of India during the war has already begun to be forgotten. The Government should show by their acts that they still do trust the people and that what they say about the deep loyalty of the people is a reality which they believe in and not an unreal sentiment expressed to flatter the people. I submit, Sir, with great respect, that that is the attitude which the Government of India have taken up, should adopt I fear that by taking up that attitude which the Government of India they have already to a great extent destroyed—I regret to say it—the excellent results which has been produced by four years of joint effort during the war, four years of comradeship in the war, and all the sentiments of mutual trust and esteem which it engendered. But it is not too late yet to mend, it is not too late yet to rectify the mistake; and I appeal to your Excellency that the Government should with that sense of responsibility which the Hon. the Home Member asked and rightly asked us non-official members to display, I appeal with all respect and defence that the Government of India should reconsider the situation and as a very special measure withdraw the Bill. Now, My Lord, what would be the result if this recommendation is accepted I know the Government of India, constituted as it is, does not easily back upon any legislation which it has set its heart, upon. We know that to our regret; but I submit that if, in view of the very special circumstances of the situation, in view of the very special circumstances which the war has brought about, if at this time the Government should unite with the non-official Members in burying the Bill, no evil will result to the country, no evil will result to anybody, and the Defence of India Act will continue in operation for some six months after the war. The ordinary legislation which stands in the Statute Book provides ample means for dealing with all classes of crime, and is six months after the war is over, if after, measures have been introduces to remove the causes which have fed discontent, which have given rise to revolutionary and anarchical tendencies, the Government should still find that there are young men who are working in wrong paths and that the ordinary law is not enough to deal with them. then Sir, would be the time for the Government to consider what measures should be adopted—not a measure like the present one—but what other reasonable measures should be adopted.

UNREASONABLE.

"It is proposed that this Bill before us should extend to the whole of India. I have endeavoured to show that the Rowlatt Committee themselves have pointed out that revolutionary tendencies and crime have not been discovered in every province equally. They have shown that in some province there has been no indigenous activity of that kind, and I submit that with that Report before us we cannot reasonably legislate equally for all India. In the summary of their conclusions in paragraph 166, they set forth the conclusions at which they had arrived. They say:—

"We have now investigated all the conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement. In Bombay they have been purely Brahmin and mostly Chitpavan."

The report shows that it is not a living thing in Bombay now. There did exist certain individuals there, they were punished for their crimes and there was an end of their activity many years ago.

"In Bengal," the Report says, "the conspirators have been young men belonging to the educated middle classes." Now that is a statement to which I beg to invite your Excellency's particular attention and the particular attention of the Council too. It is not that you are dealing with cirminals or men addicted to crime. The Report says:—"The conspirators have been young men belonging to the educated middle classes." I submit that Government which has not been able to wean such young men from the evil tendencies in questions is not justified in blaming these judgment alone for such tendencies. It is she part of Government, it the part of statesmanship, to take every step which can rightly be to wean these young men, who a few years before did not show criminal tendencies, from the path into which they have been misled.

Then the report goes on to say:—

"Their propaganda has been elaborate, persistent and ingenious."

"True, but that only shows that they are men of intelligence, men of education, and it should be easier therefore to wean them from the path of evil:—

'In their own province' the Report continues, "it has produced a long series of murders and robberies"

This is unfortunately true; but we must try to adopt measures which will show these young men how very deplorable it is that they should indulge in any such activities, that they should commit murders and robberies, measures which will show them that a new chapter has opened, a new day is dawning on India—a day of liberalised administration, a day of greater recognition of the rights of Indians, more adequate provision of careers for them, and of the treatment of Indians generally as they should be treated in their own country.

"In Bihar and Orissa," the Report says, "In Bihar and Orissa the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Madras, it took no root, but occasionally led to crime and disorder. In the Punjab, the return of emigrants from America, bent on revolution and bloodshed, produced numerous outrage to the Ghadr conspiracy of 1915."

But I think we can safely say that it is not now a factor in the Punjab which would justify the proposed legislation.

There is another sentence, Sir in that part of their Report to which I beg to invite attention. After stating that all these plots have been directed towards one and the same objective, the overthrow by force of British rule in India—a silly attempt—'sometimes they have been isolated; sometimes they have been interconnected; sometimes they have been encouraged and supported by German influence. The Committee go on to say—"all have been successfully encountered with the support of Indian loyalty." I ask you, Sir, I ask whether in fairness, whether in justice to that loyalty, the Government should not say 'No' to the proposals of legislation before us, whether it should not still rely upon that loyalty to curb these evil tendencies and to eradicate them from the land. They go on to say: "It is not surprising that in dealing with conspiracies so elusive and carefully contrived Government has been compelled to resort to extraordinary legislation." But that work has been done; that extraordinary legislation will still be available for six month after the war; let it have its course till then and be done with it. Let us hope and pray that the evil will be dead in the new state of things which will dawn.

RETROGRADE AND REPRESSIVE.

My Lord, in the presence of this report, I cannot understand how the Government could make up its mind to propose legislation of the retrograde and repressive character subversive of the principles of justice for which England has always stood up, which are the glory of the English constitution, subversive of so many of ideas of justice for the protection of the liberty of individuals? How could Government have made up its mind to introduce such a legislation and to propose that it should extend over the whole of India? I shall not be content with a mere general statement of the character or the legislation. I would invite, the attention of your Excellency and of the Council to the actual proposal which the committee have to put forward and show how they themselves looked at this question. In the first instance they have rightly raised a doubt in which attention has already been drawn by Mr. Chanda, about the competence of the Indian Imperial Legislative Council to introduce and pass a measure of such extreme severity and so far inconsistent with the established rules of evidence and justice. In paragraph 200 they say:—"In making suggestions for legislation we have not considered at all whether it could be argued that such legislation is in any respect beyond the competence of the Governor General in Council. W have no authority to lay down the law on any such point and any provisional assumption as the basis of our proposals would only cause embarrassment. We have proceeded therefore on the basis that any suggestions of ours which it may be decided to adopt will be given effect to by some legislature competent for the purpose." I should like the Hon. the Home Member to tell the Council whether any note was taken by the Government of this paragraph in the report of the Rowlatt Committee, and if so, whether reference was made to His Majesty's Law Officers in England, to consult them on the question raised by the Committee....."

The Hon. Sir George Lowndes:—"I should like to intervene, my Lord, at this stage and state that no reference has been made to the law officers in England. There is no basis upon which such a reference could be made. If either of the two learned lawyers who have suggested that this Council is not competent to legislate would give us something more to go upon them merely that paragraph in the report, we shall be glad to meet them; but at present there is not in my mind the faintest shadow of doubt that we have got the power to legislate. Whether we should do so is another question."

MOTION FOR ADJOURNMENT.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: "I thank the Hon. the Law Member for telling us that no reference was made. I take that as a fact, but I think in view of the fact that a doubt was raised by a committee which the Government themselves had appointed, a committee that was presided over by a Judge of the High Court of England and consisted of three other gentlemen whom the Government had selected to advise them, this matter deserved to be treated with greater consideration than evidently the Government treated it with. However I am not going at present—possibly I may do so later—to give my friend all the reasons upon which a doubt has been raised as to whether this Council is or is not competent to deprive a fellow subject of ours of the safeguard of liberty which the English law provides for him which ensures that no man's liberty shall be interfered with that none shall be deprived of it for a day without a regular trial according to the ordinary rules of evidence and procedure laid down therefor. We have heard a great deal of the British character of the Indian administration. We have heard a great deal of the British sense of justice and of fair-play. I ask the Council I particularly ask my Hon. friends who are members of the British community I ask them to say how they can really reconcile themselves to proposals which are embodied in the legislations we are dealing with. If it were not a fact, it would be incredible that the British members of the Government should have agreed to such a course being adopted. . . . ."

(At this stage His Excellency the President left and the Hon. Sir George Lowndes took the chair.)

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"May I ask, Sir, whether the Council may not now adjourn? The rules provide that the Council shall ordinarily go on till 4 o'clock and it is now half past four. I have not gone through two-thirds of what I have to say, and I shall not be able to. . . .

The Hon. the Vice-President:—"I am afraid you must go on with the remaining third."

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I do not know that I shall be able to finish."

The Hon. the Vice-President:—"I hope you will."

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I definitely propose that the Council should now adjourn. If you will kindly turn to rules, rule No. 3 of the rules for the conduct of the legislative business of the Council, says: 'The Council shall ordinarily meet at 11 a.m., and shall not prolong its sitting after 4 p.m., unless the President otherwise directs.' There has been no direction that it should be prolonged and I submit therefore that under the imperative words of the rules viz., that the Council shall not prolong its sitting after 4 p. m. the Council should now adjourn."

The Hon. the Vice-President.—If you think it necessary I will direct that the Council shall continue its sitting."

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"I again submit a point of order as to whether that direction should not have been given before my motion was made, I submit if the direction had been given before the motion was made, it should have been unquestionable, but as it has been made upon my motion. I request the Vice-President to consider whether my motion ought not to prevail."

The Hon. the Vice-President:—"It is not open to the Hon. Member to question my ruling. I rule that the Hon. Member must proceed."

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya:—"Mr. Vice-President I have dealt before with the conditions which the end of the war has brought into existence and I have submitted that in view of the conditions the Government should reconsider its decision, I have also submitted that when a question has been raised as to whether this Council is competent to deal with this legislation, it is at any rate a matter which should not be rushed through in the manner it is proposed to rush it through the Council. In regard to the question as to whether this Council is or is not competent to deal with the Bill, I will invite your attention to the——"

The Hon. Member could not find the passage he sought and said:—

I will deal with this matter later. I now ask the Council to consider what are the provisions of the Bill to which it is asked to give its support. Let us look into them. In the first place it says "Whereas it is expedient to make provision that in special circumstances, the ordinary criminal law should be supplemented and emergency powers should be exercisable by the Government." Now Sir, when the object is to make provision for special circumstances a proposal to permanently supplement the ordinary criminal law in a matter open to exception. If it was proposed to pass a special Bill providing a special procedure for special circumstances, as the Defence of India Act did, we could understand it. It would have been a measure of a temporary character, which would expire by efflux of time whatever the time fixed was. But here it is sought to make the measure a part of the parmanent law of the land—' it is sought to incorporate it in the Criminal Procedure Code. My first submission is that if there was a clear necessity for such a measure if the Defence of India Act was not in existence, a special measure of a temporary character should have been proposed and this attempt to incorporate the proposed measure in the permanent law of the land should have been avoided. Then sub-clause (2) of clause 1 proposes to extend the provisions of the Bill to the whole of British India. I submit that in view of the Report of the Rowlatt Committee the Government should surely reconsider whether there is any justification for passing any all-India legislation of this character. Let us assume for one moment, which I hope will not be the fact, that in Bengal tendencies to crime of a revolutionary character will not entirely disappear after the war. I am very sorry to make such an assumption, but let us do so. In that case it might be left to the Bengal Government to introduce legislation to deal with the crime, such that may show itself in that province. Does that apprehension justify the casting of a slur on the loyalty of the whole of India; the passing of a measure which could lead the outside world to think that India was seething with disloyalty and discontent? The Punjab, the United Provinces, Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces need not be grouped together with a province where revolutionary crime may possibly still be found to exist. That is my second point. Then part III says: 'If the Governor-General in Council is satisfied that scheduled offences have been or are being committed in the whole or any part of British India to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India' make a declaration to that effect, and thereupon the provisions of this Part shall come into force in the area specified in the notification." What are these scheduled offences? They include offences which constitute grave charges against the liberty and honour of a man. Is it right that they should be tried in the special manner which is proposed? You want to provide for a speedy trial of such offences It is evident to anybody that the Government of this country and of England have provided a most elaborate and careful procedure for the trial of such grave offences: summary trials of a grave character are to be sessions court trials or High Court trials for which an elaborate procedure has been provided for such trials the fact that it would cause delay could not have been overlooked ,and the more circumstance that a trial would cause delay should lead any one to propose legislation of the drastic character now before us. May I ask the Hon. the Home Member, or any member of the Government what will be the total gain of time they expect by a speedy trial of such offences? There are certain offences the speedy trial of which is contemplated. It is not meant that there shall be no trial, all that the Act seeks is a speedy trial. It is not shown that there will be such a large

Continued on next page.

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

THE BLACK BILLS.

Continued from page 1.

number of offences of the character contemplated that the courts will not be able to deal with them. The Rowlatt Committee have themselves shown a judicial mind when they state that they cannot say what the sate of thing will be after the war. In Chapter XVII they say. "The last part of our task is to advise as to the legislation if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with conspiracies. This as expressed appears to us to be applicable to the state of circumstances under which the difficulties referred to were encountered. These difficulties have, however, been circumvented for the time being by special temporary legislation and they have not been in operation at the time of our inquiry. When this legislation lapses, circumstances may have altered and the position may be better or worse." They have not shut their eyes to the possibility that circumstances may so alter as to make it unnecessary to have legislation of a special character. No doubt they say it may be worse. No sober, no responsible man can definitely affirm that there shall be no crime in India after the war of a revolutionary or anarchical character. The United Kingdom itself has not been entirely free from it nor have other European countries been so. In any country while the bulk of the population is loyal a maniac, a misguided man, one suffering from some aberration of the mind, may commit an anarchical crime. But that would not justify the passing for the country as a whole of such drastic legislation as is proposed here. The Committee say that when the existing special legislation lapses, circumstances may have altered and the position may be better. There have been two possibilities foreshadowed, one is that circumstances may alter and the position may be better; if that possibility should happily be realised then, there will be no need, from the point of view of the Rowlatt Committee for such legislation. If unfortunately the other alteranative should be realised, that is to say if circumstances should show that the position is, then as Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, the Council will be gladly, regretfully but firmly to lend its support to any special legislation which may be necessary.

At this stage H. E. the President resumed the chair.

My Lord, I have pointed out that after referring to the special legislation which has enabled the Government to deal with cases of a social character, by the help of that legislation the Rowlatt Committee go on to say in para 175 of their Report—

"When this legislation lapses, circumstances may have altered and the position may be better or worse."

TWO POSSIBILITIES.

Now, I submit, Sir, that there are two possibilities which they hold before themselves. One is that circumstances may so alter and things may be so much better that the need for legislation may not arise. I should we should hope and pray that this happier alternative will be realised. If it is realised then there will be no cause for such legislation as is proposed. If unfortunately the other unhappy alternative should be realised, as, my hon. friend Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, it will be time for Government to propose a measure like the one before us, or rather on the lines of the one that is proposed, but less drastic I hope and more in conformity with the rules of justice than the present but such a measure as may be needed to deal with the special circumstances which may be found to exist. The Committee go on to say:—

"We do not think it is for us to speculate nicely on these matters."

True Sir, it was not for them to speculate But it is a serious thing, and the Government and the Council have to speculate very carefully upon these matters. They cannot in fairness to the people shut out, they cannot rule out, the other possibility, the brighter, the more hopeful possibility of things improving. Then the Committee go on to say:—

"We must of course keep in view that the present war will have come to an end, but cannot say with what result or with what ulterior consequential effects or possibilities of consequential effects upon the situation."

They did take note, Sir that there were two possibilities. They did bear in mind that either of these possibilities might be realsed, I submit, therefore, that it would be fair and wise to hope and work for the brighter of these possibilities, and not to legislate in the unsupportable conviction that the happier possibilities will not be realised and that evil will come. The Committee further say—

'On the other hand, the persons interned under the Defence of India Act will be due for release and the terms of imprisonment of many dangerous convicts will be coming to an end"

True, Sir, but has not the Government already, released a large number of such persons? Were we not told to-day that a large number of them has been released? and that more are going to be released? Is not that the clearest evidence of an improved position? Is there any danger or apprehension that the men so released would again fall into bad ways? If such danger should arise the Statute Book does contain a body of laws, preventive and punitive, which will enable the Government to deal with cases that may arise.

Then the Committee say 'Further, there will especially in "the Punjab, be a large number of disbanded soldiers, among whom it may be possible to stir up discontent." This, Sir, is the most unkind cut of all. In view of the sacrifices which the soldiers of the Punjab have made, in view of the deep-seated loyalty which they have shown by sacrificing their lives and everything else that they could in the cause of the Empire. I must say, with due respect to the Commitee, that it would have been well if that they had not taken this view. No doubt they have only said that "it will be possible to stir up discontent among them", but men who have stood the trial, men who have withstood all temptations and all afforts to mislead them during the prevalence of this great worldwide war, may be trusted to stand firm in their loyalty if later on anybody should try to seduce them from their loyalty to the King Emperor. These soldiers, Sir, have seen something of the world. They have seen what a war is. They know better than people who have not been to the front what a war is and they have also seen the might and majesty of the British Empire. They are the least likely persons among whom discontent can be aroused now; and if the Government will take the right measures, to recoguise in practice, in reality and with generosity, the sacrifices which they have made, to improve the conditions under which they live, to educate their sons, to find more food for them, to make it possible for them to have more clothing, to provide them with better comforts, to enable them to live better than the lives of mere ordinary animals, I am sure no efforts will succeed to seduce them from their loyalty to the King-Emperor and the Crown. At any rate, Sir, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Let us wait in patience. It is only just and fair that we should wait with patience until these soldiers who have fought in the cause of the Empire show any tendency to be carried away by evil counsels. If this should unfortunately happen then it will be time, not to adopt a drastic measure like the one has it before us but drive measure of a gentle character, the object of which should be to prevent them from falling into wrong hands and to keep them in the path of duty and honour.

THE SEDITION COMMITTEES POSITION

The Committee go on to say:—

"Nevertheless if we thought it clear that the measures taken against the revolutionary movement under the Defence of India Act had so broken it that the possibility of the conspiracies being revived could be safely disregarded, we should say so."

They could not say so. I do not quarrel with them for their not being able to say so. But they say, "if we thought it clear." They did not think it clear that the measures taken against the revolutionary movement under the Defence of India Act, have broken that movement. But they do not say that it is clear that the measures have not so broken it. It is for the Council to consider whether it is clear that the steps that have been taken under the Defence of India Act and also the other circumstances which have come into existence whether the changes that the world has seen, that India has seen, and that the people of India expect they are going shortly to see, whether those changes and those circumstances will not bring about such a change in conditions as to make it impossible that the revolutionary movement should again have any life in this country. They virtually say that if they felt clear that the possibility of the conspiracies being revived could be safely disregarded, they would not have recommended such legislation, and I submit, Sir, that the Government and the Council should not shut out that possibility from their purview and therefore should hesitate to legislate

"That is not our view", and it is on this footing that we report", say the Committee. Well, I do not quarrel with the view of the Committee which they honestly believed to be the correct view. But the Committee may possibly have come to a wrong conclusion. They did not take sufficient note of the political conditions in the past period which they surveyed and of the future. It often happens, I mean no disrespect to the Committee, that those who have to deal with only a certain set or class of events and to advise as to those events, take a somewhat narrower view of the matter than statesmen who have to survey the whole situation in the country and to consider what measures should or should not be introduced in it at any particular time. Judges of the High Court may be very eminent men to express an opinion as to what alteration should or should not be made in the law if certain objects are to be achieved. but it is practical politicians who have to deal with policies of legislation of so large, comphehensive and drastic a character as the one proposed. With the defence to the Committee therefore I submit they were wrong in recommending that this legislative should be undertaken. I venture to think that they should have leaned more to the possibility of a happier alternative being realised and not acted upon the view that the other possibility was the greater.

(See page 6)

EROSION OF NOAKHALI COAST

THREATENING SITUATION.

(Associated Press of India.)

Noakhali, Feb 22.

The erosion of the coast of Noakhali by the river Megna and the threatened destruction of the headquarters station of the district, at one time engaged much public attention. Since the begining of this month the erosion has been very rapid, being an average of one yard per day. The river is now within the compounds of Mr L Marcon contractor, the Government Zilla School and the Kutcherry building of Mr De Launney Zemindar as well as the deserted Baptist Mission house. It is estimated if the present progress of erosion is maintained, the Mission House and Mr Marcon's buildings are likely to be invaded in about a fortnight's time. Mr Marcan's out houses have already been dismantled. All the above mentioned buildings being almost in a line is improbable that they will be simultaneously invaded. It is reported that the chars in the middle of the river are increasing in dimension and the channel below Noakhali is getting shallower but unfortunately there is no sign of the river receding. The people have despaired of the safety of the town.

Delhi, Feb 25.—By the courtesy of General MacEwen quite a number of officials and non-officials have had short trips in the big Handley-Page machine during the last two days. This afternoon quite a number of people motored to the new cantonments to witness the flights but a thunderstorm with rain considerably marred the pleasure of the passengers. Those who have been up are enthuastic regarding the even motion and smoothness with which the giant aeroplane moves through the air. No ladies have been allowed to ascend up to the present.

Bombay Presidency.

Famine Declared by Government.

SCARCITY OF FOOD & FODDER.

Bombay, Feb. 26

A Bombay Government Press Note indicates the development of famine situation in the Bombay presidency. A declaration is made under Section 35 of the Famine Relief Code of the existence of famine and scarcity in respect of certain areas. Briefly the areas affected either by famine or by scarcity consist of North Gujrat including Kathiawar and a small tract in north of Breach district, West Khandesh and a small tract on the eastern confines of East Khandesh, the Deccan with the exclusion of almost the whole of Sholapur district and of Mawal country of Satara and finally the adjacent portions of the southern division namely, Bijapur and northern part of Belgaum district The aggregate area under famine measures 8697 square miles of territory with a census population of 1250,000 souls. The Scarcity area measures 55694 square miles.

The press note proceeds to describe the nature and extent of the direct relief operations which are in progress in each district together with a brief indication of the famine conditions prevaling in it and of the character of the direct relief measures adopted to meet them. The aggregate number of persons on the relief works is 22,000 and on test works 5,000. The number of recipients of Govt gratuitous relief other than village servants is 19000. These figures do not take account of the persons employed on ordinary P. W. D. and Local Board works. With regard to fodder situation the Control 11 of Famine Fodder is releasing large quantities of grass stored for army purposes at Manmad and are taking measures to supply over a thousand lacs of pounds to Gujerat districts. Besides the Controller's operations grass cutting and bailing have been organised in various localities. Through the Deccan and parts of Gujerat systematic efforts are being made to popularise the use of prickly pear fodder and demonstrations camps have been opened in Ahmednagar and Poona districts where the cattle are kept and fed for a time on this fodder. Regular cattle camps have been established in some districts maintained by charitable funds. Takavi advances are being made on a liberal scale for production of fodder crops by pump and well irrigation. Besides the measures adopted for the preservation of plough cattle in affected areas the Bombay Presidency Famine Relief Fund has made a large purchase of grass for distribution to the owners of milch cattle. The suspension and remission of land revenue amounting to many thousands of rupees have been made in the declared area. Stringent measures are being taken against porfitering in food grains and for opening of cheap grain shops everywhere. Reports from several affected areas indicate that general condition and health of people continue for the present to give rise to no special anxiety.

MR. B C PAL IN MADRAS.

HIS ADDRESS ON PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION.

(Associated Press of India.)

Madras, Feb. 26.

At an open air meeting held last evening at which Mr B C Pal delivered an address on the present political situation, resolutions requesting His Majesty's Government to include India as a member of the League of Nations and expressing confidence in Lok Tilak as India's foremost and trusted leader and also in leadership of Mr B C Pal were passed. Mr. Pal in course of his address said the problem to-day in India was not that petty political problem of getting more seats in impotent council at Delhi or elsewhere. This sank into insignificance in the face of this acute economic situation Government could not increase their revenue by normal means of taxing people of Great Britain. A new economic gospel had been proclaimed therefore for economic salvation of British state which stood almost on the brink of bankruptcy. That gospel was state partnership. If capitalists combine now free trade was going to be buried in political trenches in the United Kingdom in near future and they were going to have imperial preference. Also the cabinet had fixed their faith to work out their economic salvation and complex fiscal problem of the empire according to this new gospel. Capital would be brought from England and laid out in India and this capital would seek to exploit resources of India. Their position in India would be that of a nation of economic serfs. Intellectual classes serving their masters at desk and unintelligent seating in factories and mills that was economic future that started them in the face. Thus Industrial Commission had recommended Government intervention which would mean perpetuation of their economic serfdom. To their present political serfdom would be added if this policy was carried out a thousand times more degrading and more soul-killing economic serfdom. The only remedy was responsible government now and at once If they lost this chance causes of their posterity would be on their head.

DISSUADING FROM MILILARY SERVICE.

A CASE UNDER DEFENCE ACT.

(Associated Press of India.)

Nagpur, Feb. 26.

News has been received that the District Magistrate, Chanda convicted Messrs Vishnu pant Kane and Atmarampant Masajan and sentenced them to one year's rigorous imprisonment on a charge under Defence of India Act for dissuading people from joining the military service and subscribing to War Loan.

THE ROWLATT BILLS

ABSURD IDEA OF THE "BENGALEE".

(From Hon Mr. K. Chanda.)

Delhi, Feb. 26.

The allegation in the "Bengalee" of 25th February under the heading "On Men and Things" that the Assam member (meaning myself) suggested to an Executive Council member to make Rowlatt Bilis temporary is absolutely untrue. I wonder how this absurd idea originated. Evidently you or your informant got confused about the private discussion in Hon Mr Banerjee's room.

BABU BEPIN CHANDRA PAL AT PROTEST MEETING.

Madras, Feb 24.—An open air meeting was held yesterday evening at Triplicane beach to protest against the Rowlatt Bills, and resolutions expressing conviction of the meeting that the non-official members of the Imperial Council would have the best reflected sense of the country in declining as a body to serve on the Select Committee, and calling upon them to dissociate themselves from any responsibility for those bills asking the anti-Rowlatt Bills committee prepare a petition to get it influentially signed with a view to its submission to Parliament to mark the opposition of the people to it, and authorising the committee to collect funds for drafting and sending petition, were passed. Among those who attended the meeting were:—S Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, T V Venkatarama Iyer, A Rangaswami Iyengar, S Satyamurthi, V O Chidambaram Pillay and Bepin Chandra Pal. Mr Pal in speaking dwelt at length on the Rowlatt Committee's report, and revolutionary movement. He did not want the Indian people to commit political suicide, but open and courageous opposition to the unlawful will of the bureaucracy was what they wanted, not secret conspiracy which would be death to their hopes. A real remedy to check revolutionary movement lay in the reconciliation of their legitimate desire for freedom with reasonable requirements of imperial connection.

THEEBAW'S GARDENS.

PRESERVATION ON SUITABLE LINES.

Rangoon, Feb 22.—A Government of Burma resolution issued to-day states that steps are to be taken to lay out on definite and suitable lines the Mandalay Palace gardens in accordance with suggestions made by the Director General of Archaeology in India who also recommended that a committee of persons specially interested in the subject should be placed in charge of the operation.

DISCOVERY OF A COPPER-PLATE.

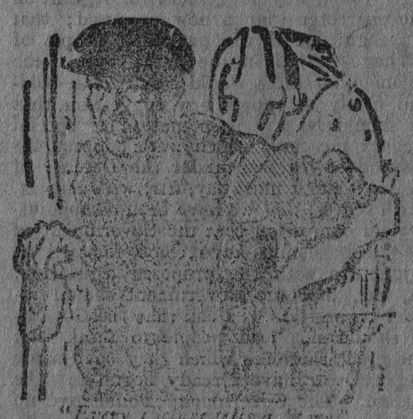
(From An Occasional Correspondent.)

Patna, Feb 25.

Prof Sikder of the B. N. College, Bankipore has secured a copper plate from Darbhanga. The inscriptions are not yet illegible. It is probably of Chandragupta's time. He will soon publish his discourses in the Behar Research Society's journal and the plate will be presented to the Patna Meseum.

The English Mail.—The Mail Steamer 'Aronda' with the outward mails of the 6th inst is expected to arrive at Bombay on Friday.

It is understood that the Government of Mysore have under consideration the introduction of Mysore Currency Notes within the State. The Government of Mysore is also said to be considering the levying of an income tax with the State, and legislation to this end will probably be introduced in the Legislative Council during the next month.



"Every picture tells a Story."

PERHAPS YOUR DAILY WORK MAKES YOU ILL.

Many Trades Strain the Kidneys.

ARE you dragging yourself to and from your work, wondering what causes those pains in the back, that tired feeling, the headaches, dizziness, and urinary ills?

You may have thought of kidney trouble but wondered what you could have done to hurt your kidneys.

Well, many trades that call for work indoors, in cramped positions, in changing temparatures, in damp places, among chemicals, or on jolting vehicles, are themselves hard on the kidneys and, once the kidneys get upset, they can't rest.

You could help them by taking things easier, eating less, avoiding all excesses and worries, by getting more exercise and sleep, and by using Doan's Backach Kidney Pills.

Doan's Pills relieve inflamed and weakened kidneys, and help them in their great work of filtering the blood; they take out accumulated water in dropsy, and prevent the urine depositing its solids as in gravel, stone and rheumatism. Doan's Pills are perfectly safe for everybody, men and women, old and young

Doan's Backache Kidney Pills are Rs. 2 per bottle; 6 for Rs 10. 8 Obtainable from all dealers.

Free Consultation

Messrs. C. Ringer and Co. have much pleasure to announce that with a view to enable the public to have the benefit of the services of the eminent physician Dr. J. N. Ghose, they have arranged with him to give 6 p. m. daily at their dispensary at Dalhousie Square East Calcutta.

LONG REPUTED KAVIRAJ H. P. GUPTA

Kabichandra of Khanakul Krishnagore a late examiner in Sanskrit of Ghantal Nimtola Sanskrit Samiti, has stationed at 34-1, Gulu Ostagore's Lane and been treating patients both local and mufussil with keen interest Genuine Medicines in personal supervised charges moderate. Orders solicited.

SANSKRIT BOOKS

At Reduced Rates only for a Month.

SUTASAMHITA with Tatparya Deepika of Vidyaranya cloth gilt Rs. 5, Nayayarakshamani of Appaya Dikshita a critical commentary to Brahmasutra, Rs. 3-8, Naishadha Kavya (I VI) cantos with Milinatha's commentary Rs. 1-8.

K. R. Sastry and Co., Big St. Tripplicane.

TRIAL SOLICITED

If you are a sufferer from Gonorrhoea OUR MEHALIN will give you immediate relief from all the toturing symptoms of acute and painful Gonorrhoea. One day's trial will convince you of its efficacy.

Price 1 oz. phial Re. 1-4.

Price 2 ozs. phial Rs. 2.

PREO NATH CHATTERJEE AND SON, 4, Doyahata Street, Bara Bazar.

ROSE GRAFTS.

(IMMENSE STOCK OF VARIOUS KINDS)

Our Own selected, Free-flowering varieties at Rs. 2-8, 4-8 and 6 per Dozen. Rs. 20, 30, and 50 per 100. Delivery, extra. 15 sorts Indian Vegetable seeds for this season Re. 1-5 delivered free. All sorts Plants and Grafts at moderate price. Price list free on application.

Proprietors.

THE BENGAL NURSERY,

1-24, Manicktala Main Road, P. O. SIMLA. CALCUTTA.

WONDERFUL DISCOVERY.

TRY IT, THEN YOU WILL KNOW.

Beware of Worthless imitation.

DR. B. GHOSE'S SPECIFIC FOR HYDROCELE, VARICOCELE, HERNIA, TUMOUR AND ELEPHANTIASIS GUARANTEED to cur these diseases of any nature and standing. For external application only. Price 1 oz. Rs. 2-8 ½ lb Rs. 15 and lb. Rs. 30 Unsolicited Testimonials.

Apply to B. GHOSE AND CO. Chemists. 85-1, Bechoo Chatterjee Street, CALCUTTA.

Telegraphic address:—"Hydrole."

M E

Tramways carry me
City walls proclaim me
Papers advertise me
Markets demand me
I AM
ATANK NIGRAH PILLS.
A TONIC
Brain and Nerve Builder
I think you can know me
Buy me and try me
SOLD AT
Atank Nigrah Pharmacy,
214 Bow Bazar Street,
Calcutta.

USEFUL BOOKS

(1) Wide Letter Writer Re. 1 As. 4. (2) Every-day Doubts and Difficulties in English. 10th Ed. Re. 1 as 4 (3) Hints on Correct Writing 8 as. (1) Aids to Write English Correctly 8 as. (5) English Synonyms 5th Ed. Explained Re. 1 (6) Abbott's Life of Napoleon Rs.; 3 As. 4. (7) Ayeen of Akbary Rs. 3-12 as (8) Select Speeches of the Great Orators Vols I and II Each Vol Rs. 2 as 4 (9) Burke's Speeches at Impeachment of Warren Hastings Vols 1 and 11 Rs. 5 as. 8 (10) Sale, English Translation of the Koran. With notes Rs. 2 as. 12. (11) How to Study English 12 as. (12) Model Hindu Ladies 12 as.

J. N. BOSE and Co., Book-sellers, Pandi Howli, Benares City, (India).

A NEW BOOK.

"An Exposition of the Homœopathic Law of Cure" by D.N. Roy 322 pp. cloth Rs. 4.

Apply to

KING & CO.,

Homœopathic Chemists.

83 Harrison Road

CALCUTTA

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

Amrita Bazar Patrika.

Sunday March 2 1919

FAMINE IN BOMBAY.

If not actual famine but famine conditions have been prevailing all over India during the last three or four years. Along with high prices which gradually exhausted the staying power of the people came the failure of crops. And the grave situation was further aggravated by the out-break of a deadly influenza. No wonder, therefore, that the Bombay Government have at last been obliged to declare the existence of famine and scarcity in North Gujerat. The declaration ought to have come long ago. But that is not the usual policy of the Government. Under the Famine Code the existence of famine is not recognised before absolute starvation takes place and people begin to die. A more hard-hearted and short-sighted policy cannot be conceived. For if earlier steps be taken, not only would much of the sufferings of scarcity-stricken people be reduced, but considerable amount of money and many more lives saved. But as the relief operations are not begun before actual starvation has overtaken a large number of men, women and children whose vitality is practically gone, the result is more deaths and more expenditure of money. So both on humane and economical grounds, the work of combating a famine should be undertaken as soon as the first symptoms of the coming calamity are perceived.

Fancy the extent of the famine area in North Gujerat. A glance at the Bombay Government communique will show that the areas affected consist of North Gujerat including Kathiwar and a small tract in the north of Broach district, West Khandesh and a small tract on the eastern confines of East Khandesh, the Deccan with the exclusion of almost the whole of Sholapur district and Mawal, the country of Satara and finally the adjacent portions of the southern division, namely, Bijapur and the northern part of the Belgaum district. The aggregate area under famine measures is 28,693 miles with a census population of 1,250,000 souls. This is the official estimate which never exaggerates but, as a rule, under-rates. The scarcity area measures 55,694, and there is very little difference between famine and scarcity. The aggregate number of persons on relief works is 2000, on test works 5,000. Then there are 10,000 people receiving gratuitous relief. There are others also on ordinary P.W.D. and Local Board works. Fodder is also scarce, and the Fodder Controller is looking after this business.

Other Local Governments will ere long have to arrange famine or scarcity measures in their respective territories. There is not one Province where crops have not failed, more or less, and where high prices have not eaten into the vitals of the people. Our trouble has, therefore, with North Gujerat just begun with North Gujerat. An All-India famine thus looms before us. How to meet this formidable calamity? Where is the money to come from? In Bengal a virtual famine is raging in a small district like Bankura; but the authorities are unable to cope with it without non-official help! And while the country is in such a hopeless condition the people will have to find the interest of one hundred and fifty crores of rupees annually amounting to seven or eight crores which has been paid to England as war loan.

Where is the Famine Insurance Fund gone? This fund was created in 1878 with a solemn promise to expel famine from India. Special taxes were levied to constitute the Fund. These taxes have not been remitted. The proceeds of the taxes amounting to one crore and a half of rupees are annually set apart with the avowed object of dealing with famine. At one time the very existence of the Fund was denied by Lord Randhold Churchhill as Secretary of State for India. But the Government now acknowledges its existence and shows an account of its disbursements in their own way in the annual budget. But that is a very poor consolation. The Government, as stated above, gave a solemn pledge to root out famines from India when founding the Famine Fund. That pledge has not been redeemed.

THE MADRAS VAKILS' ASSOCIATION AND THE ROWLATT BILLS.

We must offer our sincere congratulations to the Madras Vakils' Association for the very valuable Memorandum which they have published on the two Rowlatt Bills. Even the ordinary and uninitiated lay-man will be able to realise the nature of these Bills from this Memorandum, more clearly perhaps than he has been able to do by simply reading the text of these Bills. The text of the Bills really explain very little as to what they will mean to the freedom and happiness of the people; and the Madras Vakils' Association has rendered a very valuable public service by giving illustrations as to how the various sections of these Bills may be applied to accuse and condemn people to various penalties for doing things which they are legitimately entitled to do.

The possession of a seditious document, for instance, with intent to publish it, is made an offence by one of the proposed Bills. A seditious document is defined to be a "document containing any words, signs or visible representations which instigate or are likely to instigate, whether directly or indirectly, the use of criminal force against His Majesty or the Government by law established in British India or against the public servants generally or any class of public servants or any individual servants or (b) the commission or abetment of anything which is an offence against sections 121, 121 A. 122 or 131" and the Madras Vakils' Memorandum says that if this language is literally interpreted, the following startling results will arise:—

"(1) A judgment may contain strong condemnation of the conduct of a public servant or servants, which may make the public servant hated so bitterly that it may induce or instigate the hearer to use criminal force. The judgment would be a seditious document. The judge in pronouncing the judgment is not guilty, as he is exempted by Section 77 of the Penal Code, but if he shows it to a friend or keeps it to show it to a friend he may be guilty.

"(2). In the above case, if the judgment is published in a newspaper, it may create in the readers or some of them a feeling of indignation at the conduct of the public servant, which may instigate the use of criminal force; the editor or proprietor of the newspaper would apparently not be guilty of an offence under Section 499 of the Penal Code, but before publication he would be, under the new clause 124-B.

"(3). Again, a public meeting may be held for criticising some act of a public servant. For instance, suppose a Collector, when there is a famine in the district, reports that there is none and that no relief measures are necessary. A protest meeting is held. A speaker writes a speech intending to deliver the same at the meeting criticising this act of the Collector. Speeches are delivered and the audience feels that the Collector's act is brutal or inhuman. A few of them may feel so indignant as to induce them to behave rudely to the Collector. The speaker who had a written speech in his possession may be guilty under the new Clause 124-B; while the speaker who delivered the speeches *extempore* will no, be guilty of any offence.

"(4). Suppose a Police Inspector making an enquiry flogs a person whom he suspects or from whom he wants information. A person standing by happening to see this atrocity writes to the people in the locality about this conduct of the Inspector, and a person receiving this letter beats the Police Inspector. The writer may be guilty of an offence under the new Clause 124-B.

* * * * * * *

"It is not known why such special privileges should be conferred upon public servants generally or individual public servants, and why they and their acts should be above all criticism, or why if such criticism be made, the same should be constituted an offence without even the exemptions known to the law of libel or sedition. If, in the illustrations above stated, it is not intended that the possessor of the document should be punished, then it is not possible to state what cases would be covered by the present Bill."

And the Madras Vakils' Association "apprehends that the provisions of the new Bill will introduce into this country the discredited methods of the Star Chamber, so wholly at variance with the robust common sense of the common law of England.

"As observed by Professor Maitland, the Star Chamber was a tyrannical court; it became more and more tyrannical, and under Charles I was guilty of great infamies. It was a court of politicians enforcing a policy, not a court of judges administering the Law. If such was the case in England, it need scarcely be said that the introduction of such principles and methods in India, where the Executive Government is scarcely responsive to public opinion, would be a dangerous innovation.

"All the special features of the jurisdiction and methods of the Star Chamber appear to have been copied in the Bill, namely (1) no trial by jury; (2) proceeding to be summary; (3) special procedure of summoning the accused to appear by writ of sub-poena or by summary arrest, i. e., information instead of indictment at the Assizes and Sessions of the peace; (4) examination of accused on oath; (5) proceedings being conducted in camera; (6) the court to be sole judge of fact, law and penalty."

Strong words these, but coming from such a responsible body, they indicate the gravity of the revolutionary things which the Rowlatt Bills propose to effect in the law of the land, and are a forecast of the opposition which these obnoxious legislations, subversive of "the fundamental principles of English Criminal Jurisdiction, which hitherto has generally formed the basis of the criminal law of the country will create. The Association is of opinion that the main provisions of the Bill which create a new offence will practically make some of the elementary rights of citizens depend upon the will and pleasure of the Executive Government."

THE ROWLATT BILLS

The Government will, we hope, seriously consider the situation which the introduction of these two Bills has created in the country. There is not a single section of the Indian community, not even the smallest body of public opinion which has consented to accept these un-British measures without protest. Fancy that even a conservative association like the British Indian Association, which rarely moves unless asked by the Government to give opinion on public questions has, on its own motion, sent a strong protest against them. There is again, a very large and growing body of public opinion that has been very seriously thinking of resisting its administration by determined passive resistance.

The strength of public opposition to these Bills is so universal and strong that our leaders in the Viceregal Council will find it almost impossible to maintain their public position in the country if they make themselves in any way responsible for the passage of these Bills. In fact, the feeling is so very keen and widespread that they would have pleased the majority in the country if they had seen their way to refuse in a body to serve on the Select Committee of these Bills. For, it is universally held that these Bills are so fundamentally outrageous that no amendments of their provisions can possibly alter their outrageous character and make them acceptable to the country, unless, of course nothing is left in the present draft except the word "That" in the first section. But that is impossible.

These things may, some times be done in committees that are not bound to vote for the Government. But here the Government has an absolute majority and as they have made up their minds to force these Bills through, there is no hope of any satisfactory alterations being permitted in them in the Select Committee. But since our members have not retired from that committee, they should now seriously consider whether or not they should walk out of the Council Chamber when the report of the Select Committee is presented, and openly and formally put it on record that as they are opposed to the very fundamental principles of these Bills and as they have found it impossible to induce the Government to alter them radically in the Select Committee, where there was an absolute official majority, they feel it their duty to retire from the Council while these Bills are being passed, as they cannot conscienciously accept any manner or measure of responsibility for their enactment.

And if the Indian members of the Viceroy's Council can adopt the course, it will enable them to place themselves at the head of whatever constitutional means may have to be resorted to for resisting the administration of these measures. Considering the temper of the country, it seems to us, that some sort of passive resistance will be organised for this purpose. What form this resistance may take, we cannot say. It must be carefully thought out. But whatever the form of this passive resistance be, it will be exceedingly unwise and even perhaps fatal to the peace of both the people and the Government, to allow it to be determined and led by the enthusiasm of youthful patriotism, without the guidance of mature statesmanship and prudent foresight.

The real danger of passive resistance lies in the ease with which its opponents can drive it into some form or other of active lawlessness, and thus find an excuse for the executive government, whose will is sought to be opposed, to put it down by physical force, and justify their own policy and repressive measures before the world. This danger can be best avoided only by the sober and experienced leaders of the country, upon whom the Government depend for support and whom the Government is compelled to accept as the leaders of their people, throwing themselves into this passive resistance movement and thus guiding it to its legitimate end and keeping it strictly within the limits of lawful opposition to the will of the Executive. But these leaders must first win the full confidence of their following if they are to effectively discharge this duty. And nothing will secure them this confidence except their thorough dissociation when these Bills are brought up in the council in their final shape. This may even lead the Government to recognise the wisdom of withdrawing the Bills altogether; or at least stay their operation by a statutory declaration that they will not be brought in operation until a reasonably long time has passed, which shall be definitely mentioned, after the passing of the proposed Parliamentary Bill incorporating the reforms proposals. The Indian members should seriously think out their duty when the Bills are presented for final consideration, and they should make up their mind to what the country asks them in this matter.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The idea of a League of Nations, when first promulgated by President Wilson, like many of his other ideas, created very large hopes in the minds of the non-European world regarding their own political and economic future, as well as of the general future peace and well-being of the whole of the modern world. But, it seems as in regard to many other things so in regard to this also we are all destined to very sore disappointment.

It was inevitable under the present conditions of the world. The dominant races and nations of the world have not as yet reached that high stage of moral evolution which alone could help them to seriously endeavour and successfully attain the noble ideals of President Wilson. The dominance of the great nations of our time is due not at all to their moral or spiritual pre-eminence among men but only to their physical, and to some extent their lower intellectual advancement. What really is the honest truth about all the prevailing pretensions of the civilised world of our day to superiority over their fellowmen except this, namely, that they have larger knowledge of the means of making wealth and larger organisation for self-defence and for fighting the weaker peoples of the earth and making themselves masters of these so-called weaker and less civilised peoples? If civilisation means, as it did at one time larger humanity, then it must be admitted that the dominant nations of the present day are immeasurably less civilised than their weaker and less advanced neighbours.

In fact, the greatest revelation of the European war which is believed to have come to an end, has been the barbarism of modern civilisation. Of course, we all held up Germany to the execration of humanity as the very incarnation of evil; but, is there any fundamental difference in the philosophy of life of Germany and the other great European races? Can it be denied that almost every European nation has during the last two centuries freely had recourse to every crime with which Germany has been charged during this war, in their dealings with non-European peoples? What has been the treatment of the Red Indians by the European settlers in America? How did the European settlers in Australia deal with the poor and powerless aborigines of that continent? How, in our own time, under the glaring light of our much-vaunted civilisation, has Belgium behaved herself in the Congo? What treaty-rights have been honestly observed by any of the great European powers in their relations with Asiatic peoples? The only difference is that while Germany committed wrongs like a relentless brute, others did it in a more gentlemanly way.

An English friend once told us, during the last Boer War that though he and his political friends, the Liberals, were raising their hands in horror at the enormities of the Unionist Government who secretly provoked that quarrel with the Boers, and were condemning their acts and policy in unmeasured terms, when that war came to an end, they would quietly pocket the conquered territories and raise no further inconvenient questions regarding the justice of those annexations. "We are a nation of Pharisees"—he concluded. This frank confession might be made by every European nation. They are all Pharisees. They are all comfortably self-deceived in their own estimates of their political ideals and relations. But for this self-deception, most, if not all, of the great European States would frankly confess to their ethical affinities with the hated Germans. They are all children of the same culture; have the same social economy; the same political needs and ambitions, the same hankering for industrial pre-eminence and world markets. This being so, it is inevitable that given the same opportunities, these European powers would act as Germany, possibly with this difference that while the Germans have been openly outrageous in their self-seeking ambitions, these other powers would do the same more diplomatically and with more consummate skill and *camouflage* than what they have done.

As long as this mentality of the different great and powerful nations of our time has not been completely changed, so long it would be absolutely impossible for them to even seriously approach this question of the League of Nations in the proper way and in the right spirit. The fundamental condition of the realisation of the objects for which this League was first proposed is the determination of the "high and contracting parties" constituting the League and entering into a covenant with one another for the pursuit of its objects, to get above the consideration of all narrow particularstic national interests and to recognise that the legitimate interests of each particular nation can only be secured not through conflicts and competitions with other national interests but only through working out a reconciliation with them. This mentality is entirely absent in the "high and contracting parties" who are constituting the League of Nations. Their basal idea is that the self-constituted great powers must rule the destinies of the smaller nations, who will have really no place on their own right, in the League. Article 7 lays down, we are told, the conditions of admission to the League of the nations that are not signatories to the Covenant, and the first condition here is that the applicant must be "fully self-governing countries" and must be accepted by the vote of not less than two-thirds of "the States in the body of the Delegates." The "self-governing countries" include the "Dominions and Colonies." The present contracting parties are, the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan and four other States who shall be selected by the Delegates' Council.

It will thus be seen that India will have no place in the League; nor have Asiatic countries like China, Persia and Afghanistan been invited to join it. The League is clearly a league of those nations who are either out for the exploitation of the weaker countries of the world or who are likely to oppose this exploitation. Such a League cannot possibly command the confidence of these weaker countries or secure the peace of the world. It will be only another attempt to make common cause with one another for political and industrial exploitation of the World.

White Feather.

His Excellency the Viceroy is a soldier and fearlessness is the soldier's virtue. But the Indian Civilian is terrible even for the nerve of a brave soldier, more terrible than the Royal Bengal Tiger. One should not, therefore, be surprised that the Viceroy lost his balance of mind when he saw the prospect of the Civil Service Sunderbans being emptied of its denizens athirst for the blood of the authors of the M.-C. Report. But we think His Excellency might have defended himself effectively if he had with him a copy of Lord Morley's Recollections which would have suggested to him a weapon Lord Morley used with advantage on an occasion not very dissimilar to what has faced Lord Chelmsford in the year of grace 1919. Sir Bamfylde Fuller, it may be recalled, lost his post on a much smaller issue than is involved in the present revolt of the I.C.S. men. He officially applied to the Syndicate of the Calcutta University to withdraw recognition from certain schools at Serajgunj. The Government of India asked the Lieutenant-Governor to leave the matter to be dealt with by the University. Sir Bamfylde was inexorable and insisted that either the Government of India should reconsider its orders or "else his resignation should be accepted." Lord Minto accepted his resignation promptly and the Secretary of State (Lord Morley) "telegraphed his concurrence without delay." This incident had a curious sequel. Sir Bamfylde on returning to England had an interview with Lord Morley in which the latter explained to him the principle on which he acted when he accepted the L. G.'s resignation. To quote Lord Morley's words to Sir Bamfylde:—

"My firm principle is that if any official resigns because he can not have his way, I will definitely accept his resignation. . . . You talk of the injury to prestige caused by the acceptance of your resignation. You should have thought of that before you resigned. The responsibility is yours. *I don't believe it is for the good of prestige to back up every official whatever he does, right or wrong.*" (The italics are ours).

If the Viceroy was really anxious that the I.C.S. men should not carry their threat of resignation into execution, the best way for him to secure it was by taking firm attitude instead of beating a precipitate retreat. Sir Bamfylde frankly conferred to Lord Morley that he wanted to tender his resignation because "he had not the least expectation that we (the Viceroy and S. S.) should accept his resignation." "Such a thing," he plaintively added, "had never happened before." In fact, when he opened the fatal telegram accepting his resignation "he was astounded." He was more than astounded. He was at Dacca at the time and the late Nawab had arranged a grand entertainment. On the receipt of the telegram he ran back to his steamer and took to his bed and would eat nothing! This frame of mind confessed to by Sir Bamfylde who with his thousand and one faults "was perfectly frank and entirely good natured" is the typical I.C.S. mind. The Indian pagoda tree has invited myriads of men for many centuries, and though it is denuded of much of its fruits it is still far more tempting than the oak in arid England. Some of the saner members of the I.C.S. clearly saw the emptiness of the threat held out by the "extremists" among them—and made haste to dissociate themselves from an impossible position. A bold attitude on the part of the Viceroy would have introduced a sufficient degree of sanity in the minds of the rebels and the poor ministers would not have found a dreary prospect before them. But having once yielded, the Viceroy has only made the position of the Government difficult and has forfeited the confidence of the public in his scheme of Reforms.

There is another question involved in the matter. Mr Montagu is the joint author of the Reform Report. Can Lord Chelmsford add, alter or modify any part of the Report without his consent? We think, Mr Montagu's position has been compromised if his consent was not previously obtained to the statements made by the Viceroy. An authoritative pronouncement should be made to make it clear if the Viceroy made the statements on his own responsibility or he had the concurrence of Mr. Montagu.

Fallen England!

Mrs. Besant in course of a speech at Bombay condemning the Black Bills said:

"Might not India appeal to England by all that they had been taught to think of her in the past? Might they not say to hear in words strong and clear that would wake her from the slumber into which she seemed to have fallen oblivious of all her past—send her a message:—Oh England! once the Mother of Free Institutions in Europe, are you to be the only great despotism left in Asia? Have you forgotten all the sorrows of the past, all your struggles for Freedom, all your splendid traditions which have made your name glorious among all the nations of the world? Have you forgotten that you were the refuge of every rebel, that you were the guardian of every conspirator, that you told every tyrannical Government in Europe 'Govern your people rightly and they will not rebel against you'—and now you are following in the footsteps of those you denounced; those you rebuked can turn on you in mockery. Remember what you have done. If you intend to change your methods, if you intned to be a tyrant instead of a freedom-giver, then cover all your history and forget the memories of your past, for they will shame your future. If you pass all these laws, then remember you must first defile the graves of your great men, defile the grave of Pym, defile the grave of Cromwell, you must burn all the great books of men like Browning, men like Swinburne. You must tear into pieces the works of Sydney Smith, of Payne, of Burke, Gladstone and of Bright—but if you are ashamed of doing this then tear this legislation into pieces."

When Mrs. Besant delivered her eloquent speech she, apparently forgot that there was such a thing as geographical morality. Did not Edmun Burke say that most Englishmen leave their great virtues behind as they cross the equinox and unbaptise themselves of all their high sentiments they learn at home.

At the Wrong End.

It is unfortunate that the law of libel is a personal law. If you make grossly libellous and utterly false and malicious charges against a nation, there is no remedy against you. The Defence of India Act and the Press Act are ubiquitous, but the law-officers in India find them always powerless when an Englishman or an English newspaper, secular or religious, is to be dealt with. When an Anglo-Indian paper says that Bolshevism which is rampant in England now is financed by "rich and disloyal societies in India" and the newspaper "Herald" published in England is about to be made a daily paper in the interest of Bolshevism at a cost of £100,000 and enquires how much of the money came from "disloyal Indian sources," the arsenal of repressive laws suddenly evaporates into nothing. But when an obscure detenu leaves his place of detention to submit his grievances before the Magistrate of the District, when an undesirable agitator is to be gagged, externed or interned or when an ordinary loot disturbs the peace of a locality, the law-officers find no difficulty in supplying plenty of weapons from the armoury of the Indian Legislative Chamber. The Press Act, for instance, was pronounced to be something like a lawless law by some of the highest judiciary in India and many a unfortunate "native" newspaper has given up the ghost under its operation. But we know how the "Epiphany" showed it a "plantain" The other day and the "Friend of India" shows often a pair of it. Then again, Bolshevism is rampant in England, and a pair of Bills to counteract it is forged in India! There is a Bengalee saying that the sharpness of the blade is sometimes transferred to the handle. We could not for our life understand how this could be. Now, we believe, we are coming to understand what it means. Men live to be wiser.

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

A Plea for Repression.

WHENEVER any repressive measure is sought to be passed, one of the plea put forward by the officials is that loyal men have nothing to fear from its operation. This plea has been availed of on the present occasion to dispose of the opposition against the Rowlatt Bills. But we know its real value. Mr. K. B. Dutt, in moving a resolution on the Rowlatt Bill at the monster meeting at Zillah (Bankipore), referred to the well known Midnapore case, to prove the hollowness of the above plea. We quote the following extract from his speech, which will repay perusal, lengthy though it is:—

"It had been said why need the innocent man fear? The honest man need not walk in fear of these repressive measures; they are meant to punish the wicked—and they will be used only to punish the wicked. Let the virtuous men go about as usual in the exercise of their work. The Government seemed to think that the Bills would not affect the innocent and the honest people. The speaker wished it was so, but it was not true. He said this emphatically for reasons which were now a matter of history. He appealed to them to refer to those documents and say if the official assertion was tenable. In June 1908, it would be remembered, the Explosive Substances Act was introduced but curiously enough before the Act came into operation a gigantic attempt was made in Midnapore to implicate Rajas, Zamindars, tenure holders and others of status and influence. Before the Act came into operation the Govornment had started a case in which a probationary sub-Inspector of Police was arrested and a confession was extorted from him with the result that the Raja of Midnapore and several others, numbering 28, were one fine morning arrested and 154 more were about to be arrested. He, the speaker, repeatedly told the Government that they were making a big mistake and they must stop that. The reply was that the step had been taken after most careful enquiries by most responsible officers and that there was 'prima facie' a case against the arrested persons. The investigation on which the Government based their action was tried in the well-known Midnapore case. The informer went to the court and said that all the information given by him was false. The Head Constable, Assadullah said that as far the truthfulness or otherwise of the information went, he had nothing to do with it. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Mazharul Haq deposed that he had nothing to do with the truthfulness of the information, he got it from Assadulah and had passed it on to the Superintendent. The Superintendent in his turn said that he had nothing to do with the bonafides of the information given. Then came Mr. Weston who declared that it was no part of a Magistrate's duty to verify if the information was right or wrong. Last of all came the Commissioner of the division who said that he had acted upon the information of his subordinate officers as he had believed them. When pointed out that they had made no enquiries he declared that he was surprised. But to crown all the head of the Criminal Investigation Department said that the investigation in the case had nothing to do with his department. Such was the investigation, on which Rajas, Zamindars and tenure-holders had been arrested and more were about to be arrested. After this it was wrong to say that the honest would be safe under the new Bills. He appealed to the members of the Select Committee to read the sworn depositions in the Midnapore case of Messrs. Plowden, Maddox and Asadullah in volume 12; of Moulvi Haq in vol. 9; of Mr. Cornish in vol. 8 and of Mr. Wetson in vol. 11. If on the information of a mere informer a respectable Raja was kept in solitary confinement for days and was subjected to other harassments and indignities what guarantee was there that the new Bills would not be similarly abused to molest honest persons?"

India alone, in the whole world, is governed in this irresponsible way. Sir William Vincent came down upon the Hon Pundit Modan Mohan, because the latter told the bureaucrats to their face that the repressive policy of the Government was in a great measure responsible for the revolutionary movement in the country. The statement is absolutely correct. That was the view of Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and Mr Gokhale in the Supreme Council. This is also the view of a moderate of moderate like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who says in his last letter to the "Times of India":

"Special laws curtailing liberty have unfortunately preceded in India laws promoting reform and giving rights to the people and *therefore revolutionary crime has arisen*. The former run; the latter lag."

But is it necessary to quote authorities to prove that pitiless repression begets revolution and anarchism?

Poor India!

THE "Statesman" writes:

"Mr. Stuart Cumberland has been doing a useful service at Home by exposing in the "Daily Mail" one of the western myths regarding India. In English fiction India too often figures as the Gorgeous East peopled by jewel bedecked princes who pass their time dreaming in musk-scented gardens or riding on richly caparisoned elephants. . . . . He left it—as any one who knows India would have told him that he would do—"disillusioned and empty-handed."

Yes, this description of India as a land of fabulous wealth is not the outcome of the poet's imagination. The 'Wealth of Ormuz and of Ind' brought on this land many a greedy conqueror from time immemorial. Even a school boy knows that Pliny, Megasthenes and many other historians bear testimony to this enormous wealth of India. Let us see how conquerors after conquerors came to loot this country. First of all, the Babylonians came and they were followed by the Greeks. These latter reached the shores of India and plundered and took cart-loads of precious jewels from its people. The Mussalmans came next but they literally settled in the land. The attempt to find out this land of the Pagoda Tree took the famous Spanish discoverer to the shores of America. From fifteenth century onwards, however, the European invaders—the Dutch, the Danes, the Portuguese, the French, the English—one by one came here and denuded India of her remaining wealth. So if India looks poor and haggard to-day it only proclaims the fact that at one time it really teemed with gold and gems, but foreign exploitations have reduced her to a land of famine and pestilence.

"The Unmarried Mother."

THERE is a Society in England called the "National Council for the Unmarried Mother and her Child." The object of the Society is to protect the children who are born out of wedlock and their unfortunate mothers. Recently a meeting was held in London under the auspices of the Society in which the Lord Mayor presided. Mrs. Lloyd George was one of those who could not attend but wished the Council "every success in their most important work." Sir C. Wakefield, the hon. treasurer of the Council, said in the course of his speech that the evil of the unmarried mother and her child had grown to such tremendous magnitude that it was impossible to leave the matter to be dealt with by the local governing units. He suggested an "amendment and strengthening of the law" to deal with the matter effectively and looked to the Press and to an awakened public opinion "to overcome not only apathy but prejudice." He proceeded to give some startling figures:—

"Thirty-seven thousand children were born out of wedlock in England and Wales each year, and of that number 7,500 or 20 per cent—just double the proportion of the children born of lawful marriages—died during their first year."

This is indeed a state of affairs which should induce the English "experts" in India who are never tired of anathematising early marriage among Indians, furiously to think. One is tempted to say unto them: "physician, heal thyself."

The problems of illegitimacy and the great death-rate among children born out of wedlock have been sore subjects with thinking. English people and for the matter of that, people in all European countries. What is the remedy? Sir C. Wakefield said that the maternity homes were wholly inadequate to meet the evil. The Bishop of Birmingham who addressed the meeting was at a loss to suggest any remedy. To force the parents to marry, he conceded, might be productive of more mischief than good. It was also the result of experience, he said, that the "feeble-minded girls" return repeatedly to Poor Law institutions to be nursed during maternity. Segregation was not easy, if not altogether impracticable. The good Bishop beat about the bush for remedies of all kinds, dismissing as each occurred to him. But he did not or would not light upon the real remedy, namely, the encouragement of early marriage. Is not early marriage practised in oriental countries? And should not that be a sufficient reason not to think of it? By early marriage we mean that the marriageable age of the girl should not exceed 16. The pious Bishop concluded his rambling speech by saying that "the illegitimate children—our future citizens—must be cared for." We say, amen!

Pt. Malviya on Revolutionary Movement.

We all know how the revolutionary movement came to Bengal. In his memorable speech in the Imperial Council on the Rowlatt Bills, the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan thus described its origin:—

"Up to 1905 Bengal was entirely free, I submit, from any revolutionary tendency. In 1904 Lord Curzon introduced the Universities Bill. As has been pointed out by the Committee, that unfortunate measure marked the beginning of a period of misunderstanding between the Government and the people. Following closely in its wake came the Partition of Bengal, carried out, violently carried out, despite the protests of the people, and the evil effects of that measure are too well known to require any mention. Everybody knows what the people of Bengal did after that event. Everybody knows how memorials went up from a hundred platforms, from numerous associations, how meetings of respectful protest were held all over the Province of Bengal; how deputations waited on the Lieutenant-Governor, how every effort was made in this country and in England to have that measure rescinded, but the attitude unfortunately taken up at that time was that the matter was 'a settled fact,' and that it should not be unsettled. Now, my Lord, in view of the attitude taken up by the Government, the people of Bengal were driven, in the first instance, to adopt every constitutional measure which it was open to them to adopt to impress the justice of their contention upon the Government."

The Government remained unmoved and gave no heed to these signs of popular discontent. And the Hon. Pundit observes what followed:—

"It was then that ideas of a new character began to force themselves upon the minds of some people. As the attitude of the Government stiffened, the attitude of the younger men also stiffened. The young men were naturally more impressionable than the older people. Those of us who are growing old, know that this is a natural law Now the younger men could not bear what the older men could bear; therefore naturally, but regretfully I say, they were led into paths of unconstitutional agitation. And we know what happened in subsequent years. With the prosecutions and the punishments of students the feeling between the authorities and the general public grew from bad to worse from day to day. It was in this state of things that some of the young men were led into the path of unconstitutional agitation. As I have said before, nobody deplores that this should have been so more than we Indians do. We regret it for the sake of the country generally and for the sake of the young men in particular. We wish they had not been so misled. But in dealing with an evil, it is not statesmanship to shut one's eyes to the facts which gave rise to the evil, to propose remedies without recognising he root-cause which gave rise to the disease."

The above remarks gave great offence to Sir William Vincent, who interpreted them to mean that the Pundit had charged the Government with having created revolutionary crime in Bengal. As one can see he did nothing of the sort. He only stated certain facts which cannot be denied by any body. We intend to show in a series of articles how the revolutionary movement was brought into Bengal. If the Government had been a little more keen-sighted the evil would not have entered this country.

Ruin of Indian Trade in South Africa.

MR. GANDHI'S MANIFESTO

GLOOMY SITUATION.

Bombay, Feb 27.

With reference to the telegram recently received by Mr M K Gandhi and other leaders in India from Mr. Aswant, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, Johannesburg, in which he complained that the laws affecting the Indian community were being rigorously enforced with the object of ruining Indian trade for the benefit of European competitors, Mr M K Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Press:—

"The cable received by me from Mr. Aswant, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association shows that a revival of Satyagraha with all the attendant suffering is imminent in South Africa. Unless the danger that threatens to overwhelm the Indians of the Transvaal is averted by prompt and effective action by the Government of India and if necessary by the public also the situation warrants a repetition of Lord Hardinge's action and the immediate despatch to South Africa of a mission consisting of say a distinguished civilian and an equally distinguished Indian publicist. What is that situation? The Precious and Base Metal Act referred to in the cable affects the gold area of Transvaal in the largest part of its Indian population Krugersdrop is an important town near Johannesburg and contains many Indian merchants, some of them owing stock probably worth three lakhs of rupees. If no relief is provided it means ruin for the merchants and for those residing in the whole of the gold area. The goal of the Union Government seems to be, as has been openly declared by several Union statesmen to reduce its Indian settlers to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is possible that the Court's interpretation is correct. If so, the Act itself must be changed, and the Indian community must be saved, not merely because of their status as British subjects, but also because of the passive resistance Settlement of 1914, which protects vested or existing rights. The judgment is a direct attack upon Indian liberty. In pursuance of the policy referred to by me, the Government want further to harass the community throughout the Union by refusing facilities for the conservation of its present Indian population. They cannot remain in it if they not receive occasional visitors, if on the death of a propertied man his trusted relatives may not enter the Union in order to administer his affairs. I can understand the dominant community in South Africa not wishing to have an unlimited influx of people alien to them in civilization, but it is impossible to understand a policy of ruthless extermination side by side with a profession of loyalty to a common Empire. Moreover, this refusal to issue temporary permits is a breach of the Settlement. It has been all along understood that temporary permits would be granted whenever necessity arose. Surely nobody could question it in the late Mr Mahomed Isaac's case, quoted by Mr Aswant in the cablegram.

Reference to late Mr Gokhale in this connection is a libel on a sacred name. After the termination of the interview Mr Gokhale came directly to the hotel where we were staying. I had the privilege of being his secretary and he related to me the whole of the conversation between the ministers and himself, and there was not a word about his having consented to a stoppage of temporary permits under any circumstances whatsoever. He had no authority to enter into any agreement. He went only to learn and to plead. Your readers will recall that at the historic meeting held in Bombay upon his return from South Africa he declared publicly that he had no authority to negotiate a settlement and that he had agreed to nothing. As representing the Indian community I was a party to the settlement of 1914. If any such agreement had been made surely it would at least have formed part of the many discussions between General Smuts and myself. It is worthy of note that General Smuts is not now in South Africa. If he was asked I doubt not that he would repudiate Col. Shawe's allegation. The cablegram adds that there are many other harassments going on throughout the Union. We are sup

(Continued on next column.)

Imperial Legislative Council.

(Associated Press of India.)

Delhi, Feb 26.

A meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council was held this morning Sir George Loundes, Vice President presided.

After interpellation Sir Sankaran Nair moved that the Bill to extend the powers of the local authorities in regard to the granting of pensions and gratuities be taken into consideration. The motion was agreed to. In moving that the Bill be passed into law he said it was published and no criticism had been received.

The Bill was passed.

On the motion of Sir William Vincent Messrs Moore and Moncrieff Smith were added to the Select Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill vice Sir Verney Lovett and Mr Muddiman.

Sir William Vincent next introduced the Indian Oaths Act (Amendment) Bill. He said section 16 of the Indian Oaths Act 1873 was a bar to taking of an oath by officials who were not required to take one under any provision of law and since it was intended to effect the purpose in view by the issue of instructions to the Governor General under the Royal Sign Manual of His Majesty, it was necessary to except oaths taken in compliance with such instructions from the operations of the Act of 1873.

The Bill amended section 3 accordingly.

INDIAN ELECTRICITY ACT.

Mr. V J Patel moved for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend Indian Electricity Act 1910. He said the object of the Bill was to secure to the local authority proper opportunity to submit objections to granting of license to a company of shareholders and to provide that if objection was based on rival claim it would receive the first consideration. The advantages of giving opportunity for preliminary consultation were that in the first place local authority could inform the Local Government that they could submit similar scheme on more economic basis. Also it could have the advantage of negotiating better terms with the Company for its own use. Under Act of 1903 such a thing had happened in the case of the Ahmedabad Municipality who had managed to secure from Messrs Killick Nixon and Company very favourable terms for its street lighting. The second Amendment was introduced because it was very difficult for local authority to fight its battle against powerful interests.

Sir Claude Hill on behalf of Government said they had no desire whatever to object to the Bill being referred, if leave was granted for its introduction to Local Governments, but the Government of India felt they must reserve full liberty of action after the opinions of the Local Government were received. Simple though the measure was, it was of great importance and required very careful consideration from the point of view of investing capitalists. Leave was given for the introduction of the Bill and its publication in the Gazette of India and the provincial gazettes.

NEGOTIABLE INSTRUMENTS ACT

Mr. Patel next moved for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Negotiable Insruments Act, 1881. Mr. Patel said the object of the Bill was to set right the difficulty created by a decision of the Bombay High Court in a recent case on the question whether a cheque expressed to be paid to a specified person was a negotiable instrument or not. The decision was that the custom being countray to the definite provisions of the Act could not be recognised. He hoped the Council would agree to the Bill being passed.

Sir Thomas Holland on behalf of Government said the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal and Bombay had also drawn the attention of Government to the possible inconvenience caused by the Provisions of the Act specially of the section of 'unlucky humber.' The Government had realised the desirability of bringing the Act in unison with the accepted principle of business circles. The Government readily accepted the principle of the Bill.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy supported the Bill and hoped the Bill would be passed in this Session as lots of inconvenience were being caused to the commercial classes.

Leave was granted for the introduction of the Bill and its publication in the Gazette of India.

The Council then adjourned till 1st March

The Financial Statement will be presented on the 1st March and discussed between 7th to 12th and the Budget will be presented on the 21st March. In addition there will be further meetings on the 12th and 19th March for a legislative business. The reports of the Select Committees on the two Rowlatt Bills will probably be taken into consideration on the 12th and the report of the Select Committee on Excess Profits Duty Bill on 19th March.

REPLIES TO QUESTIONS.

Delhi, Feb 26.—The Commander in Chief replying to Mr V J Patel's question re the number of Indians, Anglo Indians and Europeans appointed as officers of the Indian Munitions Board said: (a) Excluding the Accounts Staff. at the head of which is an Indian, the officer personnel of the Indian Munitions Board consisted at the beginning of the present month of 365 Europeans and Anglo-Indians, 18 part time on pay, and 4 Indians. Another Indian officer left the staff a few months ago the majority of the European and Anglo-Indian officers have been borrowed on account of their special qualifications from Government departments and company railways. One hundred and twenty

(Continued from previous Colm.)

posed to be on the eve of embarkation upon Reforms that are to eventuate in near future in full responsible Government. What answer has India to give to Mr. Aswat's pathetic appeal. The hundred thousand Indians of the Union have a right to look up to Government of India and the people for the protection of their elementary rights:—

(signed) M. K. Gandhi.

three non-officials are being employed as officers under the Board and of these 75 are part time officers who give their services in an honorary capacity. (b) A report on the working of the Indian Munitions Board since its formation has been prepared but as it contains information of military value it cannot be published at present. Copies of the report, however, are available for the confidential use of the hon members and will be supplied on application being made to the Secretary, Indian Munitions Board.

Sir James Meston, replying to Sir Dinshaw Wacha's question re circulation of Re 1 and Rs 2-8 notes during the current vear said: The addition to the gross circulation of currency notes, that is inclusive of notes held in Government Treasuries and head offices of Presidency Banks, amounted from the 1st April 1918 to the 31st January 1919 to Rs. 511 crores. The addition to the rupee circulation in the same period was Rs 41 crores. The active circulation of notes, i. e. the circulation with the public, rose by Rs 51 crores between the 1st April and the 31st December 1918. The value of notes for Re 1 and Rs 2½ in circulation on the 31st December last was Rs 9 and Rs 2 crores respectively.

Sir James Meston replying to Sir Dinshaw Wacha's question re investment of the Paper Currency Reserve said: Out of the 14 crores additional investment of the Paper Currency Reserve allowed under Ordinance 3 of 1918 Rs. 12½ crores only have been invested up to date viz., Rs. 6½ crores in British Treasury Bills and Rs. 6 crores in Indian Treasury Bills.

Sir James Meston replying to Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy's question 're' India's debt of £100 millions towards the war said: The proceeds of the first Indian war loan, including about Rs. 9 crores of cash certificates, amounted to about Rs. 5½ crores which remitted Home at 1s. 4d. enabled us to redeem £35 million of our £100 million liability. The proceeds of the second war loan, amounting to rather over Rs. 57 crores remitted at 18d. will enable us to redeem a further sum of about £43 million, the actual payment to the Home Government being made party in the current year and party next year. This leaves a balance of £22 millions as the portion of the British war debt 1,929117 bearing interest at 5 per cent. for which India has accepted liability: The debt raised in India which has enabled us to redeem £78 million of our obligation consists apart from cash certificates of securities of the two war loans bearing interest at five per cents. in the case of our own 1929147 loan and 5½ per cent in the case of our war bonds.

THE MOSLEM HOLY PLACES.

Mir Asad Ali asked the following questions:—

Are Government aware of the strength and volume of Moslem feeling throughout the country in the matter of the restoration to the Caliph of all the sacred places of Islam now in the hands of Great Britain and the Allies?

Do Government propose to move the Secretary of State to bring this question before the Peace Conference?

Sir William Vincent replied: Government have nothing to add to the letter which was recently addressed to the All-India moslem League under instructions from His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. A copy of it is laid upon the table. The following is the text: From Government of India, Home Department, to Secretary, All India Moslem League: I am directed to acknowledge on behalf of the Secretary of State for India a telegram of January the 1st from the All India Moslem League containing the substance of certain resolutions passed at its recent meetings.

As regards the Khalifat His Majesty's Government adhere as they have throughout adhered to their public pronouncement that the question of the Khalifat is one that solely affects Moslems and is therefore one that must be decided by Moslems themselves without interference. I am however to take this opportunity of repudiating emphatically the suggestions contained in one of the resolutions passed by the League that there has been some deviation on the part of His Majesty's Government from the pledges given regarding Moslem Holy places. They announced that the Holy places would be immune from attack or molestation by the British naval and military forces so long as there was no interference with pilgrims from India to them. Not only was this pledge observed in the spirit and letter during the actual occupation of His Majesty's forces of the territories in which Holy places are situated but steps have been taken and are being taken to ensure the strict observance of the sanctity of the Holy places during our occupation of such territories. In conclusion I am to state that His Majesty's Government fully appreciate the feeling of both Indians and the Moslems in regard to the momentous questions to be decided at the Peace Conference and they authorise the Government of India to say that they may rest assured that due consideration will be given to that feeling by His Majesty's representatives at the Peace Conference.

MODERATE DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND

FORMATION OF SECOND BATCH.

(Associated Press of India.)

Bombay, Feb. 26.

Following additional names to form the 2nd batch of moderates' party deputation to England have been announced. Hon. Maharaja of Kassimbazar, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, Dr Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Sir Fozulbhoy Currimbhoy, Nawabjada Syed Altafali of Bogra Messrs D. C. Ghose, J. N. Roy, Prithwis Chandra Roy, Rev B A Nag of London Baptist Mission, Rai Saheb A P. Patro and Dewan Bahadur Karunakara Menon.

The Railway Board have sanctioned a reconnaissance survey being carried out by the agency of the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway Company for a line of railway on the 2 feet gauge from Ghum, a station on the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway to Simana Bustee on the Nepal Frontier, a distance of about 10 miles. The survey will be known as the Ghum-Simana Bustee Railway Reconnaissance Survey.

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

B. & O. GAZETTE

Feb. 26.

Mr. H McPherson, Dy Magte and Dy Collr is posted to Hazaribagh, Sadr.

Babu Manmatha Nath Basu, Dy Magte and Dy Collr of Balasore is transferred to Kendrapara.

Babu Suresh Ch. Bose Dy Magte and Dy Collr, Kendrapara is transferred to Balasore Sadr.

Mr. Shah Muhammad Khalil-ur-Rahman, Offg Sub Judge of Patna, is appointed to act as a Sub Judge of Shahabad until further orders.

Mr. J L Merriman Offg Jt Magte and Dy Collr, Bettiah is granted leave for one month. Babu Banka Bihari Singh, Dy Magte and Dy Collr of Saran, is appointed temporarily to act for him.

Babu Ramanugrah Narayan Singh Addl Munsif of Buxar is appointed to act as an Addl Munsif of Arrah.

Babu Bijay Krishna Sarkar Offg Addl Munsif of Arrah is appointed to act as an Addl Munsif of Buxar.

Maulavi Anwar Karim, Dy Magte and Dy Collr of Darbhanga, is granted leave for three months.

Mr. Shaikh Ahmad Husain Khan sub pro tempore Sub Judge of Muzaffarpur, is appointed to act until further orders, as an Addl Sub Judge of Darbhanga.

Mr. E O Lee, Offg Jt Magte and Dy Collr is posted to Gaya Sadr.

Previous Notification transferring Mr. E. A. Guest Dy Magte and Dy Collr of Purnea to Santal Parganas Sadr is cancelled.

Mr. S McLeod Smith, Dy Magte and Dy Collr of Siwan is granted an extension of leave for fourteen days.

Mr. A W Barnicott Jt Magte and Dy Collr of Muzaffarpur is granted an extension of leave for one month and eleven days. Maulavi A H M Taiyib Dy Magte and Dy Collr is granted leave for three months.

Babu Nagendra Prashad Proby Dy Collr is appointed sub pro tempore to the seventh grade of Dy Magtes and Dy Collr from the 17th Feb. 1919, and is posted to Saran Sadr.

Babu Gopa Bandhu Chaudhuri Prob Dy Collr, is appointed sub pro tempore to the seventh grade of Dy Magte and Dy Collrs, from the 23rd Nov. 1918, and is posted to Cuttack Sadr.

Babu Bansidhar Proby Dy Collr is appinted sub pro tempore to the seventh grade of Dy Magte and Dy Collrs, from the 30th Dec 1918, and is posted to Hazaribagh Sadr.

Maulovi' Abdul Hai Khan, Pro Dy Collr, is appointed sub pro tempore to the seventh grade of Dy Magtes and Dy Collrs, from the 6th Jan 1919, and is posted to Sahabad sadar.

Mr. Jogendra Kumar Sinha, Dy Magte and Dy Collr of Purnea, is appointed to act, in addition to his own duties, as Magte and Collr of that district, until further orders.

Mr. F M Luce, Magistrate and Collector, has been granted an extension of extraordinary leave without pay for two months.

Mr. W. Swain, Supd of Police, Patna, is granted conbined leave for six months and a half.

The Lieut-Govr in Council is pleased to declare that the B and O Medical Act, 1916 (II of 1916), shall be in force in the Angul district.

Mr. J. Robinson, Offig Dy Director of Agriculture, Patna Circle, is granted privilege leave, for 12 days, in extension of the leave already granted to him.

The gentlemen named below are appointed to be Proby Sub Dy Collrs:—

Babu Kailashpati Narayan, Saran.

Babu Gonesh Prashad Varma B.A Champaran.

Babu Nishi Kanta Bishvas B.A. Puri.

Previous Notification granting an extension of leave for one month to Babu Broja Kumar Mahtha, Sub Dy Collr of Aurangabad is cancelled.

Babu Ashutosh Sen Gupta, Sub Deputy Collr of Patna is granted leave for one month.

Babu Brahmeshvar Prashad Varma is posted to the Sadr Registration office at Muzaffarpur.

Babu Prabhu Singh is posted to the Sadr Registration office at Chapra (Saran)

Babu Birbhadra Singh is posted to the Sadr Registration office at Motihari (Champaran)

Babu Sureshvar Prashad is posted to the Sadr Registration office at Bhagalpur.

Babu Jagannath Prashad Patnaik, Sub Registrar is allowed an extension of leave on medical certificate for six months.

The following promotions and confirmations are sanctioned in the several grades of District Sub Regr and Sub Regrs.

District Sub Registrars.

Promoted to grade II.—Babh Binod Bihari De, from the 25th May 1918. Babu Devakinandan Prashad from the 9th Aug 1918.

Sub Registrars.

Promoted to grade I.—Mahlavi Ahmad Mir, from the 5th August 1918.

Babu Mahadev Lal, from the 1st July 1918. Babu Baij Nath Sahay, from the 9th Aug 1918.

Promoted to Grade II. Babu Kiran Chandra Banarffii, from the 25th May 1918, Babu Baldev Sahay Varma, from the 1st July 1918, Babu Damodar Mahanti, from the 9th Aug 1918.

Confirmed in Grade III. Pandit Shiva Nandan Misra, from the 13th Aug 1917, Babu Jay Krishna Prashad, from the 1st Jan 1918, Thakurai Brameshavar Dayal Singh, from the 25th May 1918.

Promoted to Grade III. Babu Natabar Patnaik, from the 8th Oct 1918, Babu Baleshvar Nath, sub, pro tempore from the 25th May 1918, confirmed in Grade III, from the 1st July 1918.

Babu Rasamaya Sarkar, Sub-Regr of Chas in the Dist of Manbhum is granted privilege leave, for one month and three weeks from the 2nd Jan 1919. Babu Phani Bhusan Banarji is appointed to act for him.

Babu Baiju Lal Basu, Supervisor, 2nd grade is granted an extension of leave on medical certificate for two months.

Mr. H. Wardle, Ex Engr, Champaran Div, is granted combined leave for one year eight months and twelve days.

(Continued on next column)

REUTER'S TELEGRAMS

GERMANY

ELECTION OF PRO GOVT COUNCIL.

GENERAL SITUATION IMPROVED.

London, Feb. 26.

Copenhagen. A telegram from Berlin says: The militia at Muelheim in Rurh district which refused to fight Government troops has dissolved the Spartacist Soldiers Council and elected Pro-Government council which has begun to disarm the Spartacists. The Government has decided to repeal the Martial Law at Karlsruhe as the situation has improved.

SPARTACIST MOVEMENT INCREASING

London, Feb. 24.

Berlin, Feb. 23. Noske says reports received show that the Spartacist movement through out the empire is daily increasing. The power at Munich is in the hands of the so-called Central Council composed of three Solicialist parties. The "Vorwserts" and another Socialist paper, however, state that an attempt is being made to from a Government composed of Majority and Independent Socialists.

AUER'S ASSASSIN A COMMON BUTCHER

London, Feb. 24.

The "Vorwaerts" learns from Munich that Auer's assassin is a common butcher named Lindner, member of the Revolutionary Workers Council. He openly boasts of the deed. No one thinks of arresting him. Apparently he entered the Diet by Deputies' entrance through collusion with the guards. Hageminister, President of the Workers Council, after shots were fired shouted from the tribune "that is the Proletariat's revenge."

Paris, Feb. 24

Havas Agency states that probably the question of Germany's Western Frontiers will come before the Council this week. No doubt exists that neither Germany nor any other Power could ever possibly afford to pay compensation for damages plus the whole cost of the war. The practical view gaining ground among delegates is that Germany being in the position of a bankrupt in view of her huge liabilities to the Allies should be made to pay as much as Allied experts estimate can possibly be extracted from her. M. Pichon stated yesterday that the lines taken in the discussion would be first to ascertain total amount that Germany could pay; secondly to decide how much the Allies should ask; and finally the proportion in which the recoverable sum should be distributed among the different Allies. M. Pichon discussed the extent to which provinces which formed part of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and now belonging to new States under the aegis of the Allies will be held responsible for the share of payments due from the enemy. The Czecho-Slovaks accept their share of responsibility.

FINAL MILITARY TERMS TO BE IMPOSED ON GERMANY.

London, Feb. 25.

The "Daily Express" says:—The final military terms to be imposed on Germany include fixing of German army at the maximum of three hundred thousand of which not more than five per cent will be officers. The army will be purely defensive. The general staff will be disbanded and the quantity of arms and ammunition be defenitely limited. The importation of war material will be forbidden and its manufacture permitted in few places sanctioned by the Allies. The manufacture of poison gas will be prohibited.

IMMEDIATE DEMAND OF CAPTURED GUNS.

London, Feb. 24.

Replying to Colonel Burn Mr. Bonar Law states that Britain was demanding immediate return of all British guns captured by Germans.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN POLES AND UKRANIANS.
TO CEASE HOSTILITIES.

London, Feb. 25.

Warsaw. Feb. 24.—It is officially announced that the Poles and the Ukrainians have reached an agreement at Lemberg to cease hostilities. The arrangement is subject to twelve hours denunciation. The chief of American food mission to Poland telephoned from Posen that the Germans were continuing active bombardment all along the front.

END OF THE STRIKE IN MUNICH.

London, Feb. 25.

It is reported from Zurich that strike in Munich is ended but every workman to-day was supplied wih a rifle and twenty cartridges

A STEAMER COLLISION.

London, Feb. 21.

Steamer "Chandra" proceeding to Bombay collided with "Australind" off Dover. Both returned to Gravesend damaged.

PROTEST AGAINST EXPULSION OF GERMANS FROM CHINA.

London, Feb. 21.

Bale.—The German Government has protested to the Allied Armistice Commission at Spa against the expulsion of Germans from China.

(Continued on previous column.)

Mr. H. Ll. L. Allason, Dist and Sessions Judge, is appointed to be Registrar of the High Court of Judicature at Patna.

Temp Asst Surgeon Upendra Nath Ray is placed on special duty at Dumka in connection with the medical examination of recruits.

Sub-Asst Surgeon Binod Ch Sen Gupta, is temporarily promoted to the third grade from the 12th Feb 1919, subject to reversion to his former grade if he does not pass the promotion examination within one year after his return to evil employ.

Civil Asst Surgeon Shashi Bhusan Laha is posted to the Sadr Hospital, Muzaffarpur.

Labour Situation in England.

On the throe o f GeneralStrike.

TWO THIRDS MINERS' BALLOT FAVOUR STRIKE.

London, Feb 24.

The result of the Miners' ballot shows that over a two thirds majority is in a favour of the strike. The present week is most critical in the history of Labour of Britain. But the opinion is growing that more moderate counsels will prevail. On Wednesday there was a Conference of the Miners' delegates to decide whether to accept the Premier's invitation to send representatives to the Mining Commission. The Mining leaders, however, declare that they will insist upon the Government agreeing forthwith to the principles of higher pay and shorter hours. The transport workers throughout the country are preparing to sympathize with the miners. The Bakers' Union by a preponderating vote had decided in favour of the general strike for the abolition of night baking.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION.

London, Feb. 25.

A 'communique' from Paris says: The Commission on the International Labour Legislation considered the articles of the British draft concerning the economic penalties in the event of a State failing to carry out its obligations under an International Labour Convention.

LABOUR DISPUTES

REFERRED TO ARBITRATION.

London, Feb. 27.

The Ministry of Labour states that thirty-six Labour disputes are being referred to arbitration this week including Boilermaker's claim to twenty per cent advance and disputes affecting engineering and shipbuilding trades.

A. Y. ALI ON INDIAN EDUCATION.

London, Feb. 22.

Abdullah Yusuf Ali, lecturing at Bedford College on Indian education said: Elementary education was quite out of touch with the life of the people and would require to be built up anew broadly based on the needs of agricultural and working classes. Middle classes were better educated than those in some of the advanced countries of the world. As regards percentage university students in India suffered little compared with England and Wales and were greatly ahead of Japan.

PRESIDENT WILSON AT BOSTON

AMERICA IS FRIEND TO MANKIND.

London, Feb. 25.

Boston: President Wilson, replying to welcome home, said, while unwilling to anticipate the report of Peace Conference he could say, the task of the Conference was one of great complexity by which every Nation great and small was affected; he had been struck by moderation with which representatives of various nationalities had presented their national claims; they had always come first to United States' representatives, because no National in Europe suspected American motives. The United States had now enviable distinction of being friend to the mankind. When soldiers were required anywhere, they asked for American soldiers and it had been an infinite pleasure to see gallant Americans who had convinced Europe that the United States had put all her means at the disposal of those fighting for the cause of Human Rights and Justice not for National claims but for the claims held in common by mankind.

Europe had risen, from dispair to full hope of settled Peace, believing we were on the eve of new age, when Nations would support one another to see that rights should prevail. America was now the hope of the world and if she did not justify that hope, results would be unthinkable. Nations would be hostile camps again and men of the Conference would go home again without hope, knowing that they had failed. America would have to keep her great powers for narrow Provincial selfish purposes. Do you realise how many new Nations are going to be set up in presence of the old and powerful Nations in Europe and left there if left by us without a disinterested a friend? Do you believe in Polish cause as I do? Do you believe in the aspirations of Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs as I do? You know how many Powers would be quick to pounce on them, if there were not gurantees of the world behind their liberty? Have you thought of the sufferings of Armenia? You poured out money to help and succour the Armenians after they have suffered. Now set up your strength so that they shall never suffer again. Arrangements of the present Peace cannot stand a generation, unless guaranteed by United Forces of the civilised world.

President Wilson concluded, that he had no doubt about the American Verdict and did not believe progress was going to fall short of the goal. The peoples and not the Governments were in saddle and they would see that if the present Governments did not do their will others should.

Special precautions were taken to protect the president. There was escort of mounted police and cavalry in addition to guards along the route and sharpshooteds posted on roofs. Crowds vociferously cheered him.

BENGAL PROVINCIAL Conference.

NAMES RECOMMENDED FOR PRESIDEUSHIP.

(Associated Press of India.)

Mymensingh, Feb. 26.

At a special meeting of the Mymensingh Association held this evening the names of Babus Ramananda Chatterjee, Hirendra Nath Dutt and Basanta Kumar Bose and Dr. P. C. Roy were recommended for the Presidentship of the next sessions of the Bengal Provincial Conference to be held at Mymensingh.

PEACE CONFERENCE.

A PROPOSED COMMISSION FOR TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS.

London, Feb. 27.

The Press Bureau issues a communique from Paris stating that the ministers of the Great Powers have decided to organise a Central Commission for territorial questions. The ministers afterwards heard the Zionist representatives.

RESIGNATION OF EDITOR OF 'TIMES' SUCCEEDED BY H. W. STEED.

London, Feb. 25.

Mr. Geoffrey Dawson has resigned the editorship of the "Times" and is succeeded by Mr. Henry Wickham Steed Mr. Dawson in a letter to Mr. John Walter, Chairman of the "Times" Company says he has been awaiting his arrival from Spain in order to tender his resignation which he had been considering for some weeks. Ever since it became clear that Northcliffe was constantly dissatisfied with the policy of the "Times" because it differed from his own expressions of opinion in other newspapers.

FRONTIER QUESTIONS AFFECTING ENEMY STATES.

London, Feb. 26.

A Communique from Paris says:—Representatives of the Great Powers discussed the question of allotting to Commission's consideration the frontier questions affecting enemy states and laid down the conditions under which Belgian claims would be considered. The Conference adopted the War Council's conclusions regarding the establishment of intermediate zone Transylvania between Rumanian and Hungarian troops and heard Armenian claims.

LORD SINHA TAKES HIS SEAT IN THE LORDS.

London, Feb. 22.

Reuter understands that Lord Sinha will take his seat in the Lords on February 25th.

GRANT OF WAR GRATUITIES.

London, Feb. 22.

Mr. Montagu announces that he hopes shortly to publish the decision regarding the grant of war gratuities to regular officers of Indian army and Indian Marine.

FINALE OF TILAK CASE.
VERDICT IN FAVOR OF V. CHIROL.

London, Feb. 21.

The Tilak case is finished. Verdict was given in favour of Sir Valentine Chirol.

SIR VALENTINE CHIROL ON INDIAN PRESS LAW.

London, Feb. 23.

Sir Vatentine Chirol interviewed by the "Observer" exhibited two large volumes of evidence for the defence in the Tilak case consisting of articles in papers supporting Mr. Tilak's policy. He emphasised the extraordinary patience of the Government of India in allowing these sinister publcations to be carried on for months and years with impunity until it would have been a flagrant dereliction of public duty not to bring the author to book. He intended to present the volumes to the library of the House of Commons to enable the members in future to judge whether the liberty of the press was unduly restricted in India or whether the style of journalism with which Indian Press Law dealt was not rightly described by Justice Davar as the curse of the country. Sir V. Chirol hoped that one result of the action would be to bring home to the Government of India and the Imperial Government that there was a form of political agitation in India restricted to a small but influential section with which it was their duty not to parley declaration of 20th August 1917 and the schemes now being considered for giving statutory effect to it were already drawing further and further away from that section all more moderate and sounder elements in India but one could not close one's eyes to the significance of the recent declaration of the extremists Rump of National Congress that India could be properly represented at the Peace Conference only by a deputation selected by itself of which Mr. Tilak must be a member.

"TIMES" ON THE SEDITION BILLS.

London, Feb. 21.

The "Times" states that the debates on the New Sedition Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council appear to indicate that India is on the verge of another of these factitious artificial agitations which have repeatedly disturbed dependency during the last ten years.

The "Times" emphasises that the Bills reduce the Government of India's war time powers and if they are not carried there will be a general gaol delivery of dangerous characters at a moment when an unprecedented number of soldiers are being disbanded. The revolutionaries are awaiting the release of their leaders. The "Times" does not think that Indian members of the Council seriously wish to see India again plunged into internal strife but disarmed in one direction. By proposals in the report they are now trying to find a new stick to belabour Government. The tone of the debate does not encourage the hope that Indian politicians are seriously trying to utilise the great opportunities for the regeneration of India.

The "Times" regrets that the Viceroy and his executive yielded to the pressure so far as to make the first Bill operative for three years instead of permanently because the opponents have evidently been led to believe that the Government may be persuaded to yield still further.

TILAK'S OBJECT IN BRINGING ACTION.

"DAILY CHRONICLE'S" REMARKS.

London, Feb. 22.

The "Daily Chronicle" says:—The chief effect of Mr. Tilak's action has been to give many Englishmen a much fuller conception of the lengths to which Tilak press has gone than they might ever otherwise have got. The paper adds that presumably that was not Tilak's object in bringing action.

PASSAGES HOME.

REDUCTION IN FARES.

RETURN TICKETS TO BE ISSUED.

Delhi, Mar. 1.—It is announced that as a result of negotiations between the Secretary of State, the Ministry of Shipping and the Shipping Companies concerned, it has been decided to reduce passage fares on sttamers running between India and the United Kingdom. From the 1st March the Peninsular and Oriental Eteam Navigation Company will reduce their rates by 20 per cent. and will issue return tickets for the price of one and-a-half single fares. In regard to other lines no definite decision has yet been reached, but it is hoped that they will also make a similar reduction. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, however, intimate that in view of the greatly increased expenses of their liner service they may have to reconsider their position later.

INCREASED COSTS

WHY PASSAGE RATES ARE HIGH.

London, Feb. 24.

With regard to the high passage rates from India, the "Times'" shipping correspondent says: The feeling here seems to be that residents in India have not had fully brought home to them the effect of the enormous increase in the cost of coal, stores, wages and all other items incidental to the carriages of passengers on sea. The Ministry of Shipping fixed the present rates recently and it is claimed that the increase then in no way correspondended to the rise inexpenses. The authorities in London feel in the present highly unsettled situation that any amendment would be entirely inopportune. The outlook for low passage fares on any ocean route for sme time is not at all promising in view of the enormous increase in the cost of the construction of passenger ships. For example a passenger ship which cost £600,000 before the war is now estimated to cost £1700,000.

HOMEWARD PASSAGES FROM INDIA

London, Feb. 20.

In the House of Comons Mr. Bennet drew the attention to the difficulties of procuring homeward passages from India and exorbitant pasage rates and asked whether in view of forcible representations made in this connection in India the solution could not be hastened.

Mr. Montagu in reply admitted the urgency of the question. He said the rates had been fixed by the Ministry of Shipping which was responsible for providing accommodation. He had been impressing upon the ministry for two months the serious positions of Europeans in India who were unable to-get homeward passages. The ministry was doing its best to provide accommodation and Mr. Montagu said he was doing everything in his power to find remedy for hardships involved by the present high rates.

ANOTHER INDIAN PEER?

LONDON JOURNAL'S SUGGESTION.

("C. and M. Gazette" Cables.)

London, Feb. 21.

The "Pall Mall Gazette' foretells the elevation to the peerage of another Indian, a great industrialist who has rendered valuable assistance in the promotion of the war.

DESPERADOES' ATTACK ON POLICE.
DETAILS OF MADURA OUTRAGE.

Madras, March 1.—The following are further details of the assault on the police near Kodaikanal Road. For a long time pastthefts have been taking place of bags of grains and other stuffs from running goods trains during the night between the stations of Kodaikanal Road and Ambaturai, and a criminal gang of Movoothnnapatti were suspected of these crimes. Recently a theft of four chilly bags occurred and three inspecors set out to investigate the matter. Leaving Madura by the boat mail on Thursday they arrived the same afternoon in Kodaikanal Road, where they were joined by a railway police constable, a local police head constable and the village munsiff, with whom they had made an appointment. They proceeded to Mavoothanapatti, about a mile from the railway station. In the village they searched two houses of suspects and seized a trunk, a brief box and an empty gunny bag. They searched a third house, up a search list the suspects, armed with bill hooks, surrounded the sub-inspectors, who were not in niform and had no firearms, and attacked them. Mr V S Srinivasa Iyengar, who was preparing the list, was first given a mortal blow on the back of the neck. Messrs Mahommed Yousuff and Syed Sikkander received very severe injuries. Mahommed Yousuff, it is reported, ran bleeding to the railway station and telegraphed the news to different places. Soon police help from Nellakottai came and Inspector Nanjundayys of the Periyakulam division also arrived. The murderers, however, had all escaped. During the night Inspector Sankaranayana Iyer of the railway police and Deputy Superintendent Nargunam, with a possee of reserve constables, hurried to the scene frm Madura. An inquest and post mortem examination have been held, and the search for the murderers continues.

INFLUENZA IN INDIA.

SIR SANKARAN NAIR'S STATEMENT.

Delhi, Mar. 1.—At to-day's meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Sir Sankaran Naiar, replying to questions stated that during the recent infleunza epidemic the number of deaths in British India approximated five millions. He pointed out that the terrible calamity was one which no Government could have coped with. The frightful mortality in India was due in part to the extraordinary liability of Indians to attacks of pneumonia and the fatal effects of these attacks in rural arers.

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

The Black Bills.

Pandit Malaviya's Indictment In Council.

Continued from page 2

My Lord, the next matter to which I shall invite attention in the report of the Committee is in para 177. They have said clearly. "The measures which we shall submit are of two kinds, namely "Punitive" by which term we mean measures better to secure the conviction and punishment of offenders, and "Preventive," i.e. measures to check the spread of conspiracy and the commission of crime. We may say at once that we do not expect very much from punitive measures."

SOUND PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE

It may be difficult; it may be regrettable; it may be that some criminals will escape punishment; but, as the Committee have themselves observed, it is possible that the principle is a sound one, that the practice referred to is a sound practice. Why then it is possible should this practice be departed from, should be given up, and evidence should be admitted which has hitherto not been treated by English judges and jurists either in this country or in England as proper legal evidence? I submit therefore, Sir, that the recommendations of the Committeee on these points are not such that the Government are bound to accept them.

My Lord, let us examine a few more of the proposals in some detail. In Part I it is said that "if the Governor General in Council is satisfied that scheduled offences are prevalent in the whole or any part of British India, and that it is expedient in the whole or any part of British India, and it is expedient in the interests of the public safety to provide for the speedy trial of such offences, he may, by notification in the Gazette of India, make a declaration to the effect." Now I have submitted before the attainment of a speedy trial is not an object sufficiently grave, sufficiently serious, sufficiently in the interests of justice and public interests, to justify the introduction of a measure the object of which is to curtail the length of trials. It is not a sufficient justification. Even under the special procedure that is proposed in this Bill a trial may be protracted for several months. There may be any number of witnesses called; there will be three High Court Judges sitting. They will not record the evidence verbatim, but still there will be three High Court Judges sitting, they will take time in examining witnesses, and as there will be no appeal, a person who has the misfortune of being the accused will have to do all that he can to strain every nerve, to spend every nice that he had in order to procure the help of the best counsel to defend him. Sir, I am not at all sure that really, in practice, the total period taken up by the trials will be very much shortened. It is true that there will not be trials in the ordinary course, first before the Magistrate then the trial before the Sessions Judge, and then an appeal before the High Court. Some time will be saved. But I am not at all certain that the time saved will be worthy of being weighed in the scale against the danger of injustice to the accused. Besides, Sir, I can understand that during the time of war, when there are possibilities of evil ideas spreading in the country, the Government might desire to have trials speeded up. That may be possible, but when we come to normal times, when the war has come to an end and when peace has been fully restored, I can not understand why there should be this desire for speedy trials. I ask you, Sir to consider what it means. It may mean that while you are following your motor car procedure, there may be some poor innocent soul crushed under the weight and speed of that car. To him it may be the end of his life, his liberty and everything he holds dear. It will be no gain to the State, no gain to public interests that a man's trial was finished in two months rather than in six or in one month rather than in three. But it may mean the loss of everything that the man concerned holds dear, and I would ask every member of the Council how he would contemplate the matter if he found himself placed in that position. Let us not provide for a speedy trial at the risk of doing an irreparable injury to a fellow man.

REMEMBER THE POSSIBILITY OF MISCHIEF.

Now, Sir how is it to be determined that the first condition for the application of Part I exists in a particular area? The Governor General in Council has to declare that certain scheduled offences are prevalent in that area. The Governor General in Council is not directly in touch—except in a very small parts of the country perhaps—with any local area. The Local Governments are the Governments, which must supply information to the Governor General as to whether scheduled offences are prevalent in the part of the country under them which it is proposed to specify under them. The Local Governments must gather their information from the Police Department and from their subordinate officials. Nor, Sir, we know what has happened in their country in the past. While we deplore the evil tendencies which some young men have betrayed, while we deplore that some young men have been led to take to revolutionary ideas and methods, while we deplore the crimes that have been committed by them, we cannot forget that the Police has not had a thoroughly clean record in this country. They have been guilty in the past in some places of outrageous crimes to which I do not want to refer to at greater length. They have been brought to the notice of the Government in this country; they have been brought to the notice of Parliament in England. I do not say that those things will be repeated. I hope they will not be; but is it right to shut out the possibility that mischief shall sometimes be created in order to show that in certain parts of the country certain crimes are prevalent? I do not say that it will be I hope it will not be but I beg the Government and the Council to remember the possibility of such mischief being done. And what will be the result? Once the area is specified, in that area, under the clause 4 of the Bill.

"Where the Local Government is of opinion that the trial of any person accused of a scheduled offence should be held in accordance with the provisions of this Part, it may order any officer of Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against such person."

Now, Sir, the clause says, "Where the Local Government is of opinion, "I ask how is the Local Government to arrive at that opinion? It must have the fullest evidence before it can come to a safe and satisfactory conclusion that a fellowman accused of one of the scheduled offences should be deprived of the safeguards against injustice which the ordinary law provides. I should like to know how many members of Government would like to take the responsibility of deciding a matter like that 'ex parts'? and I should like further to ask that if such cases should be numerous is not the danger of their coming to wrong conclusions one which ought to weigh in dealing with this legislation? Well, let me proceed. The Local Government being of opinion that the trial of any person accused of a scheduled offence should be held in accordance with the provisions of this Part it may order any officer of Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against such person. What follows, then, Sir, is that this man must be tried according to the provision of the proposed act. He is not given the right to show cause before the Chief Justice, why his case should not be tried under the special provisions herein referred to. His fate is sealed. The Local Government being of the opinion that he should be tried under the special provisions, the Chief Justice has not the power to ask the man to show cause why he should not be tried according to the ordinary law, or why he should not be tried according to this law. The Chief Justice has no option; he must try the man according to the special provisions of this Bill.

Now, Sir, what is the material upon which this order is to be passed? Sub-clause (3) of clause 4, says:—

"The information shall state the offence charged and so far as known the name, place of residence, and occupation of the accused."

Hon. Mr. Muddiman.—I desire to draw your Excellency's attention to the fact that this debate is on a motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee and the general principles of the Bill only should be discussed at this stage but it seems to me that the Hon. Pandit is taking each clause separately.

Hon. Pandit Malaviya.—May I explain, Sir?

H. E. the President.—You are not at liberty to discuss the details of the Bill.

Hon. Pandit Malaviya.—I beg your pardon Sir, I want to explain the matter from my point of view for your Excellency's consideration.

H E the President.—There are certain rules and principles of debate Pandit which are usually observed on these occasions, and on this particular motion the principle of the Bill only is to be discussed and then subsequently you will be able to discuss questions of detail. I think you are abusing the patience and privilege of this assembly in pursuing any other course this afternoon.

Hon. Pandit Malaviya.—My Lord, I am sorry that you think I am abusing the patience or the privilege of this Council. I think I am doing my duty. I submit for your Excellency's consideration. I will stop if your Excellency wishes—that here is an important Bill which it is proposed to refer to a Select Committee; a special procedure has been followed in bringing this motion before the Council. I can only speak once on this motion; and I am trying to give all the reasons I can why this proposal to refer the Bill to a Select Committee should be defeated, should be dropped by the Council. I submit, Sir with great deference that I am entitled to advance every single reason I can in support of my proposal; but if your Excellency thinks I should not, I will stop.

Hon Mr. Muddiman.—I only meant to suggest that the Hon. Pandit was taking every individual provision and discussing it separately. I did not suggest that the general principles should not be discussed by the Hon Member.

H E. the President.—No one has suggested that the Hon Member should not discuss the general principles of the Bill; but as the Hon. the Secretary of the Council pointed out, you are dealing with each particular provision of the Bill separately I hope the Hon. Pandit will obey my ruling and discuss the principles and not the details of the Bill.

Hon. Pandit Malaviya.—I bow to your Excellency's ruling. I shall refer to the provisions of he Bills only in so far as they involve a consideration of a principle. I shall do that and in doing so my reference to the provisions of the Bill will be only for that purpose and to that extent.

Now, the next point—may I continue, Sir?

H E the President.—Proceed.

ANOTHER MATTER OF PRINCIPLE.

Hon. Pandit Malavia.—The next point to which I would invite attention as involving another matter of principle is that referred to in section 6. That section says:—

"The Court may sit for the whole or any part of a trial at such place or places in the province as it may consider desirable.

Provided that the Governor-General in Council, if he is satisfied that such a course is expedient in the interests of justice, may, by notification in the "Gazette of India" direct that the Court shall sit for the whole or any part of a trial at such place or places as he may specify in the notification."

Now, I submit, Sir that one of the principles of justice is that the trial of a person by the High Court shall be held at the ordinary place of sitting of the Court, unless the High Court itself should appoint another place and I submit. The provision which gives power to the executive Government to decide that a trial shall be held in a particular place, is an infringement and violation of that principle which is at present embodied in the Criminal Procedure Codes.

Then, Sir, I come to another very important principle which is infringed by section 10. I should be very sorry if I should give the impression by any of my remarks that I am not fully respecting your Excellency's ruling. I am trying to limit myself to questions of principle, and I hope you Excellency will please take it from me that I have no wish to say one word more so far as the details are concerned, except in so far as they refer to principle. Now, Sir in section 10, it is said that

"The Court shall be required to make a memorandum only of the substance of the evidence of each witness examined and subject to the adjournment provided for by section 9, shall not be bound to adjourn any trial for any purpose, unless such adjournment is in its opinion necessary in the interests of justice."

Now, Sir, one of the most important principles relating to the recording of evidence has been that the exact words used by an accused person and by any other persons who were examined about any important issue should be before the Court. I have had the honour of practising the profession of law for many years, and I know, Sir how careful how pealous, the Court is in noting down the exact words which have been used by a accused person or witness in criminal cases. This practice has been so strongly insisted on in the United Provinces that the record which is kept of the statement of a witness is looked into to find out exactly what he said. Sometimes a single word makes a great deal of difference; an incorrect record of what a witness said may lead to an accused being deprived of his liberty or sometimes even to his being unable to save his life. So I submit, Sir, that a departure from this principle which is proposed to be introduced is dangerous. I submit, Sir; that it is only fair that anybody who is charged with any such serious offence as will be put into the schedule, should have the right of having every word of the statements which may affect his life or liberty recorded. Now, Sir, sometimes a trial takes months, sometimes it takes weeks. I have known some Judges who can carry in their head a great deal of the evidence they have heard; but even the best of them can after all carry only a small quantity of the evidence. I do not think that any Judge will take it upon himself to say that he will be able to carry in his memory all the new points that arise in evidence in a long trial, and that therefore there is no danger of his being led into error by the exact language used by a witness not being fully recorded by the Court. I submit that here is a departure of principle which is worthy of reconsideration.

ANOTHER PROVISION OF CARDINAL CHARACTER.

There is another provision of a cardinal character which also involves a principle namely, that which is embodied in section 17. That section lays down that

"The judgment of the Court shall be final and conclusive and, notwithstanding the provisions of the Code or of any other law for the time being in force or of anything having the force of law by whatsoever authority made or done, there shall be no appeal from any order or sentence of the Court, and no High Court shall have authority to revise any such order or sentence or to transfer any case from such Court. . . . ."

I submit, My Lord that this is a very grave departure in principle from the rule which has hitherto been laid down in the existing ordinary law for trial of serious offences. Both an investigation by a Magistrate before commitment for trial and the right of a appeal are very important privileges and safeguards. Judges also are liable to err like everyone else. It is possible that two or even three Judges sitting together to hear a case as the first and the last court may attach too much weight to certain evidence which they ought not to, may not attach the weight to some other evidence which they ought to. There is a possibility of their judgments on facts not being correct. Where a man's life is concerned, where a man's honour or liberty is concerned, is it fair to deprive him of the opportunity of having the facts of his case considered by another tribunal, by another two judges who will be able to bring a more detached mind to the consideration of the case? I submit the proposal to do away with the right of appeal is a very great departure from the principle of justice which have hitherto been embodied in our codes.

SECTION 18.

Then, Sir, another important principle is involved in section 18. The result of section 18 becoming law will be that a statement which is hitherto not regarded to admissible in evidence will be regarded as admissible in evidence. The condition imposed is this, where the statement of any person has been recorded by a magistrate and such statement has been read over and explained to the person making it and has been signed by him or the statement of any person has been recorded by the Court but such person has not been cross examined (at present this will not be admissible under the evidence Act) such statement may be admitted in evidence in the Court if the person making the same is dead or cannot be found or is incapable of giving evidence and the Court is of opinion that such the disappearance or incapacity has been caused in the interests of the accused." Hitherto the law requires that the account must have had an opportunity to cross-examine that men whose statement was to be used against him. If that opportunity had not been available the statement was not to be used against the accused. To make the section applicable court must first decide whether the death or disappearance or incapacity of a witness to give evidence has been caused in the interests of the accused. As that my friend Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, will create a case within a case, and it would let in a new danger of injustice being done. Under section 114 of the Evidence Act, if evidence which should have been produced is not produced there may be a presumption made against the person who does not produce it or in whose interests it has been kept back. If a Court is satisfied that the accused or some one working as his agent has had a hand in the disappearance of the piece of evidence, it may make a presumption against him it may take that fact into account; but submit that to admit a statement the correctness of which the accused had no opportunity to test will be dangerous. A man may make a statement against another out of enmity or out of any other evil motive or under the influence of some enemy of the accused he or the person who got him to make that statement may know that the statement would not stand the test of cross examination. This man may disappear or be made to disappear. Evidence may be given which may satisfy the Court that the man was removed in the intertsts of the accused and the statement of that man may become evidence and prove fatal to the accused. I submit, Sir that there is much danger to the accused lurking here. I submit, we should stick to the principle that the person against whom a piece of evidence is to be used must have had an opportunity of cross-examining the man who made the statement. The proposed departure from that principle is wrong.

PART II OF THE BILL.

I will now go on to part II of the Bill. This is more dangerous than even Part I, and the principles which are involved in it are such that I submit that the Government should not accept them but should reject them. This Part deals with preventive measure "If the Governor-General-in Council is satisfied that movements which are, in his opinion, likely to lead to the commission of offences against the state are being extensively promoted in the whole or any part of British India, he may by notification in the "Gazette of India" make a declaration to that effect," and there the provisions of this part of the bill shall come into effect in that area. After this has been done, in the opinion of the Government there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in such area in any movement of the nature referred to in section 20, the local government may by order in writing containing a declaration to that effect give all or any of the many directions which are enumerated. Hitherto the principle has been, as it is embodied in the Criminal Procedure Code, that if the Government has any reason to suspect a man's character he may be called upon to show cause why he should not be bound over or to give security for good behaviour. A complaint may be made against him by the Superintendent of Police or the District Magistrate or by any private individual; then the Code provides that the magistrate shall call upon that man to appear before him that he shall record what evidence may be given against him and call upon the man to give evidence against such evidence and then pass a judicial order, if he thinks fit binding him over or directing him to furnish security. When the magistrate has dealt with a case there is an opportunity for the accused to have the order of the magistrate revised by a higher authority. What is proposed to be substituted for that such a judicial order is the opinion and order of an executive authority, viz., the local government. To show how it is likely to lead to injustice, I will give one instance. Mr Tilak was ordered by a magistrate to give security about a couple of years ago. He applied to the High Court and had the order revised by the High Court. The High Court set aside that order and let Mr. Tilak free. Now, when this Act comes into force if in the opinion of the local government any person is in the position of Mr. Tilak the fate of that person would be sealed; he will have no chance of going to the High Court. The local government's opinion will be law; it may wrongly deprive him up and he will not have a chance of having his case considered in a judicial way. I submit Sir that this is dangerous departure from the right principle and ought to be eliminated from the Bill.

NOVEL AND DANGEROUS PRINCIPLES

The Bill bristles with principles of a novel and dangerous character. It authorises the local Government to an opinion first against a man that he is of an undesirable character and upon that opinion being formed to restrain the liberty of the man which under the existing code a judicial authority alone can do. Having done that, the local Government sends the case to any investigating authority who has to investigate the matter and to report to the local Government whether its order is right or wrong. I submit Sir that this is putting the cart before the horse; it will literally be a preposterous procedure. The right thing to do is to give a man a chance to defend himself before an order is passed against him. Here you will pass an order which will create a black mark against a man, restrict his liberty and then send his case to an investigating authority to consider and report upon it. What is that authority to consider? And the local Government has made an order under section 21, such Government shall I note that it is imperative; that it is not left to the discretion of the local Government to do so or not, such Government shall as soon as may be, forward to the investigating authority to be constituted under this Act their statement in writing setting forth plainly the grounds on which Government consider it necessary that the order should be made and shall lay before the investigating authority all material facts and circumstances in its possession in support of its action. The investigating authority shall then hold an inquiry in camera and this also is a departure from established principle, for the purpose of ascertaining what, in its opinion, having regard to the facts and circumstances adduced by the Government, appears against the person in respect of whom the order has been made. Such authority shall in every case allow the person a reasonable opportunity of appearing before it at some stage of its proceedings and shall, if he so appears, explain to him the nature of the charge made against him and shall hear any explanation he may have to offer and may make such further investigation (if any) as appears to such authority to be relevant and reasonable." I submit, my Lord, and that the right thing to do is to let a higher judicial authority if you please, for investigation before any order is made against the man. Why should executive authority be substituted for judicial? And secondly, there is a clear danger of injustice being done to the man, when the local Government arrives at a conclusion against him and then sends his case to the investigating authority for a report. This is wrong in principle and ought to be discarded.

There is yet another principle of a novel character which is incorporated in the first proviso, which says that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person whose case is before it, any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual." I submit that my liberty is all to me and unless and until I have been found by law to be unworthy of it my liberty must be protected. I submit that if a man's liberty is assailed if he is accused, he has the right to know who his assailant is there is a danger of injustice being done him if this fact is withheld from him. This is another case of the subversion of a principle which has been always honoured in the United Kingdom and wherever British courts have been established. The next sub-clause says: Subject to the provisions of sub-clause—the inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case; and in making the inquiry, such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence." Now, your Excellency, you are well aware how jealously judges have guarded against any departure from the recognised rules of evidence and this Government Bill lays down that the investigating authority shall not be found to observe the rules of evidence. This again is entirely wrong and objectionable.

THE RIGHT SOLUTION.

I have already dealt with Part III, and I shall not go into the details which are dealt with in the last part. Now I respectfully ask your Lordship to consider whether in view of the general manner in which the Rowlatt Committee has put the case of legislation in view of the fact that they have accepted a dark alternative when they might have accepted a bright one, in view of all the changes that have happened and are going to happen, in view of the great part which India has played in the war and of the loyalty of the people of India which has been repeatedly acknowledged in high quarters, I ask you, my Lord, to consider if a permanent measure of the kind before us is needed and if this is the time to introduce any such measures. I would in this connection remind the Council of what the Government did in South Africa. In South Africa, General Botha fought against His Majesty's Government in the Boer War. How did the Government deal with him? They established self-Government in South Africa and made friends with General Botha and those who had fought with him and what has been the result of that wise and generous policy? In this great war General Botha has played a most noble part, and the magnificent services which he has rendered to the cause of the British Empire have been acknowledged with gratitude by British statesmen. The whole world has admired those services. That, I submit, is the better way, the way to win even those subjects of His Majesty as have been unfortunately led into wrong paths. The need of the situation is to win the hearts of the people as a whole by liberal administrative measures. Let race distinctions be obliterated; let the recommendations which have been made in your Lordship's and Mr. Montagu's Report be adopted, with such further recommendations as have been made by public bodies; let the question of the services be dealt with in a liberal manner; let a liberal number of Commissions in the Army be thrown open to Indians; let there be industries encouraged and multiplied; let there be fresh courses of education and fresh careers provided for our young men. Then there will be gratitude in the land; there will be satisfaction and contentment in the land, and we shall not hear any more of revolutionary crime. If, when that has been done there should still be any such crime noticed anywhere the way to deal with it will be a much gentler and more parental way, and not the way which has been suggested here. For these reasons, my Lord, I oppose the motion that this Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I submit that the Bill should be dropped.

CONGRESS LEAGUE DEPUTATION.

Delhi, Feb. 27.

The Hon. Pandit Malaviya announces that the following gentlemen agreed to form the first batch of the Deputation of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League:—

United Provinces:—The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Behar:—The Hon'ble Syed Hasan Imam.

Bengal:—Mr. B K Chakravarti. Mr. B C Pal. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Haq.

Bombay:—Mr. M K Gandhi, the Hon'ble Mr. V J Patel, Mr. N C Kelkar.

Madras:—Mr. V P Madhav Rao C I E., the Hon'ble Mr. B Narasinha Aiyer and Mr. George Joseph.

The Punjab:—Lala Harkishen Lal. Mr. Wazl Husain.

Central Provinces and Berar:—The Hon'ble Mr. G S Khaparde, the Hon'ble Pandit B N Sinkul.

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

POWELL'S ABDOMINAL BELTS

SPECIALLY RECOMMENDED

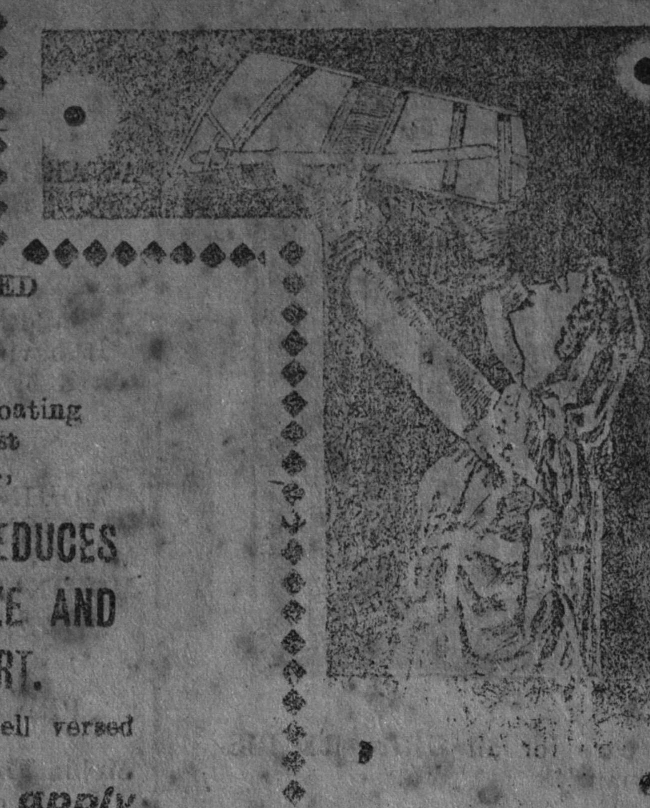
FOR

General Support, Obesity, Floating Kidneys, Appendicitis, Post Operative Cases. etc., etc.,

SUPPORTS THE ABDOMEN REDUCES THE FIGURE TO NORMAL SIZE AND AFFORDS EVERY COMFORT.

Assistants (Male and Female) well versed in Anatomy are in attendance.

For further particulars apply for our Descriptive Treatise



N. POWELL & CO., Bombay.

"HOW TO ROLL IN WEALTH"

A SURE GUIDE TO MAKE MONEY EASILY AND INDEPENDENTLY.

New roads to Wealth where fortunes are found—many curious modes of earning living hints and helps for the millions.

SECOND EDITION, THOROUGHLY REVISED AND ENLARGED.

Price per copy, Re. 1, Postage Free

Appended with an English Hindustani Glossary of all the technical terms, used. Free presentation:—The two renowned Pamphlets 1. "Napoleon Bonaparte's Book of fate" and 2 "The Tempest" (a Tale from Shakespeare) are given free, with each copy of "How to roll in Wealth."

Specimen of the Press Opinions.

"No householder should be without a compilation like this, as he will find in it all that he requires for domestic purposes and a good deal more besides."—Indian Mirror."

"It is a very useful book."—"Amrita Bazar Patrika."

"The Book gives numerous rare and valuable receipts for home, office, and factory use. This is the way to save money."—"Bombay Gazette."

"The work contains many rare and valuable secrets, with full instructions for manufacturing and preparing many useful articles which may be sold at a large profit."—"Times of India."

"The book contains many rare and most valuable recipes, taken evidently from standard works which will prove useful to every householder."—"Bengalee."

The book appears to contain a mass of interesting information, as will appear from the excerpts from the newspapers, it has been most favourably reviewed by the entire Press of India."—Hindu."

HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY

CONTAINING GENUINE RECIPES

—OF—

"A Singson's Celebrated Inks, Sealing Wax, Varnishes, and Disinfecting Powder"

Daintily bound in Cloth. Original, Price, per Copy, Rs. 10.

REDUCE PRICE PER COPY, RE. 1. POSTAGE FREE

By publishing this most useful and popular work, solely for the benefit of the public, the Author has manifested that manly heart and matchless self-denial which have no precedent and deserve to be justly called EXEMPLARY.

FURTHER CONCESSION!

To the buyers of both together, Rs. 1-8-0 and that too, Post Free!

J S Anglo-Indian Co.,

MANUFACTURING CHEMISTS. TARN TARAN—AMRITSAR (PUNJAB)

Share List open till 15th March 1919.

The Dilkhusa Tea Co., Ld.

Registered Office: Calcutta

Issued Capital--Rs. 2,00,000.

Subscribed Capital--Rs. 1.00,000.

Face value of each share is Rs. 50, payable in ten instalments of Rs. 5 per share.

ONLY 600 SHARES ARE RESERVED FOR APPLICANTS FROM BENGAL PRESIDENCY.

Dividend of 50 per cent after 5 years.

As the shares are held by genuine investors, no shares would be available even at a premium, after the share list is closed.

Plantation of 125 acres in this year.

130 Permanent Coolies settled in the Garden.

Ask for a Progress Report

Pandit & Co.,

MANAGING AGENTS.

7, Hare Street, Calcutta.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE.

February 26.

Babu Madhu Sudan Gupta, Manager of the Pachetgarh Wards Estate is allowed leave on medical certificate for one month and sixteen days.

Babu Kalipada Maitra Dy Collr on leave is appointed to be an Asst Settlement Officer Nadia.

Mr I Newton Technical Adviser to the Settlement Officer, Nadia is allowed leave for two months and thirteen days.

REGISTRATION.

Babu Raj Kumar Basu Dist Sub Regr of Noakhali is granted privilege leave for nine days in extension of the leave already granted to him.

GENERAL DEPARTMENT.

Babu Banabilas Ray, Offig Prof David Hare Training College, Calcutta was allowed leave for twenty nine days.

Babu Purna Ch Kundu, offig Principal Chittagong Col was allowed privilege leave for seventeen days.

The following promotions and confirmations are made in the P E Service:—

Promoted to class II.—Babu Raj Mohan Sen from the 16th December 1918.

Promoted to class III--Dr Aditya Nath Mukharja from the 1st Nov 1918. Babu Chuni Lal Sarkar, from the 16th Dec 1918.

Promoted to class IV.—Babu Kiran Ch Mitra from the 23rd Oct 1918. Babu Bama Charan Bhattacharji, from the 1st Nov 1918 Babu Hem Chandra De from the 16th Dec 1918.

Promoted to class V.—Maulvi Matloob Ahmad Khan Chaudhuri from the 23rd Oct 1918. Miss Hridaybala Basu from the 1st Nov 1918. Mr Bawa Kartar Singh from the 16th Dec 1918. Dr M Musharraful Hukk sub pro tempore from the 16th Dec 1918.

Confirmed in class VI.—Mr F J Cuerden from the 16th July 1918 but to continue to be seconded. Dr Nagendra Mohan Gupta, from the 18th Oct 1918. Babu Praphulla Chandra Ghosh from the 23rd Oct 1918. Babu Aghor Nath Banarji from the 1st November 1918.

Promoted to class VI.—Babu Beni Madhab Das sub pro tempore, from the 16th July 1918. Babu Ashutosh Shastri sub pro tempore from the 22nd Sept 1918. Babu Hem Ch Das Gupta, sub pro tempore from the 18th Oct 1918. Babu Hari Lal Chaudhuri sub pro tempore, from the 23rd Oct 1918. Rai Sahib Bidhu Bhusan Mazumdar, sub pro tempore from the 1st Nov 1918.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

Babu Narendra Nath Sen Gupta, Pleader Judge's Court, Dacca is appointed to act, until further orders, as an Addl Munsif of Barisal.

Babu Paresh Nath Roy Chaudhuri, Sub Judge and Asst Sessions Judge of the 24 Parganas, is allowed leave for eleven days with effect from the 3rd March 1919.

Babu Kunja Bihari Biswas, Sub Judge of Tippera, is allowed an extension of leave for seven days.

Mr Kedar Nath Chaudhuri, Sub Judge and Asst Sessions Judge is allowed leave up to the 28th February 1919.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Babu Surendra Nath Bhattacharji, Sub Engr., is granted an extension of leave on medical certificate for three months.

REGISTRATION DEPARTMENT.

Maulvi Saiyid Haidar Ali, Jt. Sub-Regr. of Basirhat at Hasnabad, is allowed leave for one month and thirteen days.

Babu Nibaran Ch Das, Sub-Regr is allowed extraordinary leave without allowances for six months in extension of the leave already granted.

Babu Prokash Nath Basu, Sub-Regr is allowed extraordinary leave without allowances for six months in extension of the leave already granted.

Maulvi Saiyid Zarghamuddin Haidar Hasony, Sub-Regr of Dumkol-Azimganj, is allowed an extension of leave for one month.

Babu Radha Ranjan Ray, Sub-Regr of Nawabganj, is allowed leave for nine days.

Maulvi Saiyid Agzal Ali, Sub-Regr of Bankura, acted as Sub-Regr of Nawabganj from the 23rd Jan to 31st Jan 1919.

Maulvi Abdus Samad Khan, Sub-Regr of Mangalkote, is allowed an extension of leave on medical certificate for one month and ten days.

Babu Jitendra Kumar Mitra, Sub-Regr of Kaliganj is allowed an extension of leave on medical certificate for seven days. Babu Birendra Krishna Basu, Sub-Regr of Alipore, is appointed to act for him.

CIVIL MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

Temp Asst Surgeon Krishnadhan Sinha, Offig Dy Supdt, Observation Ward, Bhowanipore, is allowed privilege leave for 2 months and 15 days. Temp Asst Surgeon Birendra Nath Chakrabatti, offig at Bhola is appointed temporarily to act for him.

Temp Asst Surgeon Saktidhar Mitra did supernumerary duty at the Medical Coll Hospital, Calcutta, from the 27th Jan to the 9th Feb 1919.

PROVINCIAL EDUCATIONAL SERVICE.

Miss Victoria Mukherji, Asst Head Mistress, Bethune Collegiate School is appointed to act as Head Mistress of the school.

Maulvi Saiyad Mohsin Ali, Asst Inspector of Schools for Muhammadan Education, Chittagong Div is granted privilege leave for two months and two days.

Maulvi Musharraf Hossain, Dy Inspector of Schools, Nadia, is appointed to act as Asst Inspector of Schools for Muhammadan Education, Chittagong Division.

Babu Bhupendra Ch Basu is confirmed in his appointment as a Prof in the Presidency College and in class VIII from 7th Nov 1918.

ORDERS BY COMMISSIONERS OF DIVISIONS.

Previous order posting Babu Birendra Nath Bose, sub pro tempore Sub-Dy Coll, to Hooghly Sadar is cancelled.

Maulvi Fazul Azim, sub pro tempore Sub-Dy Collr. Dacca, is transferred to Mymensingh sadar.

Dr. Bose's DEPILATORY SOAP removes hairs neatly within 2 or 3 minutes without any pain or bodily harm. Free from mercury or injurious drugs. Each box As. 6, Postages As. 5. 3 boxes Re. 1, Postages As. 7. The Bagh Bazar Agency (P) Post Box No. 464 Calcutta.

SAKTI OUSHADHALAYA.

DACCA & CALCUTTA.

THE BEST AND THE CHEAPEST THE BIGGEST AND THE MOST RELIABLE AYURVEDIC PHARMACY IN INDIA for the manufacture and sale of Shastric medicines both to physicians and patients. Established in 1901 for the regeneration of Ayurvedic medicines. A great boon to Humanity.

CHYABNAPRASH—Rs. 3 per seer for cough, cold, Asthma and debility.

MAKARADHWAJ—Rs. 4 per tola (Panacea for all diseases with proper vehicles).

SARIBADI SARSA—Rs. 3 per seer. The best blood purifier and the ideal tonic.

(1) FACTORY—Swamibag Road, Dacca (2) HEAD OFFICE—Patuatuli Street Dacca (3) KASHI BRANCH—Dassaswamed Ghat, Benares City, (4) Rangpur BRANCH—Rangpur. (5) CALCUTTA HEAD OFFICE—52-1 Beadon Street (6) CALCUTTA BRANCHES—227. Harrison Road (near Howrah Bridge), (7) 134 Bowbazar Street (8) 71-I, Russa Road Calcutta.

PROPRIETOR—MATHURA MOHON CHAKRAVARTY, B. A.

Books for New India.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA				SISTER NIVEDITA			
Karma yoga	0	12	0	"The Master as I him"—being pages from the Life of Swami Vivekananda	2	8	0
Jnana yoga	1	8	0	The Civic and National Ideals	1	0	0
Raja yoga	1	0	0	Notes of some Wanderings with the Swami Vivekananda	1	0	0
Bhakti yoga	0	10	0	Agressive Hinduism	0	4	0
Lectures from Colombo to Almora	2	0	0	Hints on Education	0	4	0
Chicago Address	0	4	0	(each volume is available separately)			
My Master	0	4	0	Sister Nivedita (A study) by Sri Sarala Bala Dasi	0	4	0
Thoughts on Vedanta	0	10	0	Swami Vivekananda (A study) by Prof Kamakshy Nath Mitra M. A.	0	6	0
Religion of Love	0	10	0	The Words of the Master (selected precepts of Sri Rama Krishna Paramhansa)	0	6	0
Study of Religion	0	10	0				
Science and Philosophy of Religion	0	10	0				
The Life of Swami Vivekananda in 4 volumes, Price Vol 1—III at Rs. 3-4 each	9	12	0				
Do Vol IV	2	8	0				

UDBODHAN OFFICE, 1 and 2 Mukherjee Lane, Baghbazar CALCUTTA.

JUST OUT! JUST OUT!! JUST OUT!!!

A WONDERFUL BOOK. A GRAND BOOK.

Romantic and thrilling incidents top to bottom.

THE MYSTERIES OF THE MOGUL COURT.

A HISTORICAL ROMANCE

By Dhirendra Nath Paul, Author of Srikrishna, Hindu Philosophy etc. etc. Completed in Two vols. Cloth bound 860 Pages.

Price Rs. 6 (six only) Postage extra.

This work the Mysteries of the Mogul Court will be quite an unique one. No one has yet made an attempt to place before the public the Mysteries, secret conspiracies—private and public executions—deep-laid plots, horrible hair split ting incidents—within the thousands of labyrinths, secret passages, rooms, doors and windows in the celestial palaces of the great Moguls and also undreamt of luxuries and pleasures—the flow of vast wealth quite unimaginable. This unique work being a Historical Romance will give flesh and blood to this skeleton and place the Mogul Emperors, their great Begums and their innumerable Bandies together with the great Amirs, Omraos, Manshabdars and Rajput Rajas in their living firms.

DATTA BOSE & CO.,

29, DURGA CHARAN MITTER STREET, CALCUTTA.

জ্বরমলীন

জ্বরের যম

GERMLINE

OR

THE GREAT MALARIA-GERM-KILLER.

This is the only best remedy for fevers of all kinds, either acute or chronic especially where Quinine has failed to effect a cure. Its efficacy is unparallelled in cases of Chronic Fevers whether attended with the enlargements of the Liver, Spleen or the abdomen or not GERMLINE has given Life, Enjoyment and Health to thousands of Dying, Drooping and Hopeless fever-stricken patients. It will also cure you and enable you to enjoy all the blessings of a healthy life. It is the most favourite Fever medicine of the day.

Price per bottle As. 8, Dozen Rs. 5.

No particular restriction need be observed regarding diet and regimen

SOLD EVERYWHERE OR BY

R. GAVIN & CO. *155 Bowbazar St Calcutta.*

Telegrams:—"GERMLINE." Telephone No. 1388.

DON'T POISON YOUR SYSTEM WITH DRUGS

A WONDER A CHARM AND A HOPE TO THE HOPELESS ON THE SUFFERING WORLD.

Are you suffering from Piles? Do you want to be cured for ever? If so loose no time, get a Fakir's wonderful Ring and use it according to the directions, this Ring has gained a world-wide reputation, as it is the only specific for Piles of all kinds.

Try at once and be cured within 7 days. Its value should be refunded if not cured Each Ring Re. 1-4-0 Postage extra.

H. R. REMEDY CO.,

7, FALGOON DAS LANE, CALCUTTA

LEPROSY TREATMENT

PUNDIT RAM PRAN SHARMA, Specialists at Leprosy and Skin diseases, ably treats Batrakta, Leprosy, red black and white patches, insensibility, bad alcers, leucoderma, syphilitic posion, mercurial diseases, etc. Treatment of Leprosy and its condition. Book free at HOWRAH KUSTHA KUTIR Khurbat Road Howrah.

LEPROSY CURE

People desirous to save a speedy infallible and permanent cure of Leprosy. Leucoderma Loss of eye-sight from sympathitic Poison and all other erruption of the skin or all other disorders caused by the ill-effects of mercury—either hereditory or acquired—should come under the wonderful treatment of

ABADHUT KAVIRAJ,
HARISH CHANDRA RAY,
27-3 Raja Rajbullav Street,
Baghbazar,

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta

DR. B. DEY'S

Specific for Insanity.

Fits, Hysteric, Epilentic, etc.
WONDERFULLY EFFICACIOUS
NUMEROUS MARVELLOUS CURE
Boon To Suffering Humanity.
Trial Solicited.
Highest Refernces. For 8 Day's use Rs. 3

Apply to:
DR. B. DEY AND DR. S. N NUDNY L.M.S.
10, Raja Lane, Harrison Road P. O.
CALCUTTA.

Brilliant Ink Pill

The "Bengalee," says: "These inks are excellent in quality and can compare favourably with some of the best known foreign brands. The price is unusually cheap."

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" says: "These inks give a brilliant and lasting character to the writing."

Each Pill makes 1 inkpot of ink. Price—Bright Blue Black, As. 15 per gross (144 Pills); Diamond Blue Black, Re. 1-8 per gross; Red ink, Re. 1-6 per gross; Green ink, Re. 1-4 per gross.

U. C. CHAKERBATI,
3 Tarak Chatterjee's Lane. CALCUTTA.

RATI BIJOY

or MARVELLOUS RESTORATIVE.

An infallible remedy for loss of manhood, nervous and sexual debilities etc. It wonderfully increases the verilepower. Every dose acts like a charm and makes the old young and gives the young more strength and vigour. A day's trial will convince you of its efficacy. Price I phial Re. 1-4, 3 phials Rs. 3 only. Postage extra

BISUDHA BHAISHAJYA BHANDAR.
(The most reliable and the cheapest Ayurvedic Medical Hall).
125 Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.
Prescription and Catalogue free on application.

DR. COOPERS

CHIRETTA (Regd)
TABLETS

("Quinine" of India)

Daily use of one tablet is a sure preventive against malaria and other fevers. It increased appetite, regulates stomach facts as a powerful tonic.

Per bottle of 100 tablet As 12 only.

RATOL

(Regd)

(A Wonderful Preparation)
Guard against Plague

Ratol is the only remedy that drives away Rats without killing them.

Price per bottle of 150 tablets As 8 only.

DR. COOPERS
AGUE MIXTURE

A positive cure of Malarial fevers. A safe remedy not containing any Aconite, Phenacetin etc.

Large bottle As 12
Small bottle As 10 only.

Apply for full particulars to:—

THE TABLET MFG. CO.,
182 Ripon Road Bombay.
Selling Agents wanted in every town

TO THE SUFFERERS

PLEASE WRITE AT ONCE

The Particulars of your troubles for diseases, whether acute or chronic. We will send you a good Prescription, after consulting with 4 Eminent, well-known, and Vast Experienced old doctors. Rs. 4 per Prescription V. P.

MANAGER,
MONDAL & CO.,
CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS,
12, Sham Bazar Bridge Road, Calcutta.

G. W. M. REYNOLDS BOLD TYPE EDITIONS.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Mysteries of London (Illd) 12 vol	3	0	0
,, Old London 3 vols	2	4	0
Rye House plot 4 vol	3	0	0
Mysteries of Paris (By E Sue)	1	8	0
Beauty and pleasure 9 vols	6	0	0
Mary Price 8 vols	5	0	0
Loves of the Harem 4 vols	3	0	0
Virgin's Kiss (Uld) 4 vols	3	0	0
Clergyman's daughter 4 vols	3	0	0
Empress Eugenies 3 vols	2	4	0
Canonbury House 3 vols	2	4	0
Pickwick Abroad 3 vols	2	4	0
Maymiddleton and Faust each	1	8	0
Soldier's Wife 2 vols	1	4	0
Young Fisherman	0	10	0
Mary Stuart 2 vols	1	4	0
Seamstress and Macaire each	1	0	0
Coral Island 4 vols	3	0	0
Pope Joan 3 vols	1	12	0
Master Timothy's Book case 3 vols	1	12	0
Kenneth 4 vols	3	0	0
Margaret 4 vols	3	0	0
Parricide 3 vols	1	12	0

THE SHANMUGA VILAS BOOK DEPOT
COERGE TOWN, MADRAS.

FREE VAIDYAVIDYA

A merical Book of 123 pages, Tutor to youths, advisor to adults, Midwife to woman kind and an efficient doctor to patients.

GRATIS AND POST FREE.

RAJ VAIDYA NARAYANJI KESHABJI,

177, Harrison Road, Burra Bazar, Calcutta.

P. VENKATCHALA PANDIT'S AYURVADIC.

Lokamayahara Kasturi Pills.

By using a few of these Renowned Pills every day (Better with Betel leaves or Pan Supari(THE BODY SHALL BECOME PROOF AGAINST ALL SORTS OF ORDINARY DISEASES. No family should be without these pills as they are a boon to children and young babies. These pills do enrich the blood and also help digestion. Please note that our pills are free from all deterious substances. Prices within the easy reach of every one being annas (0-4-0) four only per bottle (wrapped with direction paper) containing 250 to 300 pills. One bottle is given free for every 5 bottles Price including postage for 25 botles is Rs. 5 and annas 5 only.

SREE SEETHA RAGHAVA VAIDYASALA
Mysore S. India.

FEVERINE

(REGD.)

Cures Malaria Influenza Pneumonia and Enlargement of Spleen and Liver disorders in a few hours. A specific for Debility.

Price Re 1.

Packing and Postage Extra.

Gaur & Co.

2, Kalakar Street,
CALCUTTA.

DR. BISWAS'S

Electric Pill

ACT LIKE A CHARM.

HAVE marvellous restorative powers and act as infallible remedy for loss of power weak and debilitated organs.

Brain workers will find the pills of inestimable value.

One dose will convince you of their wonderful effects.

Remember—"Proof of the pudding lies in the eating thereof." Correspondences are kept strictly confidential.

DR. J. BOSE, L M S, Calcutta, writes:—"I have used Dr Biswas's 'Electric Pills' in cases of nervous and sexual debility and found it efficacious. People suffering from these diseases will find it useful."

DR. S. C. MITRA, L M S, Calcutta, writes:—"Dear Sir,—I have used your 'Electric Pills' in many cases of Neurasthenia and loss of virility and I am glad to inform you that they have proved uniformly successful. I can recommend them to those people who suffer from the same disease."

Try and convince yourself. Large Phial Rs. 4, Small Phial Rs. 2-4, V. P. Extra.

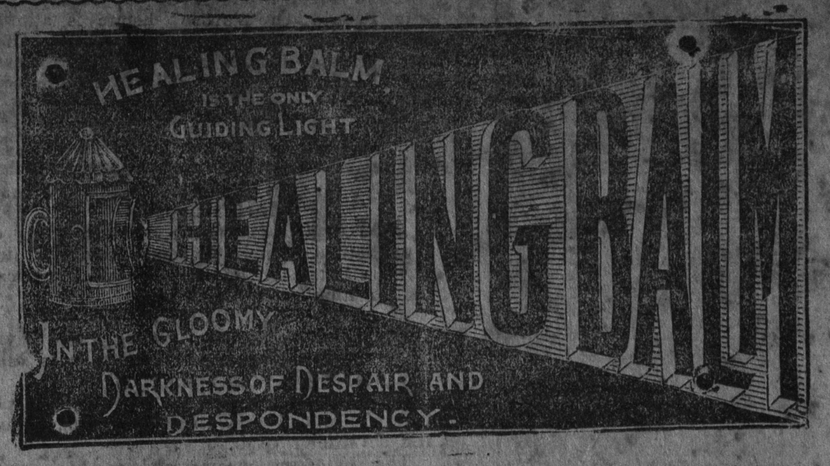
APPLY TO—**DR. T. BISWAS,**
AMRITA BAZAR P.O., (JESSORE.

DO YOU SUFFER FROM WASTING DISEASES?

Such as Sparmatorrhoea with its attendant evils viz. wit-dreams, loss of memory and energy, indigestion, constipation, weakness of the brain, and various other disorders that grow out of nervous debility. If so, why not try our SWAPNA SODHAN CHURNA, an infallible Ayurvedic remedy for these troubles. Price one phial for 15 days' use Rs. 2, postage As. 7 three phials Rs. 5. Postage etc. As 11.

Catalogue of Ayurvedic medicines free on request.

KABIRAJ K. L. ROY,
41, Bagbazar Street, Calcutta.



For 24 YEARS in showing the path to a sure cure for all URINARY DISCHARGES old or new, simple or Complex or obstinate!!

(1) EFFECT FROM the FIRST DOSE.
(2) RELIEF from the FIRST DAY.
(3) CURE in the FIRST WEEK.

The above are the SPECIALITIES which none but HEALING BALM possesses. It suits patients of both sexes and of all ages at all stages, and perfect CURE effected by it of all on whom other medicines were unsuccessfully employed, is its unique merit. None have excelled it and few have equalled it.

CURE it effects, is swift, perfect and RADICAL for it eradicates the disease germs called GONOCOCOIL.

It is easy to take, rule easy to observe, price easy to pay, and once brought always sought for its excellence.

DOCTORS—COLONIES, MAJORS, CAPTAINS M. D's., F. R. C. S's. M. R. C. S's. etc., all praise it, prescribe it and use it. Please see our free booklet and know what certificates we have got. Write for it to-day—now.

TWO SIZES LARGE RS. 2-8-0,—SMALL Rs. 1-12.

CANDO

The best NERVINE TONIC ever manufactured. It is the strongest Reacuperation agen at once rejuvicating and revittalising the user. It increases vital fluid strengthens manhood and is Cleaness—Bad Blood,—removes Rheumatism,—Cures Sores,—regulates the Bowels, Improves Appetities and ride the system of Mercury and Syphillis. God for all female disease. Each bottle Rs. 2. Three bottles Rs. 5-8.

EBONY OR HAIR DYE

The problem of premature old age made easy. Guaranteed that it contains no deleterious substances. PER EXCELLENCE.

Colour natural defies detection, stands washing. No injury to hair, in stain or skin or cloth no unpleasant smell. Makes grey hair jet black true to its name.

Set—Rs. 1-2, (2 phials and 2 brushes). Each phial Ans. 8.

OF ALL MEDICINE VENDORS.

R. LAUGIN & CO.,

MFG. CHEMISTS. 148 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA.
Phone No. 1615 Telegrams—"HEALING" Calcutta.

Result of the War

will never be more interesting than what as prospectus of the India Provident Company Ltd., the Safest and Cheapest House for Life and Marriage Assurances, will be to you. Because it will tell on how you can get your life insured on a monthly Premium of Re. 1 only to get up to Rs. 569 Possesses Govt. Securities. Claim paid over Rs. 100,000. Wanted agents also on most liberal terms. Earnest workers earning Rs. 50 to 100 a month working at leisure hours only. For particulars apply at once mentioning this paper to the Secretary 29, Grey Street, Calcutta.

ELLIOTT & CO.,

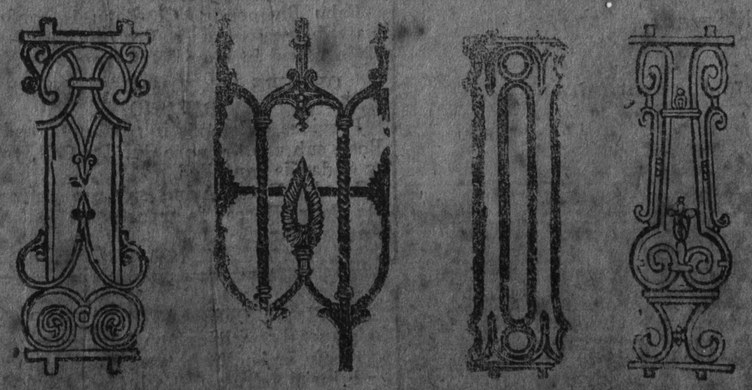
12, Clive Row, CALCUTTA.

CASTINGS

Of every description. At Cheapest Rates,

STRUCTURAL STEEL WORK

OF ALL KINDS MANUFACTURED.



Price and Estimates on Application.

IMPORTANT NOTICE

Makers of **Mohin Flute.**

AWARDED GOLD MEDAL AT THE CALCUTTA INDUSTRIAL EXHIBITION.

Please Look at the Spelling.
MOHIN BROS.
and also the photo of the inventor
It having appeared that the public deceived by some unprincipled trader offering.

WORTHLESS IMITATION.

MOHIN BROS. beg most respectfully to CAUTION the PUBLIC that genuine MOHIN FLUTE can be had only from MOHIN BROS.
Nos. 3 and 4, Lower Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

PRICE OF THE MOHIN FLUTES.

Mohin Flute 3 octave 3 tops F TO F	Rs. 81
Do do do C to C	Rs. 49
Do superior mellow tone gold mounted	Rs. 45
Do 4 stops 2 sets Reeds F to F	Rs. 60
Do Superior	Rs. 70
Do C to C 67 Vibration	Rs. 70
Organ Mohin Flute 3½ octave 5 stops 2 sets Reeds one pedal	Rs. 85
Mohin Flute 3½ octave 5 stops double sets of Reeds	Rs. 100
Do 3½ octave, stops 3 sets Reeds C to F	Rs. 150
Do Superior	Rs. 175
Folding 3 octave 3 stops C to C a set of Reed	Rs. 70
Do 4 stops 2 sets Reeds	Rs. 90
Do 3½ octave 5 stops	Rs. 120

HEALTHY HAIR.

Black luxuriant, flowing hair-silky fine, yet so strong, you comb it and brush it any way like. Haven't you often desired your hair to be that way? With the aid of—

KAMINIA-OIL.

(REGISTERED.)

you can have just such hair by simply applying it every day as directed. It also keeps the brain cool, memory refreshed and scalp clean. Besides it is most exquisitely perfumed and has a very sweet fragrance.

Give it a trial to-day. A sample phial is sent free on receipt of half anna stamp.

Price per bottle Re: 1 V P As 6 extra Price 3 bottles Rs: 2-10 V. P. As. 14 extra.

Can be had of all well-known dealers or from sole Agents:—

THE ANGLO-INDIAN DRUG AND COMMERCIAL CO.

No. 155 Jumma Masjid BOMBAY.

SCENTED HAIR OILS CAN BE MADE AT YOUR OWN HOME.

Simply by mixing the undermentioned PURE SCENTS with Cocoanut, or Sesame Oil you can make 8 Bottles of First-class Scented Hair Oils at your own home without the help of others. Half ounce of Pure Scents will make 16 ounces of good quality Scented Hair Oils of various odours. Don't buy prepared Hair Oils sold in the market at so high prices. Make your own Scented Hair Oil and save money. Money saved is money earned.

Our Pure Scents were tried and highly praised by so well-known people like Mrs. Annie Besant, Messrs. Gandhi, Gokhale, Tilak, Ranade, Mehta, Dr. C. Muthu, M. D., the Hon'ble Maharajah of Kasimbazar, etc., etc.

FREE PRESENTS!! Every purchaser will get absolutely free: (1) One Pocket Calendar, 1919. (2) One Packet of Alkanet Root for colouring oil, (3) Recipes for the Best Lavender Water and Eau-de-Cologne. (4) One copy of Lord Rothschild's Alphabet of Success.

1.	Rose Scent, half oz. bottle	Re. 1-8
2.	Kadamba Scent, ,, ,, ,,	Re. 1-8
3.	Jesmine Scent ,, ,, ,,	Re. 1-4
4.	Bokul Scent, ,, ,, ,,	Re. 1-4
5.	Hena Scent ,, ,, ,,	Re. 1-4
6.	Lily Scent ,, ,, ,,	Re. 1-0
7.	Lotus Scent. ,, ,, ,,	Re. 1-0
8.	Sweet Scent ,,	As. 0-12

Packing and Postage Extra.

S. PAUL AND CO., Scent Merchants,
(Dept. A. B.) 4, Hospital Street, Dharamtola,
CALCUTTA.

Printed and Published by U. K. BISWAS, at the "Patrika" Press Nos. 19 and 20 Baghbazar Street and issued by the "Patrika" Post Office Calcutta.

Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta