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PREFACE

The documents included in this volume throw light on the Ghadr Party. When originally established in the United States, it was known as the "Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast", but it acquired the now popular name of the Ghadr Party, when it started the publication of its paper "Ghadr" in November, 1913. The party remained in existence till India achieved independence, though its most active period was from 1913 to 1918.

They openly declared aim of the party to overthrow the British in India by violent revolution was taken seriously by both Delhi and London. For the next five years, the colonial administration used every means possible to convince the U.S. Government and other foreign powers that the existence of this party was dangerous to the stability of the Raj. Not only the U.S. Government, but other foreign powers favourably inclined to the British helped them to weaken the activities of this party by implicating its members in various conspiracy cases.

Unfortunately few of original records of the party have survived save those which were used "as evidence in the San Francisco Trial" and other conspiracy cases instituted against its members. At the same time the official correspondence, which was created as a result of the activities of this party is enormous. This is lying scattered in the archival repositories in India, U.K., U.S.A. and Canada and many other places in the Far East. The party carried on anti-British propaganda by means of pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers and letters to the press which have survived to some extent. Some of these have been included here. In addition to the official reports of both the British and American Governments, the personal memoirs of Gobind Behari Lal who was closely connected with its activities have also been added.

The danger of bias in the records created by the British on the party designed to overthrow it by force is self-evident. At the same time, the reports of the U.S. Government also cannot be taken at their face-value. Besides its bias, even the facts given in these reports have to be verified before these can be utilised by the scholars. Similarly, the recollection of the Ghadrites themselves, are subjected to all human frailties of memory that one could expect over a lapse of forty or fifty years.

These documents, it is hoped will generate some interest amongst the scholars for the study of this party, which has yet to find its proper place in the history of the national movement. Prosecuted by the United States and the colonial administration in India, the Ghadrites were haunted by other foreign powers from their countries but still their love for the freedom of their motherland never declined.

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INTRODUCTION

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India's struggle for freedom was unique in the sense that it was fought at two levels, that is, one inside the country by following non-violent means as propagated and sedulously pursued by Mahatma Gandhi, and the other, the Indian nationalists' anti-imperial activities abroad, who wanted to wrest it from Britain by an armed revolution. To overthrow the British, the Indian nationalists abroad sought help from many foreign powers. They joined hands with Germany during the first World War, forged an alliance with the international Communism for the same purpose after the Russian Revolution and collaborated with Japan during the second World War.

For many years our perception of Indian independence was dominated by the creed of non-violence and the personality of Mahatma Gandhi, and the role of other nationalists in the struggle for Indian independence found little coverage in the books written on the subject. Revolutionaries, who fought side by side with the Congress in the struggle for independence, were ruthlessly suppressed by the colonial rulers, condemned by Gandhi and the Congress, and failed to gain mass support. Therefore, when the freedom was won, it was fashionable and appealing to hail India's sovereignty as a triumph of non-violence. On account of this mistaken and popular belief, the role of the revolutionaries in the freedom movement was sidetracked by the historians.

Our knowledge about the revolutionaries was made further hazy and limited due to the non-availability of the original archival materials both in India and abroad. Till 1965, the records were closed for research under the rules. Restrictions apart, the very fact that the material was lying scattered in different archival repositories all over the world further discouraged the progress of research on the subject as it was beyond the means of scholars to consult these records.

In recent years, after the records have been thrown open for research, some social scientists have been assessing the role of the revolutionaries in the freedom movement and a few books have been published. The activities of the Indian revolutionary nationalists in the United States have attracted a large number of scholars and they have been able to tell the exciting story of the Ghadr Party as a revolutionary movement¹ which aimed at the overthrow of the British Government in India by an armed revolution.

A prominent feature of the Indian national movement during the first two decades of the twentieth century was the prevalence of revolutionary conspiracies which aimed to overthrow the British Government in India by violent means. The movement was not confined to the boundaries of India, and one of the most interesting chapters in India's struggle for independence occurred outside the subcontinent. It was largely organized by members of the Ghadr Party. The Ghadr conspiracy, as it was termed by the colonial power, was conceived in San Francisco; it assumed international dimensions as it unfolded with the single aim of overthrowing the British in India by violent means.

The story of resistance to British rule virtually began with the commencement of British domination in India. The resistance took different forms at different stages of British expansion, but by the first half of the nineteenth century two distinct forms were clearly visible. One was the old form, according to which both the Hindu and Muslim rulers of India regarded the British as usurping foreigners and sincerely believed that they should be swept off the face of India by violent means. The other was a new and perhaps more feasible form of resistance learned from English education and Western ideas, according to which constitutional self-government was to be ultimately achieved by a slow process under the protection of the British. The first form of resistance reached its climax with the revolt of 1857 when, along with the erstwhile Indian rulers—Hindus and Muslims—the people in several areas made a heroic effort to overthrow the British. Like the earlier violent efforts, this revolt was a failure.

For the next fifty years, save for the sporadic efforts of the Kukas and the Wahabis, violent forms of resistance remained dormant, while the struggle on constitutional lines gained popularity under the impact of Western education and ideas. The Western educated middle class began to demand some share in the administration of the country through political organisations.

Towards the closing years of the nineteenth century, dissatisfaction with the pace of progress achieved or attempted by the Congress, which had been organized in 1885, began to grow and many Indians started favouring the adoption of measures which, it was hoped, would produce quicker results. The new leaders were permeated with a deeply religious spirit. They were men of great courage and of a self-sacrificing, independent spirit dominated by a love for their country and an intense dislike of the foreign rule. Unlike the older leaders of the Congress, they had no faith in the generosity of the British and in the efficacy of the methods of "political mendicancy".

The growth of a militant spirit among the young men received a fillip from the victory of Japan over Russia which "thrilled the entire Oriented world with new hope and ambition" and proved to be "the most portentous sort of stimulus to Indian nationalism". "Japan's success", wrote Petrie, the Director of Criminal Intelligence in India, "inspired India to the realization that it would be only a matter of time when her people would also be able to hold their own as free people in their own country". The success of Japan against Russia demonstrated that an Asiatic nation could, by organisation and training, defeat one of the greatest military regions of Europe. Under its impact various associations for the promotion of physical culture sprang up. Exhortations were addressed to the people and particularly to the youth of the country in the name of Kali, the goddess of strength, and in the name of Shivaji, to unite and retaliate against the foreign government. In Petrie's estimate, it was only after the Russo-Japanese war that a revolutionary movement which was virtually dormant since 1857, was revived and that the Indians began their activities with bombs, revolvers and conspiracies to overthrow the British rule.

The revolutionary movement grew under the leadership of Barindra Kumar Ghosh, Bhupendra Nath Datta, and a number of secret revolutionary societies were formed throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. From Bengal the revolutionary movement began to spread to other provinces and even found its echo in foreign lands. The revolutionary movement had a following which comprised mostly educated young men who believed fanatically that the constitutional methods for achieving concessions - political, social and economic - from the British were ineffective, the only alternative being to adopt force or violent means "such as had been adopted or practised in Russia and other European countries". They made no secret of their aspirations and the way in which they wanted to secure their fulfilment. The apparent signs of this movement were visible in the activities of its leaders and their disciples in schools, religious missions, political akharas, public meetings and, more especially, in the press. The newspapers *Yugantar* and *Bande Mataram* frankly advocated the overthrow of the British Government by violent means. The cry of an Independent National Government for India was raised and recruits for the movement came primarily from students of the lower middle class. There was to be no compromise between their demand and the Government's policy of appeasement which was even applauded by the "extremist" Congress leaders.

The Government of India was taken by surprise by the rapid growth of revolutionary activities and tried to control the situation by a number of repressive measures, such as the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, The Explosive Substances Act, and the Newspapers (Incitement of Offences) Act. This was followed by the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Indian Press Act. However, instead of giving a mortal blow to revolutionary activities, these Acts indirectly fostered the growth of the revolutionary ideas and brought to the surface two new elements in the Indian national movement. Firstly, most of the revolutionary societies went underground with their members becoming more cautious and secretive about their activities. Secondly,

Introduction

a number of revolutionaries were forced to escape abroad in order to carry on their anti-British activities more openly.³

The credit for the movement's propagation abroad goes largely to Shyamji Krishna Varma. Born in a family in Mandvi (Cutch State), he became one of the foremost leaders of the Indian revolutionary movement. During the critical years of 1904-14, he carried on a vigorous propaganda for India's freedom from London, Paris and Geneva. With the help of a few English friends, Shyamji launched in January 1905 the publication of his own paper, the *Indian Sociologist*. He gradually expanded his activity in Britain and in February 1905 formed the Indian Home Rule Society. The object of the Society was to secure Home Rule for India by mobilizing the support of the public in England, and to achieve this objective by all practical means. With the establishment of the Home Rule Society and the publication of the *Indian Sociologist*, started Shyamji's new career as a full-fledged political propagandist and the organizer of a movement abroad for the attainment of complete independence in India. A branch of the Society was also established in Paris under the direction of S.R. Rana within a few years.⁴ Paris became an active centre when in 1909, the revolutionaries were forced to leave London after the assassination of Sir Curzon Wyllie by Madan Lal Dhingra.

In India, the British could muzzle the press, but the freedom which Indians enjoyed in Paris gave them the courage and opportunity to condemn British misrule in India as freely as they wished. They disseminated revolutionary literature, established contacts with continental revolutionary groups, formulated schemes for assassination of the British officials and, to achieve their purpose in India, endeavoured to smuggle arms into the country so that an open revolution could occur at a convenient time.

Not all the Indian revolutionaries advocated a policy of assassination. There was a divergence of views between Har Dayal and Virendernath Chattopadhyaya. Har Dayal was in favour of what he called direct methods of obtaining Swaraj. He believed in the development of strength of character and disapproved of premature outbreaks and secret assassinations. Chattopadhyaya preferred indirect and devious methods and considered it right to meet guile with guile and diplomacy with diplomacy. These differences became so acute that Har Dayal left Paris towards the end of 1910 for the USA, to pursue his aim of liberating India by an armed revolution.

In their efforts to extend the scope of their activities from the Continent to the United States of America, of a clear appreciation of India's colonial situation. Though not downright hostile, the American attitude remained for a time indifferent towards the Indian political problem, an attitude which flowed more from a lack of communication than from anything else.

But once the aims and aspirations of the Indians were made known through the agency of the Irish nationalists, the position started changing. There was then no looking back. Despite the anti-Asiatic feelings engineered by the rush of Indian Immigrants to the Pacific Coast, the American people began to take keen interest in the activities of the Indian revolutionaries. Some of them openly started backing the struggle on account, perhaps of their own anti-colonial tradition, and of the historic suspicion of Great Britain as an exploiter of the subject people.

Before the arrival of the Indian immigrants and students the contact between the Indians and Americans had been nominal and sporadic. The earliest link was established by the Americans through trade with India towards the end of the eighteenth century. The merchantmen were followed by the American Christian missionaries who played a dominant role in the development of American links with India. On the Indian side the interest in the United States began with the coming of Madam Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott who founded the Theosophical Society in India in the early seventies of the nineteenth century.⁵ Their visit to India gave

a fresh impetus to the study of Hinduism and Indian culture in America. The relationship between Americans and Indians holding advanced views was drawn closer by the visits of Vivekananda and other religious leaders to America.

When political unrest in India gained momentum after the partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi movement, interest in American political institutions received a fresh impetus and many Indian young men went to America. They went there apparently for scientific and technical education but, to quote the Director of Criminal Intelligence, "they had gone there to learn the manufacture of arms and explosives and to make a special study of the republican institutions and of the history of the struggle which enabled the Americans to throw off the British Yoke".⁶ Historically and ideologically the Indian students were, no doubt, attracted to America for its revolutionary example in wresting independence.

This became clear from an article "Why India sends Students to America" by H.S. Chima, an Indian student, who had gone to the United States for higher studies. This was published in 1907. The main purpose, he wrote, of the Indian students in America, was to get ideal lessons in an ideal country, "so that we may deserve the title educated in the fullest and practical sense of the word. We came here to imbibe free thoughts from free people and teach the same when we go back to our country and to get rid of the tyranny of the rule of the universal oppressor (the British)".⁷

After coming to the United States, most of the students became members of the *Clan Na-Gael* and other Irish societies based in America. At the same time, Shyamaji Krishna Varma also started a movement in the United States for the Home Rule for India with the assistance of his Irish friends. Articles began to appear in the *Gaelic American*, an organ of the Irish Nationalists, with the object of acquainting the American people with the state of affairs in India.

Besides propaganda Shyamaji sent emissaries on a lecture tour of the United States. Dr. Narayan Krishna, a graduate of Cambridge, was the first to go in 1906 to the United States with the object of informing the people of that country about the conditions of the people of India under the British.⁸

Taking their cue from Shyamaji, a few Indians in the United States with the help of the Irish nationalists formed the Pan-Aryan Association in October 1906. The founder members were Maulvi Barkatullah and S.L. Joshi. While the former became its President, the latter became its Secretary. The Association had the active support of George Freeman, John Davey and other Irish revolutionaries. The object of the Association was to bring India and America into closer contact and to be helpful to the students from India by educating and sending them back so that they could spread liberal ideas throughout the country.⁹

With the cooperation of the Irish nationalists, the Association started anti-British propaganda and, in a meeting held in New York, resolutions were passed repudiating the right of any foreigner to dictate the future of the Indian people. The speakers urged their countrymen to depend upon themselves alone and especially on boycott and Swadeshi.¹⁰

Besides the propaganda against the British rule, the Association advocated the Unity of the Hindus and Muslims and the formation of a league between the people of Ireland and India for the overthrow of the British rule. The propaganda had its impact on the educated Americans. They started sympathizing to some extent with the aspirations of the Indians for freedom.

The ruthless policy of the Government of India to suppress the rising tide of the national movement gradually convinced Indians abroad that it was too futile to carry on the struggle on constitutional lines. Madam Cama in Paris and V. Savarkar in London started advocating violent methods for the attainment of freedom. Their propaganda had a direct impact on the political thinking of the Indians in America who also became more

violent in their speeches and writings. This was noticed by the British Consul-General, who reported that the Indians were saying in private that they had been trying for the last twenty years to obtain freedom by constitutional means and were now tired of that line and that their difficulty, however, was the same as that of the Irish — they had no arms.¹¹

Morley, the Secretary of State for India, was beginning to sense that a tide of strong public opinion favouring self-rule for India might one day sweep the United States, a tide of the same kind as had swept public opinion in England respecting Austria, Russia and Turkey. He had even informed Minto, the Viceroy, after receiving reports from Bryce, the British Ambassador in the United States, who in his turn had uneasiness in this direction. Nevertheless, Morley proceeded to ensure Minto that "nothing is likely to come out of it".¹²

Morley's optimism was, however, shaken, when soon after he received a warning from Bryce about a group of Americans sympathizing with the Indian aspirations and asked that Indian students be kept home or be trained in England for the atmosphere in America would "encourage their political delusion".¹³

No doubt, the United States Government had not given any indication of its policy towards India, yet quite a few Americans were encouraging the Indian revolutionary nationalists, especially after the visit of Madam Cama in 1907, whose speeches were given a wide coverage in the American press. "I am in America", she said, "for the sole purpose of giving a thorough expose of the British suppression which is little understood so far away and to interest the warm hearted citizens of the great Republic in our fight for freedom against British rule". The Americans were thoroughly impressed by her devotion and to the cause of India's freedom.¹⁴

Despite the optimistic note, Morley's letter to Minto caused considerable disquiet to the Government of India. Their fears were further augmented by the reports of the Director of Criminal Intelligence, who informed that the United States was becoming a place of refuge for the young revolutionary Indians from the Continent and India. He analyzed the various reasons for the flight of the Indian revolutionaries to the United States. According to him, Europe did not prove to be a conducive place for their activities and they were treated with suspicion and were not readily admitted in ammunition factories or technical institutions. On the contrary, the United States gave ample scope for the distribution of revolutionary literature which was proscribed in India. While in London and Paris the Indian revolutionaries were kept constantly under the careful watch of the British detectives. Besides in the United States, there were Irish nationalists ready to take up any movement likely to embarrass the British Government. In addition to the above, the Indian revolutionaries had by then awakened the sympathy of a section of the American people and their interest in India flowing perhaps from their own "anti-colonial tradition and historic suspicion of Great Britain as an exploiter of the subject people".¹⁵

After seeing the alarming reports Minto asked Morely to employ "a good lecturer thoroughly well-up in Indian affairs who could appear on the public platform" in the United States and explain the Government of India's point of view regarding their administration in India. Minto did not, however, favour Morley's suggestion for sending copies of the Government of India's reports to the British Ambassador in America for distribution in that country to counter the propaganda of the Indian revolutionaries.¹⁶ At the same time, Minto received an assurance from the United States' Consul-General in Calcutta that he had informed the Department of State about the activities of the Indian nationalists in the United States and had requested them to take "definite measures to detect anything of the kind and put an end to it".¹⁷ Further the Consul-General refused to give visas to Indians and advised them to immigrate to Western Australia than to United States. Besides courting the American diplomats in India the Home Government in London persuaded the President of the United States to give support to their rule in India.

Ghadr Party

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When the agitation in favour of self-rule by the Indians was beginning to gain the support of non-official Americans, the policy of the United States Government became more supporting towards the British rule in India. President Theodore S. Roosevelt had great faith in the efficacy of the British rule and found in it the "most colossal example history affords of a successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region on another continent". In his view:

the successful administration of the Indian Empire by the English has been one of the most admirable achievements of the white race during the last two centuries. The mass of the people have been and are much better off than they would be if English rule was overthrown or withdrawn.¹⁸

These flattering views of the President which he expressed openly, cheered the British rulers, but discouraged the advocates of the Indian Home Rule movement. Morley was happy on this pronouncement of the President and regarded it as a "splendid vindication". He informed Minto that it had been of undoubted material advantage for them.¹⁹ It is now known that Roosevelt openly praised the British rule in response to the appeals of the British emissaries especially Sydney Brooks, the British journalist, who conveyed to the President Lord Morley's desire that the President should make a public statement supporting the British rule in India.²⁰ British officials were no doubt delighted at this speech, but in the United States Roosevelt's speech in defence of British imperialism did not go unchallenged. Phelps and other members of the Society for the Advancement of India sent an open letter to President Roosevelt refuting his views. In India also his speech came under a lot of criticism. The press considered that the American President should have refrained from proclaiming from the house top his one-sided judgement for the enlightenment of the world. It further commented that while boasting of the philanthropic mission of the Whites, the President had completely or rather deliberately ignored the miseries to which the indigenous races had been subjected by the inroads of the Whites in India.²¹

Unlike Roosevelt, the next President Howard Taft, however, never "came out publicly while he was in office in support of either British imperialism or British rule in India".²² Meanwhile, the India Office and the Indian Government took a lenient view of the Indian revolutionary movement in the United States, when they came to know of the departure of Phelps for Europe, of Joshi for India and of Barkatullah for Japan in the beginning of 1909.

The departure of these people along with the announcement of the United States' policy served as a setback to the progress of the movement. But the Indian students now thoroughly imbued with nationalistic feelings were bitterly opposed to the British rule in India and never lost an opportunity of enlisting American sympathy against the latter. After having come under the influence of the socialistic and revolutionary ideas they regarded it as their mission in life to work for the subversion of the British rule in India. Besides this trend amongst the students community, the Indian freedom movement developed more quickly amongst the Indian labourers who were settled on the Pacific Coast under slightly different circumstances.

As compared to the students, the Indian labourers who emigrated to America in the early years of the century for economic betterment met with a strong opposition. The emigration of Indians began in the year 1904 and reached a high proportion during 1905-06. In the United States, the Indian emigrants were confined to the three states on the Pacific Coast, namely California, Oregon and Washington. They came to the United States indirectly, that is, as a result of discrimination in Canada. Here also they were subject to the prevalent anti-oriental bias of the Pacific Coast.²³

From the very beginning they met with a strong hostility from the White labourers and, in the wake of the economic crisis of 1907, it developed into a widespread anti-Indian movement. Conflicts became common between the Indian and White labour.

The British Government was reluctant to intervene on behalf of the Indians. The Indian representations to the British embassy never met with any sympathy or encouragement as was the case with other nationals. The British Ambassador took pains to explain the difficulties in the way of ensuring the immunity of the British subjects from interference in their employment or even from violence. While referring to several serious instances of coercion which had been reported after the occurrence at Bellingham, he pointed to the inefficiency of diplomatic intervention on their behalf which was seriously "prejudiced both by the relations between the Federal and State authorities" and by the fact that the Treaty of 1818, which regulated the "rights of the British subjects in the U.S.", could not be "appealed to on behalf of British East Indians" as it was applicable only to the inhabitants of His Majesty's territories in Europe.²⁴

The emigration to America, however, soon fell off as the American immigration policy became one of selection at first, restriction later and finally of exclusion. This was the case especially with the Indian labourers though the United States' authorities were slightly liberal towards students, professionals and leisured classes. Legally, the Indians could not be excluded from entering the United States, but the Emigration authorities devised certain measures by which they could keep the Indians out. Every Indian was put under various tests such as freedom from disease, capacity for self-support, likelihood of becoming public charge, which were applied with the deliberate object of deciding against the emigrants in most cases.²⁵ The Government of India also "publicly expressed itself against immigration to the United States". The Government's main objection was that "foreign contacts bred sedition". Theoretically, while the immigration gates remained open legally, diplomatically they were being closed to Indians. It is generally believed that while political refugees might be tolerated or even welcomed by some Americans, a large number of Indian workers migrating to the Pacific Coast helped to make American officials more sympathetic to British colonialism than they had been at any time since or before the American Revolution. But more than the immigration question was the British pleading which hardened the American official attitude towards the Asians. It was this attitude which resulted in the awakening of national consciousness amongst them. The restrictions further brought them together "in broad protest groups to defend systematically their interests" in America and India.²⁶

As mentioned earlier, the pursuit of technical education and the prospect of economic betterment had brought Indian students and immigrants to the United States. Here it is not intended to give a detailed history of the Indian immigration, but to emphasize that, despite the restrictions and discrimination, the Indian students began to look after them and encouraged them to have self-respect and depend upon themselves for their rights. Indians began to realize that among the vast conglomeration of foreign nationals in the United States, only they were subject to humiliation. The reason for this was that they were not free. They formed number of political associations. The Government of India was not happy about these developments and had strong objections regarding the publication of the paper *Free Hindustan* by Tarak Nath Das from New York. It was described as a "revolutionary and anarchical paper" which preached violence. A copy of this paper was sent to the American Consul-General, Michael, at Calcutta by Mr. C.R. Cleveland, the Director of Criminal Intelligence, with the request to take action against it. The American State Lawyer's opinion on the paper was quite discouraging. He wrote that there was "nothing in the publication which brings it within the prohibition of the Statute of this State and consequently no crime has been committed of which the Courts of this State can take cognizance".²⁷

The British could ignore the writings of the moderate leaders, but the anti-British propaganda of Indians in the U.S. was considered as detrimental to British prestige. Since it was difficult to have concrete information about Indians from the U.S. Government, the Government of India made their own arrangements. Mr. W.C. Hopkinson of the Indian Police who was on leave of absence from India, was appointed in January 1909 "to conduct investigations about the activities of Indian nationalists in Canada and USA".²⁸ Hopkinson reported

regularly and even hired local Indians to work undercover amongst their fellow countrymen in the United States and Canada. He also worked with immigration officials and politicians in support of legislation in the United States excluding East Indians.

The problems of Asian immigration to Canada had also become acute, and the Canadian Government appointed a Royal Commission in 1908 to report on the matter. The Commission recommended the exclusion or restriction of Asian labour (including Indians) and considered it a natural desire of Canada to control the influx of such immigrants. Canada's wish to remain "a white man's colony" was regarded by the Commission "to be not only desirable for economic and social reasons, but highly necessary on political and national grounds". Earlier even legislation was considered as too mild by the powerful militant unions of the White labourers, who resorted to direct action. In 1907 there were anti-Asian riots in almost all the major towns of Western U.S.A. and Canada. The most serious was at Bellingham in Washington State where the Indians were physically attacked and expelled from the lumbermills with considerable bloodshed. Naturally such incidents led to intensified anti-polling towards the British.

At the same time the common need for protection against the hostility of White labour brought together Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus from Punjab and Brahmins from lower Bengal in a way that could not have occurred in India. While living in Canada and the U.S.A., they realized that their position was humiliating. Having come in contact with free people and free institutions, they appreciated all the more strongly the worth of freedom. Out of their sense of national humiliation and the recently acquired ideas of democracy came a new awakening. The awakening was further fostered by the preaching of educated Indians who had formed a number of societies with the aim of defending the rights of their countrymen as citizens of the British Empire. Leaving aside the hostility of a handful of White labourers, the conditions in North America were favourable for building up a revolutionary group as compared to India. Here there were no police, or press restrictions to hamper such activities.

The person responsible for organizing them into a well-knit group was Har Dayal (1884-1939), son of Gauri Dayal. Har Dayal was educated at St. Stephen's College, Delhi and Government College, Lahore. On account of his distinguished academic career, he was awarded a scholarship by the Government to study in Oxford. In England, he actively associated with the Home Rule Movement of Shyamaji and blossomed into a complete nationalist. He went to Paris in 1908 with the aim of carrying on the movement for the emancipation of India from outside and worked with Madam Cama and others for some time. After his differences with Viren Chattopadhyaya, he left for the U.S.A. in 1910.

After his arrival in the U.S.A., Har Dayal worked as a lecturer in Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit at Stanford University. But he soon left the University and turned his attention to organizing the Indians on the Pacific Coast. While in Europe, Har Dayal had formulated his ideas and thought on the work he intended to do in America. He belonged to that group of fearless Indians who were struggling to achieve the freedom of their country by organized rebellion and, if possible, by tampering with the loyalty of the Indian Army. After an extensive tour of the Pacific Coast, he decided to organize the Indians to achieve his objective. He reorganized the activities of the various associations already operating there. By his efforts, he brought about the merger of the "Indian Association of the Pacific Coast" which had been formed in January 1912 by G.D. Kumar with Bhai Sohan Singh Bhakna as its President, along with the "Hindustan Association" of Ram Nath Puri. The new society was known as "The Pacific Coast Hindi Association" with its centre at San Francisco.

The aim of the Association was the overthrow of the British Raj in India and to substitute in its place a national republic based on equality and freedom. The Association wanted to achieve this by an armed national revolution. Every member was declared to be honour and duty bound to participate in the universal fight against slavery, but especially to crush British imperialism.

By his devotion and tireless efforts, Har Dayal was able to collect sufficient funds to establish an independent press known as Yugantar Press in San Francisco for the publication of *Ghadr* (mutiny) the first issue of which came out on 1 November 1913. The appearance of this weekly newspaper gave the Association its more popular name, "The Ghadr Party". From its very inception, the paper was intended to arouse the self-respect of the Indians by ceaselessly emphasizing the fact that they were denied this as they were not free. The name of the Association was changed later to "Hindustan Ghadr Party" to make it clear that the organization did not advocate revolution in the United States. Har Dayal also placed the Party's finances on a sound basis by instituting regular monthly fund-raising meetings. Everybody contributed generously at these collection meetings. With no dearth of finances, the publishing of leaflets, pamphlets and the weekly *Ghadr* also thrived.

The Indians carried on their anti-British activities without hindrance for some time, but soon the Government of India approached the U.S. Government for the arrest of Har Dayal. He was arrested in March 1914. However, he escaped to Switzerland after being released on bail. But by the time Har Dayal left the U.S.A., he and his associates had created a formidable association eager to organize a rebellion in India. Dubbed by Crewe, the Secretary of State for India, as the most "dangerous scoundrel of the whole party", Har Dayal had lent dignity to the movement and brought about a change in the political thinking of the people. The Government of India not only regarded Har Dayal as dangerous, but also as the most outstanding revolutionary India had ever produced and as a man, who by his organising activities, had greatly influenced Indians abroad. The propaganda conducted by the Ghadr Party had met with an immediate and warm response and, within a few months, its followers increased both within and outside the U.S.A. Gradually, the Party opened branches in Canada, China, the Philippines and other areas in the Far East. In each issue of the *Ghadr*, emphasis was laid on the necessity of bringing about a violent revolution in India. The *Ghadr* enjoined upon all Indians the duty of boycotting the British Government and of refusing to serve under it. The *Ghadr* was specially intended to appeal to the "martial races" of India and was posted to the Punjab in large numbers from different places in the U.S.A. and the Far East. Along with the anti-British propaganda aimed at instigating the Indians to revolt, the Ghadr Party paid particular attention to informing public opinion in America about the situation in India and to neutralizing British propaganda there and elsewhere. In the initial stages neither Har Dayal nor any of the other Ghadr personnel envisaged an early revolution in India. They speculated that it would be at least five years before it could be achieved. But the position changed within a year, when the Party got information that Germany was likely to start a war with England. It was anticipated that in case of such a major event in which Great Britain was involved in, there would be troops reduction in India thereby enhancing the prospects of a successful rising in India.

As a result of this conviction that war was imminent, the Ghadr Party began to show greater sense of urgency in its activities. A contingency plan was evolved which enjoined on its members that in the eventuality of war as many Ghadrites as possible would return to India where they would raise a rebellion against the Government. At the same time the Government of India had not been sitting idle. They had been fully informed about the activities of the Ghadrites and had been warned by their intelligence agents that the removal of Har Dayal would bring about the death of the party. Under this impression, they had manoeuvred his arrest through underhand methods. However, his removal did not affect the Ghadr party. Rather the Ghadr movement got a fillip from the voyage of the *Komagata Maru*, and the outbreak of World War I in August 1914 gave an opportunity to the Ghadr Party to make a practical demonstration of the doctrine which it had been preaching to Indians all over the world.

After having come under the spell of the Ghadr propaganda, the Indians in Canada started thinking in terms of challenging the immigration laws of that country which were creating an unfair distinction between the European and the Indian subjects of the British Government. This realization became more intense with the

arrival of three delegates - Nand Singh Sehri, Balwant Singh and Narain Singh - who had gone to represent their grievances to the authorities in England and India. The failure of the mission prompted the Indian emigrants to make arrangements for a direct passenger service between Calcutta and Vancouver in order to fulfil the conditions laid down by the immigration laws of Canada.²⁹

Komagata Maru, a ship, was chartered by Baba Gurdit Singh, a rich contractor of Singapore, with the idea of taking Indian passengers to Canada and America. On 14th April 1914, the *Komagata Maru* sailed for Vancouver with 376 passengers on board. The Government of India viewed the departure of the ship as a deliberate attempt by the Indians to directly challenge the legality of the Canadian immigration laws. In its opinion the Indians should not have left in a body at a time when the Canadian Government had declared that it did not want any more labourers or artisans. As compared to the official attitude, the public asked: "But what about the right of Indians as British subjects?" Newspapers like the *Tribune* of Lahore hoped that the passengers would not be summarily turned back, for that, in the opinion of the paper, was likely to create trouble for the Government. The time had come, the paper continued, for the Government of India to intervene on behalf of the people and secure not only their landing, but also the removal of an indefensible prohibition. But the Government of India preferred to have the immigrants rejected by Canada rather than exercise any control, as it was powerless to do so under the existing rules.³⁰

On the way to Canada, the emissaries of the Ghadr Party encouraged the passengers and distributed copies of the *Ghadr* at Shanghai, Shimonosaki (Meji) and Yokohama. At the last port the ship was visited by Bhagwan Singh and Barkatullah, and the former delivered a spirited address to the passengers advising them to rise against the British Government. As expected, when the ship reached Vancouver on 21st May 1914, the Canadian Government refused to allow the passengers to land. The main question before the Indians now was not whether Canada had a legal right to exclude anybody, but whether British citizenship carried with it the right to free entrance to any part of the British Empire.

After two months, the ship left Vancouver on its homeward voyage. The orders of deportation passed by the Canadian court had given a mortal blow to the rights of the Indians, and in protest meetings the Indians made it clear to the authorities that, by ill-treating them, they were rendering a great disservice to the British Empire. The *Tribune* had warned that if a group of nearly 400 passengers was turned back, "the position of the Indians would be known definitely, and it was, after all, proper to know one's status". The paper anticipated that, after their return, the Indians would consider whether they were satisfied with their lot and, if not, what they would do to deserve better.

The Government of India was aware of the strong feelings of the returning passengers and at the start of August 1914 had fully armed itself with special legislation and powers to keep the situation under control. The Ingress into India Ordinance of 1914, which was passed immediately, empowered it to restrict the liberty of any person entering India after 5 September, if such action was considered necessary to protect the state.

The *Komagata Maru* arrived at the mouth of the Hooghly at the end of September. Under the Ordinance, each passenger was examined and directed to disembark and proceed to a special train which was kept in readiness to convey the passengers to their respective destinations in Punjab. Instead of obeying these orders, the passengers started marching towards Calcutta with the intention of depositing a copy of the *Granth Sahib* near Budge Budge. Resenting this, there ensued a fight between the two parties which resulted in the killing of nearly twenty Indians, while the loss of life on the Government side was two British and two Indian policemen.

This incident aroused public feelings, especially in Punjab, against the high-handed policy of the Government. In order to appease the public, but in reality to whitewash the doing of the Canadian authorities and officials at Budge Budge, the Government of India appointed in October a Committee of Inquiry to look

into the circumstances of the voyage and the landing of the *Komagata Maru* passengers at Budge Budge. Despite the inquiry, the series of calamities which befell the Indians on the *Komagata Maru* had a tremendous impact on the revolutionary movement in the country and abroad. The Ghadr Party had already been urging their countrymen to return to India and overthrow the oppressive Government: now this incident served as a powerful stimulus to the propaganda already at work.

After the departure of Har Dayal for Europe in March 1914, the activities of the Ghadr Party were directed by Ram Chandra Peshawari. The hands of the Ghadr Party were strengthened by the arrival in May 1914 of Maulvi Barkatullah and Bhai Bhagwan Singh from Tokyo. Before his departure, Har Dayal had already informed members of the party that Germany was preparing for war with England and that it was time for the Indians in America to return home for a revolution. Efforts were made by Bhagwan Singh, Barkatullah and Ram Chandra to propagate the ideas of the Ghadr Party amongst Indians more vigorously. They did not want to miss this opportunity of launching a revolution in India. At a meeting of the Ghadr Party on 15 August 1915, it was decided to devise plans to exploit the situation created by the war. The meeting decided that the Ghadr Party should declare open war against British rule in India and proclaim India a free and sovereign republic. It was also decided to obtain help from whatever quarter it was available for the overthrow of the British rule in India. Funds for the purchase of arms and ammunition were to be collected and appeals issued to Indians all over the world to return to India and start fighting for freedom.

On the outbreak of the War some foreign-based leaders of the Ghadr Party went to the Far East to persuade Indians there to return to the country and, also, to establish small nuclei of revolutionary centres in such areas as Hong Kong, Singapore and Rangoon. Shipping of the Ghadrites was not an easy task. The regular shipping lines were almost entirely in the hands of the British and were too dangerous to be utilised. So the Party eventually chartered Japanese vessels. They arrived in India on the *Tasu Maru* on 28 October 1914. Another ship, *S.S. Korea*, left America with about 70 passengers and proceeded towards Hong Kong on 29 August. Other ships carrying the members of the Ghadr Party followed in quick succession - the *Siberia*, *Mashima Maru* and *Naru Sang*. Besides, the following ships left America by the end of 1914: on 29 August, the *Korea* sailed with 62 Indians; in September, the *Chingo Maru* sailed with 3 Indians; on 3 October, the *Shinyo Maru* sailed with 6; on 5 September, the *Siberia* sailed with 2; on 19 September, the *China* carried 11; on 26 September the *Manchuria* sailed with 24; on 21 October, the *Tenyo Maru* sailed with 109; and on 24 October 1914, the *Mongolia* sailed with 141 Indians.³¹

At the time of departure they were formed into different groups under Nidhan Singh, Kesar Singh, Udam Singh, Jawala Singh and Nawab Khan. Ram Chandra Peshawari, Barkatullah and Bhagwan Singh asked the departing Indians to fulfil their duty and informed them that arms would be provided to them on their arrival in India. If arms did not reach them, they were to ransack police stations for rifles.

In India, the situation was tense. The Government was busy with the problems which came in the wake of the war. It was face to face with danger not only from outside but also within the country. A series of events just before the war had made the people increasingly critical of the British Government; especially the Muslims and Sikhs were particularly affected. The Tripoli and Balkan Wars of 1911 and 1912 had led to fanaticism from the platform and in the press and the events were represented as Wars of the Cross against the Crescent. The Sikhs had been shaken by the humiliating treatment meted out to their brethren in Canada, and the return voyage of the *Komagata Maru* finally confirmed their belief that the British Government was determined not to help them in any way in Canada. In the words of MacMunn, "the Government was said to be seated on a rumbling volcano, uncertain concerning its future activity, how active it might at any moment become, or which crater might burn into eruption". In fact, the Indian revolutionaries felt this opportunity to stir up revolt in the country seemed too good to be missed.³²

Despite its Wartime preoccupations, the Government of India took measures to meet the challenge of the returning Indians. Secret orders had been issued to its officers at various ports that every person returning from America or Canada, whether labourer, artisan or student, was to be regarded with the greatest suspicion and even as a potential revolutionary. The authorities had already acquired sufficient powers to deal with the situation by passing the Ingress into India Ordinance on 5 September 1914. With the steady arrival of Indians at the different ports, the Punjab Government, under the Provisions of the Ordinance, made arrangements in conjunction with the Government of Bengal to examine the returning emigrants at Calcutta and to endeavour to intercept those known to be or reasonably suspected to be of revolutionary affiliations. Despite these precautionary measures, many thousands of emigrants escaped the vigilance of the police. In its initial stages, the internment order led to the partial breakup of the revolutionary organization through the detention of the leaders of some groups and the rank and file of others. Despite this dispersal, however, the group leaders kept in touch with one another and attempted as far as possible to work as one body. On their way back to India, the revolutionaries had started a vigorous campaign to secure recruits to the Ghadr Party and a large number of volunteers joined their ranks in Hong Kong, Shanghai, the Straits Settlement, Borneo, Japan and the Philippines.

In addition to seeking recruits, the revolutionaries particularly tried to make contact with the Indian troops that happened to be serving abroad. They went to their barracks, harangued the men and gave them Ghadr literature to read. Thus, at Hong Kong they secretly got in touch with the 26th Punjabi regiment and at Singapore with the Malaya States Guides. The soldiers listened to the Ghadrites, and at Singapore they even revolted against the British Government.³³ In India, too when the revolutionaries began to move about Punjab and started preaching that freedom could be achieved through a general rising, they initially received some sympathy and made a number of recruits in Lahore, Amritsar Jullundur, Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur districts. By the end of 1914 the internal situation had become highly charged and Hardinge informed Crewe that the Government was facing a good deal of trouble in Punjab, due to the incursions of the revolutionaries from San Francisco, and that they were doing a severe damage. He assured Crewe that the Government had got hold of the leaders under the Ingress Ordinance, but added that minor members were still forming themselves into active groups. The Government of India took prompt and drastic action, and, after having received reports about the activities of the Ghadrites in Punjab, immediately sent confidential information to all the police stations that these people were a potential source of danger to peace and that it was necessary to keep a strict watch over those who might hide in the concerned districts. Police officers were further instructed to take great care to monitor the communications between the revolutionaries and local persons, whether suspect or otherwise.³⁴

Under these restrictions the Ghadrites continued desperately somewhat to try pursuing their programme. Secret meetings were held especially at Lahore and Ludhiana. As a result of these, it was decided to loot Government treasuries as money was needed for the furtherance of the cause. But after a few attempts, the idea of attacking treasuries was abandoned; a scheme for infiltrating into the army and creating disaffection in it was considered more feasible for the main movement. To implement this, the Ghadrites started mixing with the regiments stationed at different places in Punjab and nearly succeeded in inducing the men of the 23rd Cavalry near Lahore to revolt against the British Government. However, despite all their efforts, the Ghadrites finally did not achieve much success in this direction. Owing largely to the internment of capable leaders like Sohan Singh Bhakna, Kesar Singh and Jawala Singh, the movement lacked definite plans. With hardly any coordination between the different groups in the Punjab, and in the absence of any leader to guide them, some haphazard efforts were made to procure funds and arms by raiding the treasuries at different tehsil headquarters. Several futile attempts were also made to derail trains and blow up bridges. Factories for the preparation of bombs were established in various places and persistent attempts were made to tamper with the Indian troops in at least a dozen stations in Punjab and the United Provinces. The initial results were not impressive.

Introduction

It was only after the arrival of Rash Behari Bose at Amritsar in January 1915 that the movement took purposeful shape. Soon after his arrival, the Ghadrites contacted different revolutionary groups in Bengal full information regarding the return of the Indians from America was given to them. The Ghadr leader concerned with forging an alliance with other revolutionary groups in India was Vishnu Ganesh Pung young Maratha Brahman who had been recruited for the Party while studying engineering at the University of Seattle. He came to India with one of the first Ghadr groups and established contact with the Be revolutionary group. The two groups of revolutionaries joined hands and made definite plans for a revolution. Steps were once taken to manufacture bombs and to procure arms. Bomb factories were revived in the Punjab while bombs of the Bengal pattern were provided by Rash Behari Bose and his assistants. Arms were imported from Bengal. Efforts were made to produce revolutionary leaflets. With the help of duplicators, copies of *Ghadr di Goonj* (Echo of Mutiny) and *Ghadr Sandesa* (Message of Mutiny) were printed in Urdu and Gurumukhi. These were widely distributed by members of the Party in practically all the cantonments in northern India. The hardships of the public in general because of rising Wartime prices were exploited by the Ghadr Party to arouse anti-British feelings amongst the masses. They brought home to the people that the high prices were caused by grain exports to maintain supplies for the Allied armies in the field, and that even the Viceroy had admitted that their slogan "to feed the Europeans, the Indians were being starved" had captured the imagination of the people, especially in the countryside.

Before proceeding with the actual plan to revolt Rash Behari Bose also emphasized the need to obtain cooperation of the soldiers. A vigorous campaign was set afoot to associate them with the work of the proposed national rising. Agents were dispatched to different cantonments to ascertain whether soldiers were willing to cooperate. The Ghadrites had already established contacts with the 23rd Cavalry and two of their men had joined that regiment. Given their inadequate supply of arms and ammunition, the revolutionaries considered seduction of the army to be the best way of forging a successful revolution in the country.

21 February 1915 was initially selected as the date for the rising. The flame was to be lit in Lahore where the 23rd Cavalry converts and revolutionaries were to massacre British troops and seize guns. The rising in Lahore was to be followed at Ferozepore, where the depot magazine was to be captured along with the arsenals. Rash Behari did not consider it feasible to try bringing about a simultaneous rising amongst all the troops stationed at different places, but he believed that the example of Lahore and Ferozepore might bring the other cantonments into open mutiny. However, suspecting the leakage of the plan, he decided to antedate the rising to the night of 19 February and sent emissaries to various selected centres to inform them of the change. Two emissaries of the Ghadr Party, Balwant Singh and Banta Singh, who were enlisted with the 23rd Cavalry Regiment, had given a clear signal for the rising on 19 February, but information about this date was conveyed to the authorities by a spy, Kirpal Singh. The plans of the revolutionaries had not eluded the vigilance of the British intelligence; and the military authorities, after getting the information, took elaborate precautions on the date of the rising. At 7 O'clock the same evening the whole regiment, except the recruits, was ordered to remain on duty till midnight. Prior information received regarding Ferozepore also enabled the military authorities to checkmate the movement there.

On 19 February, the police raided the headquarters of the Ghadrites at Lahore and arrested a number of their leaders. The failure of the Lahore rising of 19 February gave a deathblow to the main movement to overthrow the British Government in India. From the time of their return to India, the Ghadrites had to work against heavy odds. Before they could really go to work, they had lost many of their leaders. When they finally began their secret propaganda, their members kept giving away secrets to the police. The collapse of the main conspiracy chiefly resulted from the fact that the police introduced into the interrevolutionary circles a spy

named Kirpal Singh, a cousin of Balwant Singh, a trooper in the 23rd Cavalry. However, various other factors also thwarted the plans of the Ghadrites. The firmness with which the Government dealt with them under the Ingress Ordinance led to disorganization in the movement. Not only that, in March 1915 the Government passed the Defence of India Act to take prompt legal action against the Ghadrites. In the words of the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, "were it not for the prompt arrest and internment under the special powers given by the Ingress Ordinance and the Defence of India Act of persons suspected of active participation, Government could not have obtained the knowledge of the secret activities of the conspirators which enabled it to frustrate their plans.³⁵

The three requisites for a successful revolution laid down by the Ghadr Party were men, money and arms. The revolutionaries possessed at the outset some fine material as far as men were concerned, but they were weak in the other essentials. At the time of their departure from America, the Ghadrites were given hopes of being provided with arms in India, but they were disappointed when no arms became available to them. The Ghadrites in India had lost touch with leaders in the United States and other Indian revolutionaries on the continent who were still busy finalizing schemes with the German Government. In October 1914 after having formed the Indian National Party in Berlin, the latter had in fact sent two emissaries to inform the Bengal revolutionaries and Ghadrites about the possible German help in the shape of arms and ammunition, but plans were already made in India. The men who came from America were efficient and experienced in public assemblies, speech-making and the production of revolutionary literature, but the lack of proper organisation and leadership, and the shortage of money and arms, were serious handicaps. The Director of Criminal Intelligence commented that the attempt to forge a revolution in Punjab was not the work of illiterate peasants but of people acquainted with all the methods of determined and intelligent conspiracy. Patriotic Indians had returned to their country determined to overthrow the British, and many pledged not to leave until their object was achieved. But they failed in their attempt.

The Government of India arrested a number of revolutionaries and prosecuted them under the Defence of India Act. Special tribunals were established and they were tried in nine conspiracy cases without being given the opportunity to defend themselves. This initial failure of the movement was a major setback for the future plans of the Indian revolutionaries. The first phase of the movement was over; a second phase began with the active association of the Indian revolutionaries in the United States and on the continent with the German Government. The alliance resulted in their being prosecuted in San Francisco is what is known as the Hindu-German Conspiracy case. This further discredited the Ghadrites in the eyes of the Americans.

The notable courage and conviction with which members of the Ghadr Party tried to overthrow the British Government in India is a significant chapter in the history of Indian nationalism. The movement demonstrated that, with proper political propaganda, diverse religious identities could work together for a common cause. The Ghadr Party did not think that the various political movements which the British were allowing in India - such as those of the Congress and other moderate political parties - would confer any great benefit upon India. Opinion may differ regarding the methods and strategy of the Ghadr Party, but it may safely be said that, before the emergence of Gandhi, the Ghadr movement forms a significant phase in the history of the Indian National Movement. The idea of an armed revolutionary struggle continued to influence the Indian nationalists both in India and abroad. The revolutionary literature of the party was used successfully again on the eve of the second World War amongst the Indian soldiers to revolt against the British both in Europe and in South East Asia. The efforts of the old Ghadrites like Baba Amar Singh and Hari Singh Osman resulted in the formation of the Indian National Army.

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REPORTS AND MEMOIRS

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DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE GHADR MOVEMENT

by Gobind Behari Lal

Shortly before the starting of the First World War, in August, 1914, an Indian nationalist publication, named *The Ghadr*, was started by Indian nationalists in the city of San Francisco.

The publication, somewhat inaccurately called a newspaper was the organ of an India nationalist movement which became known as the Gadar movement (Gadar Party and so forth). Its headquarters in San Francisco was the headquarters of the movement.

I was among the original Indians who collaborated with the founder of the movement and of the publication, and what I propose to relate here is a systematic series of my own reminiscences and some interpretations of their historical, psychological and cultural significance. By no means this pretends to be even an outline of the entire history of the Gadar, but I feel that it will serve as a good introduction to a more comprehensive history, a job that no single man can attempt.

Before putting down my recollections of the events to of the Gadar. I feel that it is worth while giving here a broad sketch of the outstanding Indian nationalist activities in the United States during some 35 years, approximately from 1912 until 1947, when India became an independent nation. All these activities had the same objective - the independence of India.

The Indian nationalist movement or movements appeared in India and in other countries, where any patriotic Indians lived. The manifestations in America partly reflected the moods of the movement in India, but also had new patterns, due to the American environment and interactions.

Thus there came to be a sort of Americo-Indian nationalism, which had three major expressions in the United States:

1. The First World War Era movement.
2. The Gandhi period movement: between the First World War and the Second World War, and
3. The Second World War Era movement (Gandhi, Jinnah and related phases...)

Concerning the activities of the Indian nationalist groups of the Second World Era, such as The India League of America and the National Committee for the Freedom of India (Washington, D.C.), some thing is known in India. But these activities were psychologically related to and a continuation of what had gone before.

During the years of peace between the First and Second World Wars, say 1921-1939, when the Gandhi movement and the rival Muslim League movement were dominant in India, the cause of Indian nationalism was particularly promoted by the late Syud Hossain, India's first ambassador to Egypt, and by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, later on by Dr. K.L. Shridharani, Dr. Anup Singh, to mention some of the more prominent ones.

J.J. Singh of New York, became active with these other patriots since about 1940. Others did all sorts of things to promote the Indian independence cause.

But in the epoch of the First World War, the outstanding Indian nationalist activity in America was of the Gadar group, and of its closely related groups and individuals. The Gadar movement was the characteristic and dominant Indian nationalism of the period.

Gobind Behari Lal wrote the account after a lapse of 40 years of the events for the History of Freedom Movement Board established in 1955 by the Government of India. The major portion of the narrative is devoted to the early life and activities of Har Dayal. But at the same time he has touched on the inner working of party and his own participation in the Movement. The original spellings have been kept:

In each phase of Indian nationalism the educated Indian patriot, that is especially the university man, the scholar, the intellectual, played the leading part in ideology and expression. However, a feature of the Indian nationalist activities of the Second World War Era was that Indian merchants - on the West Coast and on the East Coast and in the Middle West (Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York) - made very significant contributions. But in the first World War, especially the Gadar activity the combination of the university-bred scholar and the cultural leader and of the pre-educated Indians, workers, farmers and small shopkeeper etc. of the Pacific Coast was the outstanding characteristic.

The Gadar movement began as a highly intellectual movement and became quite a mass movement. The meeting of the intelligentsia and the working men in this movement produced a peculiarly explosive pattern, which, in a way, anticipated the great Gandhian movement and the Subhas Chandra Bose enterprise.

Har-Dayal :

The man who started the Gadar enterprise was one of the most brilliant scholar-intellectual of India of his day.

He was Har Dayal — “Lala Har Dayal”, later on Dr. Har Dayal (M.A., Punjab; Ph.D. London, Bodlian scholar at St. John’s College, Oxford, author of several books, particularly of the Bodhisatva Doctrine - Hints for Self Culture...) - who had come over to the United States. No understanding of the Gadar movement is possible without a sufficiently clear picture about Har-Dayal of the period of his intense revolutionary Indian nationalism.

Indians who understand Indian history and culture, especially of the north, from Kashmir to Delhi, from Delhi to Calcutta, to Bombay, a great deal of Har Dayal’s background would become intelligible in this statement: Har Dayal was a Delhi man, a high caste Hindu of the Mathur, Kayastha community - who had received as good an English education as the Indian university system provided in his time.

But each of these “code phrases” need explanation. So a brief summary of his career is given as follows:

Har Dayal was born in the City of Delhi, in the year 1884 or 1885, that is about a quarter of a century, a full generation after the tremendous historical event of the city, the Gadar (the rebellion against the British power) of the year 1857. His family, of the Mathur subcaste of the Kayasthas, was in very good financial circumstances - his father was in the service of the British government, his three elder brothers were all lawyers enjoying good practice - and highly respectable and influential.

They lived in the very heart of the city, very close to the centre of the Chandni Chowk Bazaar, where was located the St. Stephen’s Mission School (with all its three departments, primary, middle and high). In Har Dayal’s life the Mission School, established and ran by an important British Protestant Missionary Society, with its headquarters in London and at Cambridge University, England, was to play most important role.

Har Dayal’s home life was that of any Kayastha (especially Mathur) boy of Delhi. The adult women observed the strictest *purdah*, seclusion in the home, just as did the most “respectable” moslem women. His mother was literate in Hindi. The younger women knew some English and Urdu, all instructed at home - for they never stepped out to attend school. The women were very orthodox Brahmanic Hindus, devoted worshippers of the popular divinities and Avatars (Incarnations of the Supreme Being), especially Ram Chandra, the hero of the Ramayana, and Shri Krishna, of the Mahabharata and Bhagwat Gita fame. They celebrated all Hindu festivals, particularly the festivals of Holy, Dasarah, Diwali and the minor ones, with lavish fastings and feastings, rituals and what not. The Brahman Pundit - priest frequently came to the house for “katha readings”, recitals of scriptural myths, tales and moralities in Sanskrit and Hindi.

From his mother, especially, the child Har Dayal received the first and most decisive impulse of his traditional Hindu culture.

But his father, according to the tradition of the males of the Delhi Mathur Kayastha families of the time, was a great scholar of Persian and Urdu, the literature and culture of the Indian Moghul-Moslem courts, and his elder brothers, in addition to the Persian-Urdu lore, were educated in English - at high school and college. Thus from the earliest childhood Har Dayal grew up in an environment of three language, literary cultural systems, Sanskrit-Hindi, Persian-Urdu and English (what little India had then).

For him, however, English was the guiding star - the language and culture which promised "success" for a growing boy of the learned professional classes of the Indian- Hindu middle class of the later Victorian Age in India.

His formal education was started very early he was entered into the primary department of the Mission School at the age of four years or so. He turned out to be a prodigy. He was always "first" in his class. His learned fast, and forgot nothing. His memory was wonder... from the start. At the age of 12 years he passed the High Class or the Middle Department Third, standing FIRST in the annual examination which was conducted under the University of the Panjab for the boys of the whole Punjab province.

So began his career as the brightest student of the whole Punjab province. He was First in the Entrance or Matriculation examination, at the age of 14. So he left the school and was admitted into the college, St. Stephen's Mission College, the second most important college of the University of the Panjab, the first ranking one being the Government College in Lahore. He was again first in the F.A. examination, at the age of 16.

But in his B.A. examination he came out only Second in the province; he was first in two of his subjects, Mathematics and Sanskrit, but second in English - which lowered his total rank to a second place. This made him unhappy, and the whole city of Delhi felt that its honour had been qualified. So Har Dayal left Delhi and went to Lahore and was admitted in to the best college, the Government College there.

In one year he took his M.A. and now he made up for his getting tripped in the B.A. examination, the year before. For he stood FIRST among all the successful candidates of the M.A. Examination in every subject. He broke all previous records of high marks. His examiners, all Englishmen, gave him virtually 100 per cent marks in each of the written papers and in oral examinations.

Now he won the title of the brightest star of the Panjab University. He was between 19 and 20 years of age, known all over north India. His English professors, both of the St. Stephen's College and of the Government College, were enthusiastic about him, they exercised their influence, and he was awarded the State Scholarship given by the Government of India - entitling him to a three-year course of Post-graduate studies at Oxford or Cambridge or some other topnotch university in England.

Rarely a State Scholarship was given to a Panjab University graduate; it was a most coveted award — since just two scholarships were given by the British Government each year to the most brilliant graduates from all the universities of India. Graduates of the older universities—Calcutta, Bombay, Madras—usually won them. The Panjab and the Allahabad universities, younger and in the heart of the Indian continental, remote from the great seaport cities, had a very hard time in receiving a State Scholarship.

Har Dayal chose Oxford for his studies, in spite of the fact that the Englishmen who were his Professors at the St. Stephen's in Delhi belonged to Cambridge, and the most important among them at the time was Prof. C.F. Andrews (later on friend of Gandhi and Tagore) who was a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. But Har Dayal's tastes were distinctly "literary", rather than scientific, and to Oxford he went, and joined St. Stephen's College. This was in the year 1905. Shortly after he started at the English University, he tried for an Oxford scholarship, the Bodlian (or Bodleian) scholarship, which added a little to his income and much more to his prestige.

Oxford recognized him to be a man of genius and he became a great favourite of his professors; his special studies here were history, economic, politics — literary, sociological, but not scientific.

Jawaharlal Nehru, recalling his student days in England, has written in his famous Autobiography:

"Har Dayal had a great reputation among the Indians but he was at Oxford a little before my time at Cambridge. I met him once or twice in London during my Harrow days."

In addition to his study at Oxford, what was Har Dayal learning from the point of view of his future life? Pandit Nehru, the son of a wealthy father was to study to become a barrister-at-law.

When Har Dayal left Delhi for England practically everybody believed that he was going to try for and pass the I.C.S., the Indian Civil Service, test in England. As far as I remember now, there was no Delhi or even all Punjabi Indian who had got through an I.C.S. test successfully at that time. In those days to be an I.C.S. for an Indian was to rise to the level of the "Gods of Simla", the pantheon of the British rulers of the Indian Empire. Har Dayal, certainly, was a great admirer of Sir Romesh Chandra Dutt, one of the few I.C.S. Indians, also a noted historian and scholar. So the general expectation about him was that he would return to India, after his British years, as a Bar-at-Law and an I.C.S.... Indeed a future coveted by the whole Indian middle class intelligentsia.

What Har Dayal eventually did in England almost shook the British Empire. Before coming to that our story must go back a couple of years in Har Dayal's career.

His Delhi and Lahore days have to be closely inspected, with the dimmed binoculars of now forgotten Indian history.

The year 1902 ended, and 1903 began, with a revival of Delhi's old glory. From the time of the great Gadar, the rebellion (the British called it the Sepoy Mutiny) of 1857-59, which ended in failure and in the total destruction of the Moghul Empire (of which Delhi was the capital) by the British, the city was quite like a royal cemetery, practically without any public life at all. Only in the "baithaks, diwan-khanas", the drawing rooms, of some of the Moslems of great families and of some of the Kayasthas, white bearded elders, *bazurgs*, recalled in whispers and with tears the glory of Delhi that died with the Moghuls.

While the failure of the Gadar of 1857 (Gadar-i-San-Sattavan) had ruined, impoverished the old Muslim aristocrats and some of the Kayastha families, who had served the Moghul court, there were a few Hindu merchants who had helped the British during the revolt as providers of needed supplies etc. These merchants, *banias* and *khatri*s, had become very wealthy; they were the new plutocracy of Delhi. They were the favourites of the Englishmen who ruled Delhi - The Chief Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner and the rest. They are even today the wealthiest of Delhi merchant and industrial families, and it is no use mentioning their names.

These gentlemen, who still cooperated with the British, and were agents for British goods—cotton products of Lancashire and Manchester, "Christy's caps" and what not—were a gay lot, indeed. They patronized the nautch girls of Delhi, made the Hindu festivities colourful and gaudy, in temples and processions. All of them were happy when Lord Curzon, the British Viceroy, decided to hold the imperial Durbar, to celebrate the ascension to the British throne of Victoria's successor, King Edward, VIIth, not in Calcutta, his capital, but in the historic city of Delhi.

Har Dayal had just about taken his B.A. degree, or was about to do so, when Curzon held his show, the greatest that the British empire in India ever was to stage. At that time he was excited with so much going on in Delhi; a new life was stirring up. Delhi was waking up to her own importance — thanks largely to Curzon, who had become discontented with the Bengalis as they were with him. His imperial imagination had already conceived of transferring the capital of British India to Delhi, the seat of old Indian empire. He wanted to sit on the throne of the Moghuls.

The Curzon Durbar had drawn to Delhi the ruling princes, too, foreign tourists and people of influence, including such public leaders of the time as G.K.Gokhale, Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council - a very high position for an Indian in those days. The impact of all these developments was felt by the St. Stephen's College, for its principal and top professors were Englishmen imperial-minded and they now felt elated. Here and there some learned Moslems and Kayasthas started revival of Urdu poetry.

Somehow Har Dayal shared in the risen self-consciousness and pride of Delhi, which had been gloomy and quite for a quarter century or more. He had always been public spirited, within the spheres of the school and college and related extra-curriculum activities. There was, for example, a society of school boys of the Kayasthas called the Anjuman-i-Atfal, "The Society of the Young", of which Har Dayal had been a president at the age of 13 to 14. He gave lectures and won prizes at the meetings.

The British Missionaries patronized this organisation, for through it they were able to have their influence felt among the brightest children of the city, and even into their homes.

There were such subjects as "the good and bad side of the Hindu caste system" and the "good and bad sides of the zenana, purda system" and of "vegetarianism versus meat eating" and so forth discussed and debated.

But in all this "social reform", "progressive" pother there was yet no animus against the British; these public interests were expressions of British Christian reformism and of a sort of Westernism in general. They were ironically characterized by the conservative Delhi citizens as the aberrations of the "new light" (English education and culture). More or less in such a frame of mind Har Dayal went to Lahore, which he had visited when he had taken an annual university examination.

The atmosphere of Lahore was very different. It was much less tolerant and easy going and urbane. It was combative, intolerant, intense, even ferocious. Compared with Delhi there was so much more of the awareness and dogmatism of different religious faiths, the Hindus and the Moslems and the Sikhs were powerful and clashing systems. The Hindu, Sikh and Moslem reform movements too were so much more rancorous and active. The physically more virile and emotionally more ebullient Punjabis of the more northern city seemed to love and enjoy warlike expressions and moods, vehemence if not violence.

There was the Hindu reformist community of the Arya Samajis, which had established a school and a college, the D.A.V. (Dayanand Anglo-Vedic), and the principal of the college, Hans Raj was honoured as a saint, patriot and scholar. There was the great lawyer, Lajpat Rai, who had been a nationalist from the very beginning of the century. He had published a patriotic "History of India" (Tarikh-i-Hind) and also a biography of the great national liberator of Italy, Joseph Mazzini, in Urdu.

The Dayal Singh College group, another set of reformist Hinduism, also stirred up Har Dayal's mind. But most of all the young Delhi scholar was influenced by reading of Indian historical works, such as Justice M.C. Ranade's "Rise of the Marahatta Power", Todd's "Rajasthan" and books about the Sikh Movement and the Sikh Empire and what not. He read whatever had been available about Buddhist India, about the Heroic Ages of Ancient India, given in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and he read Vedic literature in Sanskrit and in translations and so it went. He also was very active in a Rationalist Society, where graduates and professors studied and discussed the writings of Huxley, Humboldt, Darwin, Spencer, Haeckel.

There was an earthquake in the Himalayas and it tumbled down an old Hindu temple at Kangari Hill or somewhere there, and Har Dayal called a meeting of the Hindus and thundered in the best English for two hours or more, speaking without a single written note, about the importance of the symbols of India's civilization and culture. All this was evidence of a change in Har Dayal; for a former Delhi man he would have felt no such emotional upheaval about a venerable temple in some sacred hill.

But it was in London that he had a most profound psychological change, a deep conversion, a self-conversion the sort of experience that new prophets probably go through.

The seeds of new patriotism, composed of such ingredients as Delhi civic pride, Lahore propagandism, reawakened Indian historic consciousness, not only germinated but grew up into a strange tree—in London's fog. *Har Dayal discovered Patriotism.*

Once, in later years, he said that he was amazed at the intense, profound patriotism of the Englishman. He found that at Oxford his fellow English students were intensely preoccupied with the political and economic problems of the British nation and the empire. When the news had arrived that the Boers had at last been beaten by the British, the Oxford boys (said Har Dayal) had torn off doors and burned them in bonfires, celebrating the victory. Post-Boer War England was sizzling with imperial nationalism.

In India patriotism was madness and sedition. In Britain it was the supreme social virtue. Well, Har Dayal felt, what was good for an Englishman was good also for an Indian. He would be a patriot to his very depth. The study of the history of the free, parliamentarian institutions, the tenacity with which the British people fought for and defended their individual liberties, made Har Dayal see a new truth.

The influence of German Nationalist ideology, expressed in such books, current at Oxford, as Bluntschli's Theory of the State and Listz's Economic's, was intensifying the young Englishman's nationalism.

England, then, was hospitable to many "causes". There were active in London and at the universities representatives of all the budding 20th century causes and movements; nationalisms of subjects peoples (Irish, Polish and what not), revolutionism against native despots (Russian, Turkish etc.), the movement for votes for women, labour and socialistic developments.

Har Dayal's mind, always an enormous and readily absorbing sponge, became filled with the unrest of the New Century.

But the dominant mood was just straight Nationalism. In India, too, there was a new wave of patriotism—the Bengal agitation against the partition, the Swadeshi movement, the increased demand for Indianization of India....

The great Hour of India's Renaissance had struck. Har Dayal was no longer interested in becoming a barrister-at-law and a member of the Indian Civil Service, which were his goals when he set sail from India for England.

In England he had heard William Morris's chant: "The cause shall call upon us - some to live, and some to die."

He consulted some of the Indian leaders who were then visiting or living in England, including Gokhale and Lajpat Rai. Gokhale advised him to complete his Oxford scholarship term, and then think of serving India. Somehow Har Dayal was too impatient.

In 1906 he suddenly turned up in Delhi, during the Oxford vacation term. He had not been expected by any one.

But perhaps there was one person who had expected this. That person was - Har Dayal's young wife. For at the age of 16, still a college student, as was the custom of those days, Har Dayal had been married by his parents to a very attractive, talented girl, Sunder Devi, daughter of a great family of officials in the state of the Maharaja of Patiala. In fact, Mrs. Har Dayal is the older sister of the wife of Dr. Tara Chand, now (1953) India's ambassador in Iran. She is still living in Delhi with her relatives.

What had brought Har Dayal back was that he had decided to take his wife to England. He was going to break the centuries old, strict *Purdah-zena* law, which forbade the emergence of a secluded woman from the

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four walls of the house. His parents and Mrs. Har Dayal's parents were astounded, shocked, and they told him not to attempt any thing so shameful, so disgraceful.

Har Dayal, with the aid of my elder brother and some other intimates, contrived to get his wife, in a disguise, smuggled out of the zenana and safely placed in a reserved train compartment. So the couple "escaped" to Bombay, and then sailed for England.

That was Har Dayal's first deed of revolt - a revolt against his own community tradition. The London newspapers in India, especially the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore and The Pioneer of Allahabad, paid Har Dayal highly for his enlightenment and "moral courage". The scholar was also a man of deeds.

Mrs. Har Dayal's father was broken hearted, for he knew that his genius son-in-law was going unorthodox things and ruin his career and his daughter's happiness. Bitterly the old minister, Dewan Chand, said to me, "Never read that old Ramayan holy book - Har Dayal did it. Reading such things brings manhusat—evil luck. He damned nationalism with all his heart."

Mrs. Har Dayal was prepared to make any sacrifice for her country, like the Lady Sita, faithful spouse of King Ram Chandra, the idealist hero of the Ramayana, she would stand by Har Dayal and go through any difficulty with him. She was going to prepare herself to collaborate with him in whatever patriotic service of India her husband had in mind.

At Oxford she became a great favourite of everybody. And their friend and fellow Delhi citizen, Lala Chand Lal, at the same university, imitated Har Dayal; he also dashed back to Delhi and, with my aid, got his wife out of the country. Mrs. Chandu Lal and Mrs. Har Dayal became closest friends. Chandu Lal's generosity and love for him saved Har Dayal and his wife from economic troubles which soon descended upon them, many times.

One morning the London newspapers published a sensational news, given out of the office of the British Secretary of State for India, the highest official of the empire who was responsible for Indian administration. Young Har Dayal, the Oxford scholar, had written to the British Secretary that he "resigned" the scholarship.

Har Dayal had written some thing to this effect: as a self-respecting Indian he could not continue to accept a scholarship which was awarded to him by the British power, which he believed had no right to be in India. He simply could not reconcile his patriotic conscience with being the recipient of a British government favour etc.

Never before had any Indian state scholar given up his scholarship, and especially on the ground of patriotism. And I do not know if any one ever repeated Har Dayal's performance.

Oxford professors and even Members of the Parliament tried to argue with Har Dayal to persuade him to retract his resignation. Nobody was forcing him to become a barrister-at-law or an I.C.S. But India needed educated leaders. Why not finish the term of the state scholarship?

But Har Dayal stood firm. He realized what he was losing, what he was sacrificing—his educational opportunity, financial security, a career of comfort and respectability and even national esteem....

In front of him now there was no security, no wealth, no titles, no following of admirers. But a principle was a principle as an Indian Patriot he had to act just way !

So Har Dayal started wearing Indian clothes, a hand-made Indian cloth shirt and dhoti (draped around the waist) and such garments. All this happened between 1906 and 1907 or so, long before the days of Mahatma Gandhi. In later years, Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the British Labour Party, and regarded as sympathetic to Indian aspirations, wrote in criticism of Har Dayal going about in London dressed in his "native costume".

Mrs. Har Dayal became pregnant. They rushed back to Delhi. She went to live with the families—hero and his family.

This was in the Spring or Early Summer of 1908. Their relatives welcomed them with tears and broken hearts. Every thing was ruined—wept Mrs. Har Dayal's father bitterly.

Har Dayal, now, in his dhoti and shirt became a sort of wandering monk of Indian Nationalism. He never again saw his wife. And he never once saw his daughter, Shanti, born during his absence from India. Mrs. Har Dayal and Shanti have carried a cross—because Har Dayal was no ordinary Indian.

Har Dayal could have tried to establish himself in Delhi, where he was a "great man", a "hero" now. But he could not resist the powerful attraction of his mother, who wanted to wean him back to normal life. He had to stay away from her, and for the time being from his wife, then expecting to be a mother. However, he made workable arrangements with a most valuable ally in Delhi, who was destined to play a very important part in the growth of Indian nationalism, in a few years later.

This man was Master Amir Chand, "master", because he was a teacher of history (English history and Indian history) at the St. Stephen Mission High School. He had toyed in his youth with the idea of getting converted to Christianity, and the British Missionaries certainly worked hard on him. He had become dissatisfied with Hindu orthodoxy. His father was a highly successful man, Rai Bahadur Hukum Chand, a councillor of state to the Nizam of Hyderabad, and one of the most able jurists (he wrote a textbook on jurisprudence which was considered a great work).

The father had wanted his elder son to amount to some thing—become a barrister or a judge or a successful merchant, for the family was of the *baniya* (merchant) caste. But under the influence of the Missionaries, at school, Amir Chand remained interested only in philosophy. He was married in early boyhood, but his wife died. Normally he would have been married again. But he resisted that, and the basis of his opposition to his remarriage was that, since Hindu widows were not allowed to remarry, why should Hindu widowers have the privilege of remarrying? He had come to believe in the equality of men and women.

He decided to become and remain a teacher so as to be close to the growing, educated youths.

He gave away his salary to help the needy students, and even parted with his father's money.

Under his reformist influence many Hindu youths took these vows: to remain vegetarian, to remain sexually chaste, to avoid seeing "nautch girl dancing", not to smoke, not to drink, to favour the dissolution of the Hindu caste system, to refrain from worshipping the idols in Hindu temples, and a few other things.

Among his students had been Har Dayal. Now, returning from England, Har Dayal found Amir Chand most eager to welcome and help him. Amir Chand, it might be revealed, had given financial support to Har Dayal in the matter of taking Mrs. Har Dayal to Oxford. Overwhelmed by Har Dayal's "sacrifice" Amir Chand offered to do any thing for the patriot. The two came to some kind of understanding. Amir Chand became the focal point of Har Dayal's public relationships in Delhi. With his backing, Har Dayal was free to get started with his public activities.

I had a good glimpse into Har Dayal's personality, ideas, emotions and methods now. He asked me to visit or join him in Kanpur (Cawnpur), one of the big cities of the United Provinces, where he was offered a house to live in by his friend and admirer, Mr.--- Chak, son of the late Prithinath Chak, Kashmiri Brahman of great respectability. In the Chak *haveli* (house), Har Dayal gathered around him, his "disciples", among whom were Tarachand (now Ambassador Tara Chand of Iran), a Peshawar student, a couple of Lahore and Allahabad students and I.

Har Dayal used to give us for reading and discussion revolutionary books, he had brought from Europe: on the Russian revolution (against the Czar), Irish Nationalist Movement, the Italian movement of Mazzini, Garibaldi Cavour, the German Nationalist Movement and the making of the German Empire by Bismark, Egyptian Nationalism, Young Turkism, the Rise of Japan, Polish Nationalism, the French Revolution.

Sometimes he would recite and act out passages from some book on the French Revolution, concerning Danton or Napoleon or some other fighting revolutionist. He would discuss the teachings of Rousseau, whose "Social Contract" he carried around, or of Voltaire.... The hot month of May 1908, when we were living with the nationalists and revolutionists of all ages became unforgettable in after years.... In the evening problems of how to fight the British rulers of India, and how to set up a national state and all sorts of subjects were discussed on the sands of the river Jumna, where we would get a cool breeze.... Har Dayal and the rest of us, dressed in strictly Indian-made Indian clothes (kurtas, dhotis or pyjamas), sometimes carrying bamboo sticks in our hands aroused attention and comment, and we must have been under the closest vigilance of the British secret service, C.I.D.

As yet, however, Har Dayal had done nothing in the way of challenging authorities. Soon, however, he had to leave Kanpur; his gentle, generous host was getting to be embarrassed.

He had become a very devoted admirer of Gautama Buddha, and often recited Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia", the story of the founder of Buddhism, which he knew by heart from beginning to end. Now and then he would give expositions of some masterpieces of English, Sanskrit or Urdu literature. That was how he amused himself. I left him and went to Allahabad, where a big conference of the Moderates (the Moderate Indian politicians) was meeting under the chairmanship and in the house of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Har Dayal, next, turned up in Lahore. He must have been in contact with Lala Lajpat Rai, who was now one of India's foremost patriot-heroes since he had returned from Mandalay, Burmah, where the British had deported him, and Ajit Singh.

What passed between them I never learned adequately. Perhaps Lala Lajpat Rai did not give him the support he had expected. Anyway Har Dayal decided to build up his own following and start his own campaign.

He started publishing a series of articles in two nationalist newspapers of Lahore. *The Punjabi*, published in English and, I believe really owned by Lajpat Rai, and some Urdu paper, the name of which I have forgotten. These articles had one theme:

Har Dayal urged complete NON-COOPERATION with the British.

One series was about ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN INDIA: he showed that the main purpose of the system was to denationalize the Indian mind, to make the Indian brain and leadership subservient to the British. Another series was about GOVERNMENT SERVICE: the Indians should give up direct or indirect service of the British Government — they should not practice law in British Indian courts, or service in the army or in any other Government or quasi-Government department.

Discussing the British educational policy he pointed out that Sir William Wilson Hunter, in the 80's had written in his book, "The Indian Musalmans", that the Musalmans were in surly mood towards the British, who had taken over the Moghul Empire, and it was necessary for the British to win them over by giving them education in special schools and colleges and then appoint them to good positions in Government service. So the Anglo-Moslem College of Aligarh and other similar institutions were established....

Har Dayal's most telling article in the English language was published in an issue of THE MODERN REVIEW, of Calcutta, under the title, "THE SOCIAL CONQUEST OF THE HINDU RACE".—

The essential argument was this: a conqueror can break the sword of the conquered, yet his conquest remains insecure as long as he has not also made a "social conquest" of the conquered. A "social conquest" means that the conqueror establishes bonds with his subject. But in each such institution, he places himself in a position of *superiority*, and places the conquered in a position of relative *inferiority*. Remaining content with his *inferior* status the conquered people also continues in subjugation. Once, however, the conquered gets out

of such relationships, the conqueror loses the psychological, social, cultural domination without which his purely military rule tumbles down sooner or later.

Har Dayal lashed the Hindus for the ease with which they had time and again allowed themselves to be placed in just such positions of inferiority relative to the conquerors in institutions in which both were associated.

He pointed out that the Indian National Congress (the year was 1908) was supposed to be the agency through which Indians hoped to attain Self Rule (Swaraj) — whether in the form of Dominion Rule (as advocated by Dadabhai Noroaji) or as complete independence (then first openly advocated in 1907 by Arabindo Ghose)—and yet, the originators and the dominant figures of the Congress had been and were some Englishmen, retired members of the Indian Civil Service, such as Sir Henry Cotton. The Indian "patriots" had placed themselves on a lower platform even in an organisation which aimed at wresting of power from the British.

Again, the Holy City of Benares was supposed to be the Vatican of orthodox Brahmanic Hinduism, where the greatest pundits were aggregated. Yet the Benares Hindu orthodoxy was under the domination of an English woman, Mrs. Annie Beasant, who was teaching the Hindus what there was in their own scriptures.

The ordinary Indians, middle class Hindus, Moslems and Sikhs and the rest, might be "bollweevils" (cotton worms) and the ruling princes might be "silk worms"; but they were all "worms" under the British social superiority, said Har Dayal.

In this article Har Dayal recalled how the Roman conquerors of ancient Britain had made a thorough "social conquest" of the Britons, and gave many more historical examples, unknown to most "educated" Indians. Clearly, then, what he was doing was not to attack particular administrative acts of the British officials, or denouncing this or that official policy; for he knew well the English officials, as individuals, were a high calibre lot, and concerning the poverty of India, educational backwardness and so forth, plenty had been said already. Har Dayal concerned himself with his *own people*, whom he was trying to arouse to effort, to regain their lost faith in themselves, in their historic destiny, in their national genius. His NON-COOPERATION was more profound, in the psychological sense, than merely not buying British made goods (*Swadeshi*) or limited acts of "boycotts".

Of course, there was a great deal of interest stirred up among the literate people, both the "higher educated" and the "lower educated" readers of Har Dayal's articles. Har Dayal revived the people's self-respect, their national, historic consciousness from deep down their mental and emotional roots.

In his Urdu and Hindi writings—he actually created a new Hindustani language—a really Common Language of the Nation—which was clear, effective, picturesque and utterly simple, free of pretentiously learned Sanskrit or Arabic-Persian words. He created a People's Literature.

Here is a typical sentence of Har Dayal's ridicule of the educated Indian hankering for British favour: "*safed patang ki kali dum*" (the black tail of a white kite). He was annoyed when Hindi was written with too many unfamiliar Sanskrit terms, or Urdu was loaded with Moulvi style Arabic Persian big words.

His *Hindustani* was understandable, whether it was written in Sanskrit, Urdu-Persian or Gurmukhi or Marwari or any others script current in the Punjab, the Untied Provinces or Rajputana etc.

The governors of the Punjab and of the United Provinces were particularly angered with Har Dayal. He was turning the land of the five rivers and the valley of the Jumna and the Ganga into as revolutionary, nationalistic spheres as was Bengal or Poona already. College students were threatening to quit their institutions and to give up careers involving association with the British. Mrs. Beasant was greatly upset. Already the Indian Press, especially in Lahore, Delhi, Allahabad, was calling him "Rishi" (Prophet Sage) or "Mahatma". Har

Dayal was established as one of the foremost young Indian nationalist leaders, comparable to Arabindo Ghose. Indeed Har Dayal and Ghose were the only Indians of the time who had given up highly promising (I.C.S. level) careers, with great British university backgrounds.

Undoubtedly Har Dayal would have come to some working arrangements with Arabindo Ghose, Tilak and such top leaders of the day. But in the late summer of 1908, Young Bengal proclaimed India's determination to drive the British power out of the country in thunderous accents. The first bomb was thrown, killing some Englishmen in Calcutta.... The great Bomb Conspiracy was uncovered. Arabindo Ghose was arrested, his brother was the head of the underground bomb and other arms movement. The fat was in the fire.

Lord (formerly Sir John) Morley, supposed to be a great British Liberal philosopher, was now the British Secretary of State for India, and he had stated in the Parliament that self-government, even in the sense of Dominion Rule of the Canadian type, could not be granted to India; Dominion Rule was no more suited to India than a fur coat, worn in Canadian winter, was suited for an Indian summer—his lordship had said.

But he had been pacifying the old Congress Politicians of India by giving them high positions, titles. The firebrand orator, Surendranath Banerji, who used to thunder in praise of Joseph Mazzini, was now made a "Sir" and a Minister of the Government of Bengal.... Morley was hesitating in permitting the British Officials in India to make too many arrests of the leaders and so forth. However the discovery of the fact that Indians had learned to make the bomb—the kind of bomb which the Russian revolutionists and the Irish nationalists and the Chinese revolutionists, under Sun Yat Sen, had been using—changed the whole picture.

The British now decided to rally the Moderates to their side, by giving them all sorts of positions, titles, and to crack down hard on the Nationalists, whom they called the Extremists.

A warrant of arrest was issued for Har Dayal; but one of his admirers in the Punjab Government tipped him just in time. Har Dayal boarded in express train from Lahore or wherever he was, reached Colombo, and from there sailed on Italian ship and landed in Italy. He went on to Paris and joined his fellow patriots, Rana, a jeweller, Madam Cama, the great Parsi women patriot, Shyamaji Krishna Varma and others.

Soon afterwards an Indian student in London, Madan Lal Dhingra, who had become follower of V.D. Savarkar, author of "India's War of Independence of 1857", shot dead two British officials of the India House (office of the Secretary of State for India).

So London was no longer a place for ardent, militant Indian nationalists to live in; Paris became the centre of revolutionary Indian nationalism. But the British were now making an intimate alliance with the French, and the days were coming when Paris too could not be tenable. However, for some time, Har Dayal became engrossed in the study of the philosophies and methods of great revolutionary and reform movements of history; Paris was one of the greatest centres of the "fighters for freedom" from all countries.

Har Dayal became intensely fond of Paris, which he compared to his own city of Delhi—a metropolis of urbanity, individuality, of revolutionary and historical memories. He felt that the French were temperamentally more akin to Indians than were the English. And, being gifted with a special linguistic talent, Har Dayal mastered the French language speedily. Towards the end of his life, Har Dayal knew not only Hindustani (Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi etc.), Sanskrit, Persian, but also Latin, Greek, French, German, Swedish, Italian, even Esperanto.

I was in Delhi and heard from Paris now and then. He fell ill in winter, suffered an attack of pneumonia. But he survived. He decided to move on to Morocco, where he would live with the Arabs, in a warmer climate, and with less expense. Algeria turned out to be expensive. So he went on to French West Indies, and started living in La Martinique. But the place was culturally dead. He then landed at Boston, and contacted Prof. Lahman, of the department of Sanskrit, at Harvard University.

But New England winter was too hard on him. He then dashed out to Honolulu, and started living there in a cave on the Waikiki Beach, where Japanese workmen often listened to his talks and gave him food.

His scholarship of Buddhism was so great that he could talk about any aspect of it for days. The Japanese honoured him as a Buddhist sage. But Har Dayal was plunged in the study of the greatest masterpieces of European and Sanskrit philosophy. He knew the writings of Shankaracharya in Sanskrit; he read books of the German thinkers, Kant, Hegel, Marx and many others.

He wrote an article for the Open Court magazine, published in the United States by an American Buddhist, which aroused much interest among thinkers in the United States.

Towards the end of 1910 he landed at San Francisco, and soon began to give lectures on Indian philosophy and civilization at Stanford University, of which Dr. Starr Jordan was the President — a very enlightened, liberal educator, who had personal acquaintance with Japan and China and was hospitable to scholars from the East.

One of Har Dayal's very good and old friends, once a Professor at Lahore and later on a scholar at the University of London, Bhai Permananda was now in San Francisco, and he made Har Dayal feel at home. But Har Dayal became very busy with Americans. He gave lectures in San Francisco, Palo Alto, Berkeley, Oakland on philosophy, various social reform movements, literature. The University of California invited him to deliver a series of discourses on Buddhist and Sanskrit philosophies.

At one of his public lectures, two very important Americans heard him speak; they were Mr. Fremont Older, editor of the San Francisco Bulletin and Mrs. Older. Har Dayal simply overwhelmed them. Older's staff writers and colleagues, especially John D. Barry, who wrote a daily column, Paulin Jacobson and others became fast friends and admirers of Har Dayal.

Mr. Barry started publishing a series of articles about Har Dayal, the Indian scholar, saint, fighter for the freedom of India.

Har Dayal became a very conspicuous, important figure in a very short time because of the backing he received from Mr. Older. He was able to influence the Indians who were living in California because he had been made prominent by the Bulletin.

Something has to be said, here, about Editor Older. He was a man from the Middle West, tall, and a most remarkable newspaper editor, who had taken up what was then known as the "progressive" attitude in political, social and other cultural affairs. He had made a great fight against a corrupt municipal administration of San Francisco, and had the Mayor and the Supervisors tried and convicted and jailed. He had championed his friend, Governor Hiram Johnson of California, a Western Progressive Republican, later on the famed U.S. Senator, who opposed the international policies of Woodrow Wilson and of Franklin D. Roosevelt. But after the bad city officials had been jailed, Mr. Older started to get them out of the penitentiary. He said that he had ceased to be personally vengeful, and had come to regard an individual human being a victim of bad institutions and traditions which needed to be reformed, changed.

He had developed a great respect for and sympathy with the teachings of Count Tolstoy, then known as one of the world's leading "philosophic anarchists", and he was a close friend of a great American lawyer-reformer, Clarence Darrow of Chicago. Easily Fremont Older was the most powerful man in California among all the progressive, liberals, reformers, fighters for social justice and so forth.

Under his wings Har Dayal met reformers, labour leaders, intellectuals. His friend, John D. Barry, columnist of The Bulletin, was a Harvard graduate, a playwright and a charming essayist, and an Irish-American by ancestry. In his own way he was one of the purest saints I have known in America. His help to the Indian cause was immeasurable.

When the Indian students, who were pursuing various studies at the University of California, Stanford University, some schools and other institutions, read about Har Dayal, they naturally tried to rally around him. Some of them were young Sikhs, and they talked about Har Dayal among the Sikh farmers and farm workers and other Indians engaged in field, factory and small shop operations — altogether more than five thousand on the West Coast.

Among the university scholars from India who were then in Berkeley the most important ones were Taraknath Das, Dhan Gopal Mukerjee (author of *My Brother's Face*), Sarangardhar Das, H.K.Rakshit (now in New York City), Bhai Permanand, then studying pharmacy and others I have forgotten.

Another important Indian was Master Teja Singh a Sikh professor, I believe, from Amritsar, who seemed to be engaged in Sikh Missionary Propaganda among the Americans and religious studies. He was naturally most honoured by the California Sikhs.

Har Dayal, Teja Singh, Taraknath Das and Arthur U. Pope, then a member of the faculty of the University of California, formed a committee to send for a number of scholars from India for higher education at Berkeley. The funds for these scholarships were promised by Bhai Jawala Singh, a Sikh farmer of Stockton, California., and his friends, all exceptionally patriotic and pious men. Thus "Guru Govind Singh Scholarships" were established. The scholars from India were to be selected by the committee, out of the applicants. Six scholarships were announced in the newspapers and colleges of India. Men or women could apply. All applicants must be graduates from some Indian university. Every one was invited to apply; race, caste, religion was no restriction. More than 600 applications were received from all parts of India and out of them six scholars were selected:

Nand Singh (Sihara — A sikh from Amritsar (Khalsa Collège, as far as I can recall) — interested in civil engineering....

V.R. Kokutnur — Poona, graduate from the University of Bombay, chemist...

S.Sharma — Madras, *B.A.L.L.B* — interested in political science.

Mahmud (first name?) — undergraduate from the Anglo-Islami college Aligarh.

Panday (first name?) — Madrasi Christian.

Gobind Behari Lal — Delhi, (M.A. from the University of the Panjab, St. Stephen's College...).

According to the terms of the Scholarship, the students had to pay their travel expenses for coming to America themselves. On arrival, however, they were to be taken care of by the Scholarship Committee; all their necessary expenses, college fees etc., were to be attended to. When they had completed their post-graduate studies, in two to three years, they would be given a second class steamship passage back to India.

All had to do their studies at the University of California. The college term started sometimes in September, 1912.

I was the only one of the scholars who knew Har Dayal intimately at home. He was about six years my senior in age, and had been a school and college classmate of my elder brother, and had married the daughter of my cousin, Dewan Gopal Chand of Patiala. I had already come to regard him as my Guru in the matter of Indian nationalism.

But as soon as the other boys met him they practically were hypnotized by him; this particularly was true of Nand Singh, Kokutnur and Sharma. He became the chief trustees of the scholars, on behalf of the Committee, so to say. Master Teja Singh also was our authority.

Now the scholars found that they were not to receive so much money each month to bear their expenses. They were all lodged in a rented house, with enough rooms for the six, in the city of Berkeley about half a mile from the University Campus. This was to be a self-managing boarding house and fraternity.

Nand Singh, being a Sikh, was selected the administrator, that is it was his job to keep contact with the Committee. He did a good job in trying circumstances. Foodstuffs were provided, and each scholar did a turn in cooking a simple meal—usually Indian food of a very simple kind, rice, dal, milk, vegetable or meat.

Fees and charges for the textbooks and laboratories were paid by the Committee. In addition a very small sum for pocket expenses were received by each student at the end of the week.

It was surely "simple living and hard working".

Prof. Pope was of the utmost help; he invited the students to his home, and introduced them to other university professors and scholars and otherwise gave counsel and encouragement.

In the clubhouse itself the main excitement was Har Dayal. He had been requested by the students to stay in the house, sharing my room, whenever he was in San Francisco or Berkeley or Oakland. Any night he might be giving a public lecture, and then he would come over. He was in the papers the following morning, and the students were thrilled to read about their great compatriot. He talked excitedly about India's fight for freedom and countless other things. Everybody called him "Lalaji", a term of affection and esteem. Har Dayal and Nand Singh became very much attached to each other. The scholar's house became the centre of Har Dayal's activities in contacting other Indians more and more.

The Christmas weeks, a vacation time, gave Har Dayal an opportunity to meet and talk with many other students and non-students, who came to see him.

I can not estimate accurately how many Indian students there were in Berkeley at this time. But the important thing was that the vast majority of them, practically all, were "self-supporting students", as they were called. "Self support" was, and has been, a peculiar American system. A student can earn living and other expenses by doing some work in the morning or afternoon or on holidays, for which he was paid. The Indian students waited on tables on American homes, or sold newspapers or worked in canning factories or went out to the fields and orchards where, almost always in the company of Indian farm workers—Sikhs, Moslems, Hindus, Pathans—they picked fruit from the trees or planted celery or potatoes or did some thing or other.

A great many of these "self supporters" were from Bengal, but also there were some from Madras, Gujarat, Bombay, the Punjab. There might have been almost a hundred of them, possibly half the number. The Bengali group had established a club and lodge of their own, Nalanda Club, named in the memory of the famous ancient Indian university of Nalanda.

Among them were Taraknath Das (I am not sure that he lived in the Club), Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Rakshit, Surendranath Karr, Sarangardhar Das. Now compared with these self supporters, the Guru Govind Singh Scholars were at a relative advantage, for their "support" was supposed to be guaranteed. There, then, was a little difference between the two houses of the Indian students.

During the Christmas of 1912, then, the centre of particular attention and attraction was the house of the six Guru Govind scholars. Other scholars came over and there meetings and discussions were held.

It was about this time, if my recollection does not mislead me, that sensational news came from India.

Indian underground revolution had manifested itself in action in Delhi. A bomb had been thrown at Lord Hardinge, the British Viceroy when he was making a state entry into Delhi, a most important occasion because this was the transference of the British Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Hardinge was fulfilling Curzon's dream of making Delhi, of historic memories, the seat of the British Empire of India. And some invisible hand or hands challenged the British—with the bomb.

Har Dayal was tremendously excited.

Reports and Memoirs

I held a meeting of Indian students, to which Americans were invited, at the Stiles Hall, a University of California Y.M.C.A. building and a students' social centre, in order to express our approval of the Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner State, who had granted some concessions to his people, establishing some kind of representative assembly. Prof. Pope was among the chief speakers.

And Har Dayal, of course, was the leading speaker among Indians. He now talked with great vehemence about the bomb affair in Delhi. He attacked British rule in India, and said something to the effect that the Indian people had a right to struggle for their independence, equality and other human rights in any way they were able to...

The British authorities induced a very important senior professor, an English historian, Dr. Henry Morse Stephens, to issue a statement condemning the Indian revolutionists at the university, which was published in *The Daily Californian*, a paper of the university students body. Har Dayal wrote a reply which was also published by the university paper, and he said that British rule in India was "an infancy that must be erased."

The news came from India that Master Amir Chand and several of Har Dayal's and my closest friends and fellow patriots had been drawn into the net of the "bomb conspiracy". The Indian papers also published that according to the British authorities, Har Dayal had some relation to the attack on the Viceroy. Anyway the fight between Har Dayal and the British had opened — just outside the campus of the University of California.

Inevitably there was much consternation among the Indian students. The question arose whether Har Dayal had not been prematurely, unduly impulsive and so forth. He stood firmly on the ground he had taken. He said that he saw the need of supporting the Indian war for independence in every way possible. Now that it had begun in the city of Delhi, it must be carried on every where.

Meanwhile other troubles gathered. The funds of the Guru Govind Scholarship dried up. That is, Bhai Jawala Singh, president of the Committee and its chief proponent, could not persuade other Indian farmers to give the contributions they had promised. His own "potato crop" had failed. He was virtually bankrupted. Thus the six scholars were left to support for themselves, as well as they could. They too were to become "self supporters".

What the Indians, more than two-thirds Sikhs, were now getting interested in was some thing quite serious for them. Their livelihood was challenged by the new immigration policies of the U.S. Government. The new policies involved the total exclusion of the "orientals"—and the State of California was legislating that no alien who was ineligible to American citizenship could own or even take on a lease any land. The details of these transactions are not of any importance here.

It is worth pointing out here that all Indians were known as "Hindus" in America, and on the Pacific Coast the term Hindu especially meant a Sikh (Hindu), because he was the one most conspicuous, if he was orthodox in the sense of wearing the turban, keeping the beard and the long hair. As far as laws were concerned they would apply to all Indians, whatever their religion, provincial culture of any other background; but the anti-Hindu feeling and legislative drive was undoubtedly rooted in the Americans' (and Canadians') antagonism to the "Sikhs" (Hindus, in the popular American language).

The wave against the Hindus seems to have started from Canada, that is the Western, Pacific front (Vancouver etc.) of the Dominion, and it had travelled down to America. The Americans, that is the Pacific Coast states people, were themselves "anti-Oriental" in a different sense. They had already kept the Chinese out, on the ground of their being Mongolians (non-White). But the problem now was of the Japanese, who were living in large number in California, Washington, Oregon etc. Japan was a great power, and the exclusion of the Japanese was a tough problem. She was also an ally of Britain, by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and the British themselves were not interested in America's or Canada's anti-Orientalism, except that Canada, like Australia

and New Zealand and South Africa—parts of the Empire—were decisively racialistic, bent on discriminating against the “Orientals, coloured people etc.”. The opposition to the Hindus was only part of the bigger anti-Oriental attitude, now rising in California and related states.

The Sikhs, because they were disinclined to change their headgear and the facial set up, felt the attack most of all.

So the Sikhs of California, and neighbouring states, wanted Har Dayal, as well as other educated compatriots, to do something about the impending legislation. Somehow the right of the Hindus to immigrate freely and get naturalized had to be preserved. The problem of immigration was the immediate one. For, at that time, naturalization was still granted to any “Hindu” who could satisfy the judge in the court that he was a “high caste” Hindu, meaning that he was educated, cultured, civilized enough to become part of the American populace—to get “assimilated” into the American nation. A high caste Hindu was understood to be a “dark white man”, an Aryan brother of the White Aryans, not a Mongolian Oriental.

In practice this meant that any Punjabi, for example, who took the trouble to look any ordinary America, wearing hat, having his face shaved etc., and to learn enough English, could get naturalized. That indeed was the time when Taraknath Das was getting ready for naturalization, and he was naturalized in or about 1914.

Neither Har Dayal nor any other non-Sikh could persuade the Sikh compatriots to adopt the American “look”—just get a barber trim or shave the beard, the long hair, and start wearing nothing or a factory made hat. How much was at stake on the issue of the hatter and the barber!... The facts had to be faced. The Sikhs, the majority of the Hindus in the West, were going to be what they had been, and their right, which meant the right of every Indian, in the matter of immigration had to be defended.

Naturally Har Dayal was prepared to do every thing in his power, although he knew and had told everybody that as long as the Indians remained in subjection to the British they would not be treated as equals by Americans or any other nation.

Har Dayal and a number of others, including Nand Singh (the scholar) and, as far as I can recall, Master Teja Singh, also Dr. Sundhindra Bose, lecturer on political science at the State University of Iowa, formed a delegation and went to Washington, D.C., to put their case before the Congress.

But the British Ambassador, who was Sir Cecil Spring Rice (I believe), following his Government’s instructions, told the United States authorities that the Hindus were to be regarded as any other “Orientals”—that is, the British were not at all interested in supporting their claim regarding free immigration.

Har Dayal and Dr. Bose gave strong statements to the press, and told Congressmen, that the consequence of the discriminating legislation against the Hindus would be that the British rule in India would be overthrown... or some thing to that effect. The threat to the British power in India, one may assume, made not the slightest change in the attitude of the American statesmen, who wanted to please their own California voters. Frustrated there, the delegates came back.

Nand Singh was then sent to India, I believe, to make a personal appeal to the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. Any way he was glad to leave the United States, since the Jawala Singh (Guru Govind Singh) Scholarship had turned out to be a fizzle—without funds.

Now, on returning to San Francisco, Har Dayal was able to prevail upon Jawala Singh himself, but particularly a number of younger Sikhs, regarding the value of fighting the British themselves.

Indignation of the younger Sikhs, on the racial immigration issue, provided combustible material for Har Dayal’s revolutionary nationalism.

Early in the summer of 1913 some of these young men, went out in rural centres of California for farm work, picking fruit and other such occupation, and they told about Har Dayal's idea and his personality. Young Kartar Singh (from part of southern Punjab) was particularly inspired by the philosopher. He had, as I recall, much to do with the arranging of the first meeting on a Sunday at or near Yolo, near Sacramento.

Har Dayal and I went, and a good number of farm workers gathered in a field. They sat down all around us. There was no formality. They sat quietly and I said a few things. Then Har Dayal talked about the position of the Indian people in India and abroad, the need of independence.... He finished and there was no applause or any other visible response from the listeners.

But a few minutes of silence and quiet was broken when one or two men came forward awkwardly, saluted Har Dayal with reverence and placed a few dollar bills before him, as they used to do when offering their contributions in a temple. One by one almost every one made some cash contribution or wrote out a check. A few hundred dollars were collected within half an hour.

Har Dayal told them that he did not want to take the contributions himself, but a committee should handle the amount. He was to be a permanent member of the committee, but the contributors must chose the rest of the committee by their votes. So a finance committee was started. It was decided that Har Dayal and the secretary of the committee must both sign the paper for depositing any funds in a designated bank and for withdrawal of any sums. Strictest accounting must be done; from that moment on funds began to come. More meetings were held. Always the contributors were enormously delighted by the arrangement for the handling of the funds.

Har Dayal was most insistent on strict honesty of accounts and on their being managed by a committee, not any one man, not even himself. Some of the men said, "We have been giving money to other Babus, educated Indians, who say that they are doing work for the country. They never tell us what do. They never give us any idea of what happens to the money they take. Lalaji (Har Dayal) let us manage the funds ourselves. That is our own work now."

Har Dayal, with Kartar Singh, Harnam Singh and other disciples, was now ready to start publication of a nationalist paper. "We have to fight for our country's freedoms with our pen and the printing press," he said.

Many conferences were held to discuss what sort of a paper it was going to be. Har Dayal insisted on a straight fighting newspaper—which will be carrying forward the revolutionary nationalist work which had been started in London, Paris, Calcutta, other Indian cities, but had been almost entirely suppressed by the British.

In Calcutta, for example, the Bengal rebels had published underground a fiery paper, *The Yugantar* (New Age). He wanted to call the headquarters of his contemplated publication "The Yugantar Ashram"—The New Age Club or Lodge or Monastery. But he chose for the name of his newspaper some thing that could be immediately understood by the Punjabis and Hindustani speaking peoples. So he hit on the name — "THE GADAR". There were protests and objections. The Sikhs had not taken any part in the "Gadar of 1857", as rebels, but rather had aided the British in its suppression.

"This time the Sikhs and the non-Sikhs must unite for the new GADAR MOVEMENT.... The fight for the independence of India."

Brimming with enthusiasm he searched in San Francisco a house which will be on a hill, if possible, since its elevation would signify some thing high, ambitions.... a fortress!

He found an isolated house on the very top of a hill in the Mission District, at 436 Hill Street. It faced the famous Twin Peaks to the north. It was a grey coloured two-story wooden house, which had escaped

destruction by the great San Francisco earthquake and fire. On its fronting slopes there were potted, flowering plants and herbs. The backyard was a good sized, enclosed garden, with one or two big, shady trees, a small pool in the centre, grass and flower beds — the ideal place for the philosopher to sink himself and think and write. "Here at the Yunganter Ashram", as the original Gadar headquarters was called, Har Dayal and the rest of the staff workers were to live together — taking turns in cooking meals, cleaning the rooms and so forth; no servants were even thought of.

A few blocks to the south, on the Valencia Street (or near there), also in the Mission District, a garage was rented, and was converted into a lithographic printing press — machines were installed. Electrically operated lithographic printing of texts in *Urdu*, *Hindi*, *Gurmukhi*, that is three language editions of THE GADAR, was to be done. Har Dayal and his staff member soon mastered the whole technic.

In order to start the enterprise properly a meeting of very selected guests, almost all distinguished American's was held. It was luncheon party in the Hotel Shattuck in Berkeley, seat of the University of California.

Among the guests who attended the function were — Mr. Fremont Older, Mrs. Older, Austin Lewis, lawyer and reformer, Winston Churchill, then a well known American novelist (who wrote *The Inside of the Cup*), several progressive and noted University of California professors — Dr. Thomas Reed, Professor of political science, Arthur U. Pope, Professor of philosophy, Dr. Riber and Dr. Lewis, also of the department of philosophy, Dr. Carlton Parker, noted economist; and Mrs. Cornelia Stratton Parker, Prof. Arthur Ryder, famous savant of Sanskrit, translator of "Sakuntala" and other masterpieces of Sanskrit literature, several Berkeley officials and so forth, and Mr. John D. Barry, columnist of the San Francisco Bulletin, Har Dayal's staunchest friend.

Har Dayal's denunciation of British rule in India, and his announcement that he was starting a newspaper to fight the cause of Indian freedom were reported at great length in The S.F. Bulletin, and more or less in other by City newspapers.

"The Gadar" was launched. The first issues were published, if my recollection is faithful, on the first day of November, 1913.

It came out in "Gurmukhi", understood by the literate Sikhs, and in Urdu and in Hindi.

There was no set price, no paid subscription. The paper, published each week, was given away free of charge. Packages were sent by mail to individuals, who distributed the copies.... Every one was to get a copy, for nothing. The funds were raised in meetings or in donations sent to the headquarters. All was "free offering": *The Gadar* was not "commercial", never used an advertisement. It was just an organ of the Indian Movement, to which any Indian had "claim".

From time to time, special monographs or pamphlets were to be published for English readers. But Har Dayal was interested most of all in talking to his Indian people in their own languages. He had faith in the "masses", leaving the higher educated men, graduates and the like, alone. He had started releasing the looked up patriotic energy of the "common people of North India". These people had vitality, but their minds were imprisoned in ideas, beliefs, emotional patterns which made them sterile for social, intellectual or any other expression, feeling or action.

The liberated energy was to be directed primarily towards fighting the British power, but its side effects were also desired by him.

The front page of every issue carried a set feature—called "Angarezi Raj Ka Kaccha Chittha", The Balance Sheet of British Rule in India. Any old copy of *the Gadar* will show what this was, in substance, here

were listed items of indictment of the British Indian Government. So many millions died of famine and hunger, so many were illiterate, so much oppression was committed by the Indian police, so much wealth was taken away to England each year.... For the first time the readers received the kind of information which they had never before been given — a revelation that shook them to their very depths.

Any news related to Indian nationalism, Indian immigration and other legal, political, economic and related matters was played up.

Har Dayal's editorials, signed by him, were powerful. The paper carried only HAR DAYAL's name as Editor and Publisher.

He was following the established rule of the Indian Nationalist journalism of the time in India; only ONE EDITOR- PUBLISHER was to appear publicity at a time. When the authorities eventually put him away in jail, another stepped forward — just ONE MORE.... The succession was to be maintained...one by one...

In addition to these features, and news, there were published biographical sketches of the great Indian fighters for independence, of great fighters for independence of other struggling countries, Irish, Italian, Polish and what not.

Instalments of Savarkar's "The Indian War of Independence of 1857" (the old *Gadar*), translated from English, were run.

George Washington's struggle against the British, dramatic epochs of the French Revolution, Bismarck's efforts to unify Germany — such were the themes published.

One very unique and startling feature was the translation of William Jennings Bryan's lecture on "The British Rule in India" — a most scathing and eloquent denunciation of the empire. Bryan, then, was the Secretary of State of the United States, under President Woodrow Wilson (elected in 1912), and he had visited India in or about 1906, and was horrified by what he saw of the British rule there. He did not want Har Dayal to reprint his lecture or pamphlet or to publish its translation. But Har Dayal did it any way.

The enthusiasm of the "public", Indians on the farms and in the towns of the Pacific Coast, rose high immediately. The copies of *The Gadar* were sent out to London, Paris and other European centres, India, the Far East.... and addresses were invited from every quarter of the globe.

A characteristic essay of Har Dayal's published in *The Gadar* and later as a pamphlet, was in Urdu—"Ghulami Ka Zehr" meaning "The poison of Slavery". In this he ripped open the entire historic culture and civilization of India, showing that for centuries the Indian people had been thoroughly instilled with the "poison of slavery"—slavery to all sorts of authorities, religious, social, literary, political, who had to be believed in and obeyed blindly.

He pointed out that in the sacred writings of the Hindus, such as the Ramayana, the heroes and the heroines were invariably royalties — "rajas and ranis", never ordinary people, particularly never the artisans, the agricultural workers, the scavengers and others who produced food, articles of everybody's comfort, cleanliness and so forth. Indians ran after titles, degrees, rank—rather performance, achievement, accomplishment. Credit for great gems of architecture of the nation was given to some emperor or equivalent authority, and no mention was made of the architects, designers, craftsmen. The Taj Mahal was "Shah Jehan's"; yes, but what about its architects, designers, engineers, decorators? Not a name is left behind!...Har Dayal also lashed the Hindu metaphysicians, whose great brains — "the wealth of the Indian nation"—were wasted on hairsplitting about unknown and unknowable things, Atman (Soul) and Paramatman (Supreme Soul), instead of being devoted to the solution of the problems of reality, of building a new civilization and so forth.

About this time Har Dayal fascinated the most eminent of California writers of the time, one of America's outstanding novelists, Jack London. In one of his novels, "The Little Lady of the Big House", London refers

to Har Dayal as the brilliant Hindu revolutionist and philosopher, who had hitched his chariot to two stars—the overthrowing of the British rule of India, and a "synthetic philosophy for the World". The implication was that Har Dayal was trying to build up the kind of philosophy which Herbert Spencer and August Comte, for example, had elaborated.

As far as his philosophizing for Americans, generally, was concerned, Har Dayal was busy lecturing at meetings of progressives intellectuals, labour organizations, intellectual circles.

He was regarded as one of the leaders of the youngers, free thinkers called "radicals" of San Francisco, the Bay Cities, Palo Alto and the whole region. He had started two very interesting organizations. One was — he had named it — "THE WILLIAM MORRIS CIRCLE", which held a monthly meeting in Berkeley or Oakland, in the home of the one of the members, who acted as the guest. Always there was some particular theme of study or discussion, and later on refreshments were served. University professors, students, poets, writers of all sorts and "advanced thinkers" attended.

The other of his brain children was 'The International Radical Club' which held a monthly dinner in San Francisco, usually in one of the Italian restaurants, of which the city had many very good ones. Har Dayal managed to get some eminent speaker, and there were questions and discussions, and everybody ate and drank and called each other "comrade". The burning themes of the changing human relationships and ideologies of the first decade of the 20th century were tossed about.

After all, the century had started with so many movements—equality of women, equality of races, equality of nations, equality of labour etc.—and their manifestations in the realms of ideas and feelings were numerous and stimulating.

Har Dayal's work at *The Gadar* was just one application of his wider philosophy and its possible applications, he said. Now he had started going about, especially in the evening, attended by one or two of his staff men—as a sort of guards, for he had expected some kind of attack from the British.

The attack came suddenly and, perhaps, sooner than he expected. One night, as soon as he had finished lecturing and answering questions, at an American labour organization, an Immigration inspector stepped up and served on him a warrant, which charged that he was deportable under the American laws. He was put under arrest, but a bail of \$ 500 was promptly arranged, and he returned to *The Gadar* headquarters. Immediately all the newspapers were full of his case; the news travelled across the continent, and probably was published in Canada, England, if not also in India. Har Dayal found himself one of the most conspicuous persons, when he woke up from his trouble sleep.

Essentially the warrant was based on a complaint formally lodged with the San Francisco (or Washington, D.C.) Immigration Office by the British Consul General, the man whose business was to fight *The Gadar*, The British official, I believe, was Andrew Carnegie, who was born in Sialkot, India, and still knew some words of Hindustani; he was an "Anglo-Indian", and Englishman who was dedicated to the maintenance of British rule in India.

The evidence of the charges was almost entirely copies of *The Gadar*, which had been translated with distortions by the British agents or officials, possibly in London or Washington.

Naturally the chief concern of *The Gadar* organization now was Har Dayal's defence, the effort to keep him, and meanwhile to go on with the publication.

One of Har Dayal's closest friends and admirers was also his lawyer, Charles Sferlazzo, an Italian-born, naturalized American member of the San Francisco Bar. He regarded Har Dayal as a kind of Hindu "St. Francis", with modern passions. One afternoon, in his office on Montgomery Street, Har Dayal told the

lawyer of his chief fear. It was the possibility of the British getting him extradited in connection with the so-called Delhi Bomb Case Conspiracy. He recalled that France had extradited Savarkar, a political refugee from Britain, and the great Indian patriot was taken to India, tried and sent to Andaman Islands. It was extradition, not the simple process of "deportation", Har Dayal worried about.

The lawyer said that the British might make such a move, and Governments being what they were, The United States might oblige them. He agreed with the view that a serious situation did exist.

Not long after that I met Har Dayal, and he was looking especially tense and exhausted. We had seen each other for a week, and I was worried.

Then he said, "I am leaving the United States, but tell nobody, I am going to Switzerland. The Gadar business can be continued; the boys have learned how to do it. I have shown the way. San Francisco is a backwash of Western civilization. Modern culture and civilization are in Europe. Our own young men and women go to London, Paris, Berlin, and they do not come out here. I shall maintain the closest contact with *The Gadar* here, and will go on giving advice or guidance, but in Europe I shall be in touch with our people, with our country more than here."

I was dumbfounded. I reminded him that I had trusted him, and let him push me into his revolutionary pathways. He was six years older than I was, and I had taken him as my Teacher and Guide.... What was I do now?

"I shall try to get you over there — Sorbonne or Cambridge will be the right place for you. The University at Berkeley is for American farmers...."

For the two or three days that followed I was with him constantly. I helped him to buy a new blue serge suit (from Roos Brothers on Market Street), a new pair of spectacles, with gold rims, a pair of boots, a new hat, shirts etc. He began to look like a decent man, instead of like a working man, in soft-collar shirt, rumpled pants and coat.... I put him on the train, The Overland Limited, and he promised to write to me from New York, and keep me posted from Europe. I heard nothing from him, but Ram Chandra remained in contact with him.

Only a couple of weeks after he had left, Mr. Older informed me that Har Dayal will not be deported. The Editor had heard directly from Secretary of Labour (the ultimate authority in matters of Immigration, then) Wilson, of President Wilson's Cabinet. The Secretary had said that he would certainly not turn Har Dayal over to the British hands. Har Dayal's deportation proceeding was cancelled, the \$ 500 bail was returned to The Gadar Office.

Before taking up the thread of The Gadar operations, following the departure of Har Dayal in the early summer of 1914, I should finish the sketch about him.

Har Dayal remained the nominal head of the Gadar Party, while his successor, Pandit Ram Chand, carried on the movement, the publication of the paper and so on, in San Francisco. But he never again returned to San Francisco, and his part in The Gadar Movement was really terminated, as later events showed.

During the First World War, which broke out just about two months after Har Dayal had reached Geneva, Switzerland. Har Dayal went over to Berlin. Already in Germany other Indian nationalists had gathered Berlin Committee for the Freedom of India was formed. Other members of The Gadar staff—notably Moulvi Barkat Ullah—went there....

Har Dayal became very active there too. He and Barkat Ullah made visits to Turkey and other Moslem countries, and the Moulvi went as far as Afghanistan.... But I am not writing here what happened in Central Europe.

The war went on. Towards its termination, after the United States had become a combatant, in April, 1917, serious quarrels developed between Har Dayal and some of the Bengali members of the Berlin Committee. The Bengali group won out, and Har Dayal was placed under custody by the Kaiser's Government.

Germany was defeated. Har Dayal was able to make his way to Sweden. There he mastered the Swedish Language—he already knew German, Turkish, Italian, French, so on and soon—and began to lecture on Indian history, philosophy and so on for the Government of Sweden. But he had now changed in views and feelings.

Har Dayal, who had been through the war, turned around, and declared himself as opposed to the violent form of Indian nationalism; he had been a conspirator, and he now said publicly that the methods of violence and conspiracies with Germans and Turks etc. were futile for India.

He published this recantation of his 12 years-old revolutionary creed in *The New Statesman* of London, the organ of the British socialists and the like. Immediately its purport was cabled all over the world, and reached San Francisco, in or about 1920.

Har Dayal was now completely and for ever out of the Indian nationalist movement.

He left the struggle just when Mahatma Gandhi took command of the great Indian nationalist movement, in India itself. His timing was so wrong, as events were to show. He lost all the glory of patriotism in a single impulsive act.

It is my belief that if he had remained in America, and developed with the growing power and civilization of America, he would have risen to great heights. But Europe was decaying, breaking up, and he went down with dying Europe....

His recantation enabled him to proceed to London, where he settled down to do some reading, writing, journalism of a sort.

He remained a saint and seeker of truth after his fashion. In Sweden, it seems, that he had made a friend, a Swedish woman writer, I believe, Sankta Agda, and I heard after his death that he had somehow "married her". He never told me any thing about her.

I met him again many years later, in 1932, in London, and I was impressed by his integrity, as a scholar and a philosopher; although he had abjured the struggle for Indian independence.

What astonished and impressed me most of all was that he had taken two degrees from the University of London: A "B.A." in Science, and a "Ph.D." in Philosophy, writing a great thesis on Buddhism, "The Bodhisattva Doctrine".

"Please do not tell anybody that I took a B.A. again..." he said, embarrassed. "But I had no scientific training worth the name before. And all my studies at Oxford and before were in literature, religion, philosophy, politics etc.... That was not right. In this age of Science, no thinker can be right without some groundwork of science.... So I studied in sciences, experimented in biology etc.... Of course, my Doctorate work was in the field of Buddhism, which I had been following for years...."

I told him that I admired him immensely for his intellectual honesty, for realizing that without Science a philosopher is bound to be making grave errors.... Har Dayal was now building up a purely Secular, or as he called it Rationalistic, philosophy of his own, and two years later he published "HINTS FOR SELF CULTURE" (Watts & Co., London) which was very highly praised by H.G. Wells and other British writers.

Science was to fight "superstition". World History was necessary to get mankind united. He wanted ONE WORLD (seven years before Wilkes preached it in America)—A United States of the World.... He exclaimed: All men have the Earth for their heritage and dwelling place.... What greater Fatherland could you wish to love?All honour to the civilized peoples that are free from colour prejudice: such are the nations of the Mediterranean region and South America. But most people in England, Germany and North America are lamentably barbarous in this respect.... In so far as Nationalism is a natural phenomenon based on local homogeneity, it should be cherished and preserved in due subordination to the central institution of the World State...."

In 1938 I received a letter from Har Dayal, informing me that he was coming to New York. He did not stay in New York, but established himself in Philadelphia.

One afternoon he came to visit me in my New York apartment and we had some luncheon, and talked about the past, present, and the future.

I asked him about the work of Mahatma Gandhi. He said, "Gandhi is a man of very great Character". Apparently it was the moral grandeur, the strength of will of the Mahatma that appealed to him most. By his "Character", Har Dayal seemed to imply, more than by his learning, Gandhi had brought India up (1938).

Then he recalled his Gadar Work, and compared it with the more moderate methods of winning Indian freedom. He said: "You know our proverb— SO CHOT SUNAR KI, EK CHOT LUHAR KI"— meaning, "The Silversmith's 100 stroke are not better than the Ironsmith's one strokes".

That is, The Gadar was a "Iron" hammer stroke.... He added, "I have made a minor contribution to the growth of Indian Freedom.... It might have been only like breaking a window of the closed house of India.... some fresh air was let in...."

But since he had started living in London, not taking any part in politics, he had been trying to return to India, and do some work for the country there. The British, however, would not allow him to revisit India. They did give him temporary passports for travelling in France or Switzerland or Greece (he had made a Member of the Royal Society of Greece, or some such thing, because of his Greek studies)... "The British are mean," he said. "I want to establish a Modern University in KASHMIR."

I was startled to hear about his intense interest in KASHMIR — prophetic of what Kashmir was to mean to India a few years later.

"India needs new, modernized, properly trained LEADERS.... and in the healthy climate and beautiful surroundings of Kashmir, they can be educated, trained for India and for the East...."

He was now busy writing one or two more books, the most important of which was to be a History of Great Movements. He wanted very much to write a History of India, but he had no leisure, and the rich Hindus who had promised him all sorts of funds, never kept their word, never gave him a rupee. In his heart Har Dayal must have been feeling a deep resentment against the patriots of India, who expected him, and a few other idealists, to go on making all sorts of sacrifices, while they themselves talked of "Mother India", parting with no money, going through no hardships.

For some time, since, he began residing in London, he was hopeful that the British Labour Party Leaders or other advanced circles would appreciate him. But he was now disillusioned.

So he had come to America, and he was already apprehensive of another war coming. He smelled gunpowder in the air of Europe.

I agreed that it was time for him to return to India, and do what he can for India and the world from his native land.

"I have planned systematic work, my best, for the next five to ten years any way." He was now 54 years of age. He was a man of some 5 feet, 6 or 7 inches, broad shouldered. His face was most regular, and his complexion was light enough so that he looked like a southern Frenchman, Italian, Spaniard or Latin American. His forehead was very large and steep. But he seemed to have been putting on weight. On February 4, 1939, I left New York for Europe.

He came to see me off at the pier. I returned to New York about three months later, towards the beginning of May, 1939. I did not see Har Dayal. Then a friend told me, "You know Har Dayal died" In March, 1939, Har Dayal had died of a heart attack, during the small hours of the night....

The *New York Times* published a very significant news item, based on statements from the British Embassy in Washington. Har Dayal, the Indian revolutionist, one of Britain's most formidable antagonists, a brilliant man... etc...died.

The British never underestimated him, his Indian ardour, his patriotism, his intellectual brilliance, learning, idealism.... May be the compliments paid by one's opponent are the most substantial ones.

I had left him in a sort of despondency regarding the obstacles he still was having in returning to India. He had perhaps felt that his people had forgotten him now.

But when, at least, the news of his death reached India, in a month or more, public meetings were held in Delhi, Lahore, Bombay and other cities, and tributes were paid to the genius and the patriotic efforts of Har Dayal.

He would have liked to know his people still esteemed and remembered him.

But now we must return to the chronicle of the Gadar movement, from where Har Dayal left it in or about June, 1914, shortly before the breaking out of the First World War.

The regime of Pandit Ram Chandra and some of his colleagues had begun: The Ram Chandra Period of THE GADAR.

Ram Chandra Becomes Editor of the Gadar

At the time that Lala Har Dayal became involved in the deportation proceedings, while out on a \$ 500 bail, he had formed an effective "Defence Committee" to fight the case. And this Committee developed into a sort of Executive Council (Gadar Party Committee or whatever it was called from time to time) of which Har Dayal himself was the chairman. It was to this organization that the problem was presented of choosing the next possible Editor, and hence the Chief of the whole functioning Gadar set up, in case of need.

Har Dayal himself wanted Lal (the present writer) to be his successor, for obvious reasons of personal, most close relationships. But the majority of the Council, consisting of wifeless Punjabi boys, were deeply impressed by the presence of a married man, with a wife with him—Pandit Ram Chandra.

Unlike the rest of the Gadar staff, and Har Dayal himself, the Pandit (everybody called him Panditji, because hee was a Brahman) and his wife lived in a small apartment a few streets away from the Gadar Office. So Ram Chandra was nominated as a Har Dayal's successor. This arrangement was quite agreeable to me, because the Pandit too belong to "The Delhi Circle"—by a sort of adoption—and also I disliked very much to handle financial and executive matters, and preferred to concern myself with the ideological, literary, publication aspects of the Gadar operations. I continued to live in Berkeley, close to the university which I want on attending, simultaneously doing work at the Gadar.

Har Dayal had admonished emphatically that "no one man was ever to usurp all power, all responsibility", that "the Editor was to be at the front, facing the public, and the opponents, but he must deal on terms of democratic, constitutional equality with the men of the Council.

Har Dayal was an intense puritan, a moralist, who laid great insistence on a lead being a living example of honesty, fairplay, clean living etc, so that the followers might never be disillusioned and become disheated and cynical, a matter of great moment in reform and revolution movements, he said. He was a little troubled about Pandit Ram Chandra, because hee had domestic responsibilities—and The Gadar was too hazardous an enterprise for a woman around.

But I told him about the Pandit's record of nationalism in Delhi, and it was all very stimulating.

While Har Dayal had never met Ram Chandra in India, the latter, of course, had taken the founder of The Gadar to be one of the great men of India years before.

Concerning his life before he came to Delhi I am largely ignorant (Mrs. Ram Chandra, in San Francisco, will supply the information), but I vividly recall how I became fond of Ram Chandra in 1909 or thereabout. He was the "Young man from Peshawar".

Somewhat older than I was, perhaps five or more years, Ram Chandra was a stardy, handsome, light skinned "Pathan looking" Brahman scholar and fiery nationalist, who wore his native dress—baggy pajamas, long kurta, turban with an Afridi style "kulla", peaked cap in the centre of the turban etc. He was rudy, vivacious, compared with the anemic looking Delhiwallas.

He had had a high school education, but had not graduated from any college: he managed in English—but he was real scholar of Urdu, knew good Persian and spoke and wrote Pashto (Pathan tongue) like a native. He did not know Sanskrit, perhaps not even the Hindi alphabet. But he had become a very ardent follower of a Hindu saint.

Swami Ram Tirtha, the saint who inspired Ram Chandra, had been a professor of mathematics at the Forman Christian College in Lahore, until he became a Vendantist — a "God crazy man". Since he is still remembered in India, and by Indians, it is not necessary to say more about him than that he had travelled as a Vendatic prophet-missionary to several countries, including Japan and the United States.

His followers were to be found in India and in all sorts of Far Eastern lands, particularly among Sindhi (Hindu) merchants. He had an important disciple in Mr. Puran, an organist chemist who had studied his science in Japan, and had become a member of the scientific staff of the Forest Research Institute in Dehra Dun. The Swami, one morning, had gone to the banks of the Ganges, at Rishi Kesh, at the foothills of the Himalayas, and had managed to get himself drowned—his followers said, he had merged himself into "Brahma. The Infinite"....

Among Ram Tirtha's admirer was also Master Amir Chand, of the St. Stephen's High School, about whom I have already written above, and he had financed a nationalist weekly newspaper published in Delhi. The newspaper was The AFTAB (The Sun), and it was originally edited and published by a graduate student of St. Stephen's College, Syud Hyder Rizza — the first conspicuous leader of The Swadeshi-Swaraj (nationalist) movement in Delhi, among whose disciples in patriotic operations were M. Asaf Ali (India's diplomat, who died as Indian Ambassador in Switzerland, a year ago,) and myself and Ram Chandra.... From Rizza's hands paper passed into Ram Chandra's care—as its editor.... The paper was stopped by the authorities.

Ram Chandra and I were discouraged, for I took contributed (unsigned) articles on nationalist problems in it. Then he left Delhi. I heard some time later that he had married a Brahman girl in Peshawar. "We have lost a patriot", racked some one in Delhi.

But married life did not tie Ram Chandra down to the traditional Hindu domesticity, nor tame his romantic and patriotic spirit to any extent. For I met him—and was most happily surprised—in Japan, when I reached there in the summer of 1912. He was staying with a Sindhi businessman, a follower of Ram Tirtha.

The real pleasure was to meet a charming, intensely devoted and patriotic woman—Mrs. Ram Chandra, not yet a mother. She was determined to stick with his wandering husband, come what may! As years have come and gone, my admiration for this brave, quiet, enduring woman has increased steadily!

When I sailed from Yokohama for San Francisco, Ram Chandra said, "I shall be meeting you there.... We will do things together.... Who knows?"

A year or so later he arrived, I believe, at Seattle, north from San Francisco, and deeply impressed some of the Indian farmers and factory workers etc., who knew at once that he was a nationalist with the mettle of leadership in him.

Ram Chandra and I had also met, and become great friends with, Moulvi M. Barkat Ullah, Professor of Arabic and Urdu at the University of Tokyo, already famous in those days as one of the earliest of India nationalists. And in China, the Pandit (but not I) had met and made friends with a Sikh temple priest-poet, Gyanee Bhagwan Singh (Bhai Bhagwan Singh, Gyanee, now a resident of California)....

Concerning Ram Chandra, Barkat Ullah and others in the Far East, I had told Har Dayal many times, and so the way had been prepared for the Pandit to join the staff of The Gadar.

One of the first things that Ram Chandra and I urged upon Har Dayal was to invite Moulvi Barkat Ullah; the Pandit also suggested that Bhai Bhagwan Singh too was to be invited.

Har Dayal wanted to concentrate all real and capable patriots anyway. So the distinguished scholar-priest-poet of Sikhism, Gyanee Bhagwan Singh, and the eminent Moulvi Saheb were invited and came to California, arriving shortly before or after Lala Har Dayal had gone to Switzerland.

The Pandit, as Ram Chandra came to be known, was the "Brahman" chief, Barkat Ullah the Moslem chief, Bhagwan Singh the Sikh chief: such became the Triumvirate, with the Pandit in the centre, and exercising crucial influence upon, and through, the other two men. The Big Three, practically, became The Governing Body of The Gadar.

All this did not happen in any formal fashion; it was just the inevitable consequence of two circumstances: (1) Har Dayal had left a vacuum which no one person could fill, and (2) the "public" understood and supported such an arrangement. The "public", of course, were the Indian community, especially the manual workers in the fields, orchards, factories, and the small Indian shopkeepers in Stockton, Sacramento and such towns on the Pacific Coast.

Hindu-Moslem-Sikh united front was established in a simple sort of way; and that was different from the purely secular, rational pattern of the founder, Har Dayal, who discouraged as much as possible any religious-communal attitudes, emotions, organs.

At this point I might introduce especially another patriot who had been inducted into the Gadar by Har Dayal himself—Godha Ram Channon, who is now a businessman in San Francisco, and can tell his won story fully. He was a political refugee from India, like Har Dayal, Ram Chandra and myself. And I was vastly delighted to learn that he had been a most close friend of my eldest brother, the late Prof. Brijmohan Lal, artist and cultural A.D.C. to the Maharaja of Patiala. Channon also was in the service of the Maharaja of Patiala, and he and my brother were both nationalists.

When, under the pressure of the British, the State Government started persecuting them, my brother went to Jaipur, and Channon left India, and came to California—in order to receive some college education (which he had missed in the Punjab, his home province) and to do what he could for the cause of Indian freedom. He had asked Har Dayal, whom he honoured heartily, regarding what he was to study. The leader, I understand, told him that for patriots the only thing to do was start getting the British out of India.... Being a nationalist, Channon joined the staff of the paper Har Dayal started.

But he was a quiet worker, not ambitious to push himself forward, and served with devotion as Har Dayal's and then Ram Chandra's colleague. My friendship with him grew more and more as time passed. He, too, was of the "Delhi Circle", in the cultural sense. He wrote almost perfect Urdu calligraphy, and was the chief "Copy Writer" of the Urdu edition of *The Gadar*, besides being many other things,

The "Family" pattern of the Gadar House (Ashram, Yugantar Ashram) at 436 Hill Street was no longer the same as in Har Dayal's time; for Ram Chandra himself did not live with the other staff men. He had a small apartment a few streets away, where he lived with his family. I lived (and managed on \$ 20 to \$ 25 a month) in Berkeley, where I was carrying on post-graduate studies at the University of California. Almost daily I visited San Francisco, gave the articles I had written for publication, or participated in the transactions in other ways.

My very special function, quite apart from writing for *The Gadar*, was this: American Contacts and English language writing etc. Naturally, after Har Dayal's departure, I remained the only "University Graduate" in the set up.

I was regarded as Har Dayal's younger brother (and served as a Horatio to that Hamlet) by his American friends, and by the university professors and scholars and other intellectuals of San Francisco and the Bay Cities and the nearby towns. Neither Ram Chandra nor any one else had any contacts with these American friends of India, among whom were the great Editor, Freemont Older (of The Bulletin), and his staff columnists, John D. Barry and Pauline Jacobson and others.

It became a matter of principle with me to write in Urdu and Hindi about history, natural and social science etc. which I was studying, so that the readers of *The Gadar* might learn what they otherwise had no access to; I gave my books to the growing Gadar Office library. Now and then I would discuss for hours some new scientific or historical or ethical concepts with the boys. Moulvi Barkat Ullah and I became very fast friends. Ram Chandra and I often spent evenings talking over intellectual matters.

Only now and then I had time to go out to where Gadar meetings were held, in other towns or in fields. More and more such "public" activity was taken up by the Three Big Fellows — who raised funds by their campaign talks from the "public".

Bhagwan Singh did very effective work among the Sikhs, particularly; the Moulvi drew the Moslem brothers into the cause. The Pandit was a dramatic, fiery speaker and stirred the combative spirit of the listeners. When I made any speeches, they were mostly factual and interpretative.... Such we were....

Obviously, the Gadar was founded by a topnotch University Graduate intellectual, Har Dayal, with whom I had cast my lot (I too was a full blown university-alumnus intellectual, although younger and still exploring the labyrinths of learning). And now, after his leaving San Francisco his "cause" was in the hands of "Vernacular Cultural Leaders", if one might phrase it that way. Ram Chandra certainly understood English well enough, but he had no mastery of it; he was great writer and speaker of Urdu, Pashto and so forth. Bhagwan Singh knew hardly any English when he first appeared on the scene. The Moulvi knew English and French thoroughly, but his interest was in Islamic literature, religion, philosophy.

Har Dayal himself had started writing and speaking in the Indian vernacular (Urdu, Hindi for him) concerning the matter of Indian Freedom. He had, however, continued to lecture and write in English—for Indian and American and other audiences. Some of this now I tried to do. But The Gadar, as a whole, became a decisively INDIAN (Vernacular—Hindustani-Punjabi-Urdu) affair.

I was not the only one of the newly arrived, younger men who had become converted to Har Dayalian nationalism, and had followed him openly; Kartar Singh, Harnam Singh, Shiv Deo, Kedarnath, Pathak...so many students had become his disciples. We all felt "let down" when he left us—whether justifiably or otherwise. And some of these young, newly converted patriots, Kartar Singh, Harnam Singh, Jagat Ram etc... turned their emotional streams into channels of action that now appeared in sight.

Har Dayal was still in San Francisco when the news arrived that an amazingly adventurous, daring Indian, Bawa or Bhai Gurdit Singh (Punjabi, Sikh), had chartered a Japanese ship (*Komagata Maru*) for sailing from an Indian port (Calcutta?) all the way across the Pacific in order to reach the Canadian Western port of Vancouver, north of Seattle, Washington. On this ship were brought Sikh passengers — relatives of the Sikh residents of Canada. These pilgrims to Canada were to land at Vancouver, since the Dominion authorities had made a law that Indians could be allowed to enter the country only if they had come on the same ship from an Indian port. There was no direct steamship service between India and Canada, and so the law practically barred the Sikhs in Canada from having even their wives and children join them. (Roughly, I believe, that was the situation.)

Now the forthright, soldierly Gurdit Singh was to challenge the Canadian immigration obstruction. He and his human cargo from an India port were to arrive at Vancouver and demand admission. Such a dramatic "voyage", under the leadership of the Sikh Columbus, marked a revolutionary change in the mentality of the common people of India, of the Punjabis any way.

It was realized by every thinking person that the Canadians would not allow the passengers from The Komagata Maru to land. They were not going to be outwitted by the "Hindu" sailor leader. On the contrary, Canadians and West Coast Americans would be aroused to a white heat of fury against Indian "Immigrants". Har Dayal, Ram Chandra, Barkat Ullah did not like the situation at all. They wanted no trouble with Canadian and American Labour Organizations. who were particularly determined to resist Indian immigration.

But, of course, among the Sikhs in Canada and in all along the American Pacific border a sort of crusading fury arose. The Gadar people had no choice; they just had to do some thing to help or show their sympathy with the Gurdit Singh enterprise.

When The Komagata Maru arrived, with its passengers were not allowed to land; Canadian shore guns were trained on the ship.

In short, Baba Gurdit Singh and his fellow travellers were thoroughly baulked. They were now boiling with frustrated motions. The Gadar People sent to the ship, standing in the Vancouver waters, plenty of especially published Gadar literature. In addition (the British claimed weapons were sent. And a contingent of Gadar men themselves boarded the ship, as it started the voyage back to Calcutta.... Men Bhai Jwala Singh, who had established the Guru Govind Singh Scholarships (which had brought me to America), Bhai Sohan Singh, a venerable leader, Kartar Singh, Harnam Singh plenty of others—Sikhs and non-Sikhs—disappeared from California, and managed to reach India...

Thus The Komagata Maru was virtually turned in to a Gadar ship, on its return voyage; such anyway is my understanding of the affair.

The British charged that The Maru passengers, specially the Gadar-minded ones, raised Cain at every Far Eastern point they touched....

But at the port of Calcutta (Hugly River) the British troops and police were ready to arrest everybody.... There were shots fired from both sides.... A battle took place....

Gurdit Singh himself and many other Gadar staff men escaped and reached the Punjab and other places in India, and started revolutionary operations.

The real and full details of what happened might never be learned, because British censorship blotted out all news of the affair—or allowed only as much to trickle out as was consistent with the British interests. No one at the Gadar office ever acknowledged that any thing was done—since the British were busy trying to stir up American authorities against the Gadar.

Now, the world was in flames. The First World War had broken out in the first week of August 1914, before The Maru returned to the Indian port in Bengal.

From then on, for some three years, The Gadar worked in the matrix of the First World War—and it was transformed.

Har Dayal, who was still the nominal head of The Gadar, wrote a signed article (in Urdu) from Europe, which was published in bold letters in the paper, which began with these ominous words: "THE ENEMY OF OUR ENEMY IS OUR FRIEND" (Hamere dushman Ka dushman hamara dost hai).... The die was caste.

The Gadar news, editorials, comments were vigorously slanted as Pro-German, Pro-Turkish. Irish nationalist newspapers in America, such as *The Gaelic American* of New York and others, as well as German American newspapers etc., were also of the same pattern.

The United States was now *neutral*. But the American people, and the press, was "neutral on this side or that". It was always a case of "neutral on whose side?" Americans of British and French parentage and tradition, for example, were overwhelmingly "pro-British" (pro-Allied); but those of Irish, German, Austro-Hungarian and other Entent countries ancestry and backgrounds were on the opposite side.

The issue of Indian politics suddenly became very important one, nextonly to that of Irish politics. It was made a conspicuous by the British themselves, whose propaganda, coming from London, Delhi, Simla, Washington etc. was publicizing the "loyalty of Indians to the British Empire—at this time of war." The Indian nationalist leader, B.G. Tilak, had been released from jail, after some six years of captivity, and he had been reported to have urged his countrymen to stand by Britain. The Moderates like Gokhale, of course, with the Empire. But such a fighter for the rights of Indians in South Africa as M.K. Gandhi had started doing some ambulance service at the Western Front in Europe. Above all the British sources gloated over the fact that thousands of Indian soldiers had come to France and Belgium to help defend the British and the Allies, and they had done some magnificent fighting and so forth.

So, claimed the British sources, Indian nationalism itself was helping the Empire, which the educated, usually critical Indians, had realized was far better than a purely independent India or an India dominated by the Germans or Turks etc. The handful of misguided young rebels were all tools of the Germans and Turks, representing nobody in India itself.

Naturally The Gadar office replied, in letters and articles sent to and published by the American newspapers (how busy I was) to all this along this general line: The show of loyalty on the part of the Indian Princes, Indians in British Services, Indian soldiers and police and even some of the statements of one or two so-called leaders merely covered up the fact that the Indian people wanted to overthrow British rule right away, that all sorts of signs of revolt kept bursting out—in spite of war time repression.

News began to come from India about a series of revolutionary conspiracy trials—The Lahore Conspiracy Case, The Delhi Bomb Case, Benares and other cases.... Among those whom the British had caught, tried and hanged were Master Amir Chand of Delhi, Kartar Singh, Harnam Singh and others of the former Gadar staff.... Bhai Sohan Singh and Bhai Jawala Singh, Kashi Ram and so many others from the Pacific Coast were given life terms. And Bhai Permanand, the half Moderate politician, too was sent to the Andaman Islands penal colony....

One Statement was made by the then British ruler of the Punjab (Lieut. Governor somebody) from Lahore, that "The arm of the British Sarkar was long enough to reach and strong enough to strike The Gadar in San Francisco". It rather flattered The Gadar staff. Not only in The Gadar paper but also in the American press, all news of these trials and punishments were issued, to show that India was seething under the calm and loyal surface etc....

In the fields where Indians worked all day, sowing or cutting crops or plucking fruits for their American employers, strange things would happen at night fall. These Punjabis would get together in their simple camps, eat their Indian bread and vegetables or meat, and then sing and dance about the Revolution. Sometimes they beat dhol drums; and chanted revolutionary songs composed in the Punjabi or Urdu by the staff poets of the Gadar, including Bhagwan Singh. Pathans would dance war dances....

The education of the practically illiterate Indians, and their emotional nationalizing were profound and far-reaching. The movement was truly "popular".

The day came when Bhagwan Singh left the United States. Then Moulvi Barkat Ullah left, and he was heard from, later, from Berlin, where he had joined Har Dayal (now a guest of the Kaiser). Others disappeared. It was assumed that each has gone on some patriotic mission; no questions were asked. Pandit Ram Chandra,

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intensely busy, said nothing to give the slightest indication of any thing else than the publication of the paper being carried on.

By this time Ram Chandra had made valuable relationships with prominent Irish editors, priests and other Irish, German and various sorts of Americans, who had no liking for the British. But there was no talk about any thing out of the way.

After the Christmas of 1914, Ram Chandra came to see me and asked me if I would go to England. I could join Oxford, Cambridge or the University of London.... He had patriotic project in mind.... I was startled....

I asked him, now, point blank: "Tell me, have you any dealings with the Germans? I must know that".

He said, "NO." He knew that almost everybody believed that The Gadar was being aided by the Germans, although I saw not the slightest sign of any income apart from the offerings of the Indian community. Ram Chandra said, "I have dealings with the Germans, and if I had I would tell you". I asked no more questions.

I had letters of introduction from my university professors for some of the great British scientists etc. And I stayed at a number of places on my way from San Francisco to New York. At Columbia, Missourie, I spent a day with Prof. Thorstein Veblen, famous American sociologist. In New York I had lunch with Walter Lippman, the columnist, then an editor of *The New Republic* etc.

When I left San Francisco, Ram Chandra remained entirely alone to run The Gadar; since Bhagwan Singh and the Moulvi Barkat Ullah and others had already departed to destinations unknown.

Six months later I came back to San Francisco, and was surprised that Ram Chandra was upset. However, he requested me to do a lot more writing etc.... Echoes of the doings of Indian nationalists in Central Europe and Turkey—of Har Dayal, Moulvi Barkat Ullah, Taraknath Das, Chattopadhyaya etc. kept coming. Ram Chandra told me that Das and Har Dayal had quarrelled.... Yet he insisted that he had no dealings with the Germans.

The Gadar office had become accepted by every one as the headquarters of Indian Community Life, especially in the West. Even American officials, when they wanted some thing done for or about any Indian or Indians, sought help from The Gadar, and received cooperation. The British Consulate General was no longer considered as representing "Indians" of India —except some British servants.

The British Consul General, Andrew Carnegie Ross, was born (or grew up) in Sialkot or some where in the northern Punjab, and he was full of kipling fury; he had a great respect for Ram Chandra's ability, as a very formidable antagonist.

His agents must have been busy in The Gadar itself, for one or two were suspected by Ram Chandra himself. Others must have been doing all sorts of operations, including the stirring up of anti-Gadar sentiments among the Sikhs, whose Temple in Stockton was a rival to the Gadar Office, in many ways.

Prominent Indian visitors (such as a Raja from Behnar or near there) first visited the British Consul General, and then, secretively came to pay their respects to The Gadar or to Ram Chandra anyway.

In 1915 or so the greatest Indian scientist of his day, Professor Jagdish Chandra Bose of the Presidency College, Calcutta, and Lady Bose visited San Francisco, during their American tour of scientific lectures. They came to the Gadar House at midnight—to pay their homage to The Fighters for Indian Freedom, and were moved by the sight of the INDIAN FLAG (The Flag of Independent India, designed by Madame Cama in Paris) draped over the walls....

But a few months later (I believe in 1916), another great Indian visitor to San Francisco became the subject of a British-Indian battle. He was the great poet—Rabindranath Tagore.

What happened, briefly, was that Tagore had been knighted, "Sir Rabindranath Tagore", and was on a lecture tour. He had been in Japan, and was now arriving in San Francisco, where he was scheduled to give some lectures in The Columbia Theatre and at a function arranged in his honour at the Bohemian Club and so forth.

Now the British Consulate General officials received him, and threw a guard of detectives around him. When the poet wanted to know why he was to have British-appointed body guards, the British told him that "The Gadar people would attack him. Of course, the purpose was to keep Tagore completely away from any Gadar men, especially from Ram Chandra. To make matters worse, Tagore was prevailed upon to make some statements to the American press, which expressed his lofty condemnation of any sort of militant activity; he condemned "Western Materialism"—in which he included any nationalist struggle involving real fight etc.

Tagore's idealistic pacifism (peace, spirituality etc.) talk irritated The San Francisco Examiner, the leading Hearst newspaper, which had been advocating that the United States was to get thoroughly prepared to defend herself, and yet should not join either side in the war. In a drastically critical editorial, The Examiner said that Indians were a subject people just because they had such nimby pamby leaders, such wishy washy patriot-prophets, who were not leading their countrymen to freedom.... (the exact words are not given here)...

Moreover The Examiner asked Pandit Ram Chandra to give his views, and the Pandit and I wrote letters, which the newspaper published side by side on its editorial page. We both asked Tagore why he had accepted a "Knighthood" from the British, a warring power, who had conquered the poet's own country by the sword? We urged him to give up his title of "Sir"; in penitence rightaway. Mine was a much milder and respectful letter than Ram Chandra's. There was a furor all over the United States.

The British sent out news that the Gadar revolutionists had tried to do physical harm to the poet, an utter nonsense. And they arranged for an Indian reception for him at the Sikh Temple in Stockton. A Sikh gentleman, wearing a big and golden-tasseled turban, came to see Tagore, then staying at the Palace Hotel, and to personally invite him for the Temple function.

Pandit Ram Chandra, however, had sent a couple of young Gadar staffsikh boys (cleanshaven, no turban) to intercept the emissary, which they did. The boys were temporarily arrested, and had to be tried in a police court, but were let off—when the Irish judge learned what it was all about. He said "Yes, yes I understand you boys are patriots.... But do not break peace again....". Tagore left for Chicago, in great consternation.

The nationalist press in Bengal got wind of the affair, and suggested to Tagore to give up his knighthood; and it is possible that he never again felt at ease with his "Sir". Eventually he gave it up, when an opportunity came some years later. At the time, after reaching Chicago, and getting to understand how the British had created the situation, he sent an apology to The Gadar, for Ram Chandra told me about it. In later years he became quite fond of Channon and me, when we both entertained him in San Francisco in or about 1927. He had respected us, knowing that we revered him personally, and had only tried to express our patriotism in criticizing his "title".

Some time passed before Bhai Bhagwan Singh turned up in San Francisco, and he and Santokh Singh asked me a lot of questions—which bewildered me. They had believed that I knew about some "Special Fund". I did not know any thing about it, and I convinced them.

At the same time another surprise came in the person of Harsich Chandra, whom I had met in England. Harish was the son of a very prominent Indian educator and public leader of India, Mahatma Munshi Ram (also known as Swami Shradhanand, who was assassinated by some fanatic), the founder of the Guru Kul University at Hardwar, on the Ganges, in U.P., India. He was a young monkish student when, I taught at the university for a few weeks, in 1909, and now he appeared as a most handsome, immaculately groomed and dressed modern debonair young gentleman. He had been in Berlin, with Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, one of the prominent

Nationalists of the Berlin Group. He claimed to have come laden with news from Har Dayal and others, and I introduced him to Ram Chandra or perhaps he had other introduction for the Pandit. Anyway I took him around to meet my American friends, who were charmed with him.

There were many mysterious meetings between Ram Chandra and Harish Chandra in which I was never present. I did not care what they talked about. But one day both the Chandras and I were present in the Gadar Office when Bhai Bhagwan Singh and Santokh Singh turned up, and they said that they had some thing of tremendous importance to tell the Gadar staff.

All staff men were called together. Also a "friend" of Pandit Ram Chandra, V.D. Bagai, had come along with Bhagwan Singh. What was Bagai doing there?

He must be introduced, Bagai was a man of money, a man of great intelligence and polished manners, and he had been a banker in Peshawar, where he was a close friend of Ram Chandra. He landed in San Francisco shortly after Ram Chandra had begun the editorship of *The Gadar*. He came with his wife, a lovely Hindu woman, and their sons. We all met the Bagais through the Pandit, and became very fond of them. The Ram Chandra and the Bagai families were on the best possible terms. It was considered natural that the old Peshawar links be strengthened in a new country. But Bagai had never taken any part in The Gadar movement, ostensibly, and he had become a naturalized American citizen.

Bhagwan Singh now asked Ram Chandra about the "Special Fund". For the first time, as far as I knew, Ram Chandra acknowledged that he had given the "Special Fund" to Bagai, for keeping in a bank's safe deposit vault. But, now, he had taken the fund away from Bagai...and so Bagai was sore with him!

In a few words: Ram Chandra had in his possession some money which was different from the ordinary funds raised from the Indian community. It was now quite plain that this Special Fund consisted of what some "foreign power" had contributed.

The British were to claim, later on, that this money was part of what the "Germans" had contributed to The Gadar. For the time being no mention of Germans was made.

But the bombshell that Ram Chandra hurled was this: "Bagai was my friend since the Peshawar days. I trusted him. So I kept this money with him—in a bank vault. Then recently I had taken it away from him, and he was bitterly angry—and had given me away to Bhagwan Singh...."

"The reason I had come to distrust him was that he had himself told me, a few months ago, that he had been in the pay of the British Consul General, and was supposed to report to that official the secrets of The Gadar and of Ram Chandra's activities etc.... But he was ashamed of all that, and wanted to make a clean breast of it—and so I told him to keep going to the Consulate and to tell them some nonsense I would give him, and to try to bring me some information from the British side.... But I have no trust in him now".

Bagai answered: "Pandit Ram Chandra himself sent me to the British Consul General, and wanted reports from the British side. He suggested that I ask for pay from the British, so that they would trust me, and I did that, and I gave what I received from them to Ram Chandra...."

They were calling each other liars. And everybody in the Gadar Office was pale and aghast. Bagai was dismissed. Harish Chandra had sat smiling, silently; he too left. Bhagwan Singh wanted the Special Fund to be handed over to him, or to the committee of the staff, of which he was member. Ram Chandra was, to say the least, a blunderer.

Afraid that Bhagwan Singh might do some thing violent, we advised Ram Chandra to resign from the editorship, and to work as a member of the staff. He was to turn over the fund in dispute to a committee.

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He promised to do so. Then he and Harish Chandra got together. Harish Chandra promised Ram Chandra more funds—apparently from the German Sources. The two, thus, would continue the work—leaving Bhagwan Singh or any others to keep plodding with the old, original Gadar system. They wanted me to join them. I refused. I wanted every thing constitutional. And I was angry with Ram Chandra for not telling me about it, when I had asked him a year or so before if he had any dealings with Germans.... Here we were all caught, innocent people, in a network of intrigues and counter-intrigues, helplessly.... I walked away from the whole business.

The worse was yet to come for Ram Chandra. He had now trusted Harish Chandra as fully as he had trusted Bagai previously. So he took his "Special Fund" and he deposited it in a bank's safe deposits vault, under two names—his own and Harish Chandra's. That is, they had separate keys and either could open the box and handle its contents.

The very day following this arrangement, about which we knew nothing, Harish Chandra went to the bank, took away all the money and disappeared. Ram Chandra raised a lot of hue and cry. And I told him that he was turning out to be a double fool, and doubted that he was telling the truth. A week or more later Harish Chandra returned to the city, and came to see me, and said that he had not touched the money at all. I took him to the Gadar House, and asked him to say all that to Ram Chandra's face. The two men were calling each other a liar.

I believed Harish Chandra, and scolded Ram Chandra in the presence of the staff.... But one week later, Harish Chandra came to see me again, and said that he had lied. "I had taken away the money, and I wanted to turn it over to the staff..."

I groaned. I said that he owed an explanation to the poor staff people. He promised to go along with me, but I waited for him for hours in vain. He never showed up. He took away the money. He apparently has disappeared from the face of the earth. Where did he go? Where is he or was he?....

Naturally I at once told Ram Chandra and others what had happened. The Pandit tried to complain for my doubting him, but I told him that I just could not go on with any such irresponsible or unscrupulous doings. For me, some other way of life had to be indicated by luck or circumstance.

But troubles came fast now. Germany and America had severed diplomatic relations. The two countries were on the brink of the war.

Sensing what was probably coming I urged Pandit Ram Chandra to make a clean break with the Germans, and to get The Gadar or its substitute established firmly into strictly American roots.

By this time, Pandit Ram Chandra had a new Gadar House (at 5 Wood Street) built. In the designing of

the house I had been consulted. It stands today, a moment of history.

Never have I believed that Ram Chandra was greedy for money; but he was in love with power, and had become too much involved in the German business—so that the integrity of the Indian Nationalist Organization had become severely compromised, which I did not like at all. I wanted Indian Nationalism to be Indian at the essential core.

But events were to show that others, among the Indian nationalists, who had had dealings with the Germans were much less unselfish and egocentric than Ram Chandra was; no doubt every one thought he was doing the best for the country, but the personal motives were inseparable from the patriotic...

In spite of these troubles, Ram Chandra's development of The Gadar stood out as something unique. He certainly had carried out most daring and difficult and many sided projects.

And now, having lost all his "special fund" he was again the poor fighter for Indian Freedom. So we made up again anyway. He was in a more receptive mood to my ideas, and we might have started together a publication in English, to plead the cause of India to the Americans etc.

However, The United States entered the war in April, 1917, and Ram Chandra, Bhagwan Singh and a few others were arrested at once: they were charged with conspiring with Germans to violate the "neutrality" of the United States.

I was still free, and I was asked by a professor of mine to ride with him to Mexico, and stay there until the storm was over. But I stayed on to help the boys...and got caught in the storm.

What came to be known as the German-Hindu conspiracy to violate the neutrality of the United States case was one of the longest and most dramatic state trials of its ever held until then.... That trial was America's gift to Britain!

It is no use going into the details of that great trial which lasted for some six months, and cost the American taxpayers a few million dollars.

The charge against the Hindus (Indians), Germans and the Americans was not that they had done any thing to interfere with the war or defence operations of the United States. It was that during the period when America was "neutral", neither on the British nor on the German side, the accused had gotten together and struck such blows at the British Power as to constitute military attacks etc. The British Power suffered enough to justify its asking America to take action etc. etc...

The British had prepared the case, except for American legal verbiage; and for the trial some top officials from Britain, including four members of the British Parliament, Scotland Yard officials, translators etc., Sir George Dunham, of British Police Force in India, and a few hundred C.I.D. and other officers had come to San Francisco. They were U.S. Government guests, with their headquarters at Hotel Whitcomb on Market Street. Scores of American detectives were hired to follow everybody....

On the side of the defence, a battery of some of the most brilliant San Francisco lawyers was in battle array. The leader of the defence legal panel was Theodore Roche, then President of the San Francisco Police Commission, and others were Timothy Healy, a great orator, McGowan, Robert Royce, Otto Irving Wise (brother of Rabi Stephen Wise, Jewish leader of New York) and other top lawyers.

Hindus (Indians) sat with German barons and counts and American shipping merchant magnates and others of substance and respectability.

For the U.S. Attorney, John W. Preston and his assistant, Annette Adams, were to try to prove that real military expeditions had been attempted, and some were carried out with conspicuous results.

One of the Gadar projects was this: a ship with cargo of arms (Anne Larsen?) was to sail from a port in Mexico, and it was to reach a Pacific Ocean island. Here it was deliver its cargo to another ship, sent from Honolulu (S.S. Maverick)—which was to proceed to Karachi, where it was deliver its weapons etc. to the Indian revolutionists.... The British got wind of the Project and frustrated it; the ships were captured etc....

Plenty of evidence was presented to show how Indian Nationalists, sent from San Francisco or New York or Chicago etc., had caused serious troubles for the British armed forces in the Near and in the Far East etc....

In brief, the British had been hurt by what the Indian Nationalists, aided by the Germans, had done or tried to do. In spite of their mouthpieces saying that the Indians as a whole had remained loyal to the British, it was now being shown in the U.S. District Court that the British Empire had taken Indian activities with the utmost seriousness.

Day after day for some six months, during 1917-1918, the story of Indian Nationalist activities to weaken and possibly overthrow the British empire of India was submitted by the British-American team to an all American jury....

The defence attorneys pleaded that the Indians had only tried to free their country from foreign rule, just as the American Revolutionists did in the days of George Washington.

The press of America published daily reports. Indian Freedom had become a CAUSE, indeed, before the whole American nation.

One of the poor Indians (a Sikh) brought over from India in chains, who was supposed to have been sent out by The Gadar, was put on the witness stand to give evidence against his own people.

He broke down mentally and emotionally, and refused to testify, and said that he had been tortured by the Indian police and had made a false confession.... All that was published in the newspapers. Americans now had a first hand exhibition of the British Indian police methods....

While the war was going on in Europe, and America was in it, the Russian Revolution had been going on, and to meet its challenge, President Woodrow Wilson had announced his famous Fourteen Points (one of which was self-Government for All Peoples) as the promised basis for post-war construction by the Allies. So the Indian Nationalist, in defence, demanded an application of the Wilson Doctrine to India—that is independence for India...

What probably would have happened was that some of the leaders, such as Pandit Ram Chandra, would have been found guilty, and many others among the Indian would have been found not guilty—that of any conspiracy to violate American neutrality, by collusion with the Germans. However no one can say what would have happened.

What did happen was a tragedy. It was the last day of the trial. Both sides had presented their final arguments. The sun had gone down. In the court room the lights were turned on.

The judge was giving the final instructions to the jury when there was a terrific gun explosion.

A man stumbled and fell dead right in front of the horrified judge and jury. An instant later a second gunshot rang out. Another man was flattened on the floor, dead.

The dazed people in the court room realized slowly: that Ram Singh a Sikh Gadar man who had joined the Bhagwan Singh faction, had shot dead Pandit Ram Chandra.

A U.S. Marshall fired his revolver at Ram Singh and killed him immediately. Such was the ghastly scene in the U.S. District Court that night, when the American jury retired to consider its verdict. The double killing had destroyed any chance of anybody being acquitted. The jury found only one "not guilty", a prominent American shipping executive; the rest—Indians, German officials, American shipping and other business men were all "guilty of conspiring to violate the neutrality of the U.S.A... by sending military enterprises against the British..."

Now Bhagwan Singh's faction seized The Gadar Ashram, the headquarters at 5 Wood Street, and it started the publication of The Hindustan Gadar (the name "Gadar" was copyrighted by the original publication that ceased with the death of Ram Chandra).

I left the organization for good; so did Channon and many others. However, I am aware of the fact that the new management kept on publication the paper in Gurmukhi, for Sikh Gadarites. But apart from the publication of the paper, patriotic activities went on.

One of the essential activities to be carried out was the defence of a number of the men who, following their incarceration in jails to serve out imposed sentences, were to be punished further—they were to be "deported to India", handed over to the British, as the latter wanted done. Bhagwan Singh and I were among these, but not Channon and others whose part in the movement was considered less important, according to the British estimations. However, by the time that the issue of possible deportation arose, the war had ceased, the armistice had been declared.

If the war had continued another year or two every Indian nationalist in incarceration would have been handed over to the British and tried by them in London or Delhi for "Waging War Against The King Emperor".

Even the armistice did not at once abate British high-handedness which prodded the war-hysterical minded American officials. For more than a year, at least, the American officials were fighting against every American or non-American who could be at all considered "subversive" (a word which is stretched out to cover every thing in times of national excitement). Old Russian revolutionary refugees, who had come to U.S.A. to escape the tyranny of the Czar, German officials and so forth were being deported...All sorts of socialists were being put in to jails as unpatriotic in one sense or another...

The U.S.A. Attorney General and the Post Master General of the time, for example, were among the most drastic punishers of the epoch. Woodrow Wilson himself had suffered a stroke of paralysis, and the Government was going ahead under the cabinet bureaucrats. Taking advantage of this the British had tried very hard to get The Gadar leaders and other affiliated Indian revolutionary patriots to be given to the British.

For many months, nearly two years, a defense had to be put up, I can't describe the deadlines of the situation as I try to recall it... The efforts which were now made by the Indian patriots in jeopardy (efforts which were mostly separate) were herculean, and they served to teach the Indians many secrets of the American psychology which could never have been learned otherwise. One of the most powerful U.S. Senators, an Irish American, James D. Phelan of San Francisco, was one of those who protected me.

At last the cases of preparation were dropped. It does not mean that any case might not be revived again any time—such are the ways of America; but the pending shadow was moved for the period in review.

During this period De Valera, the future president of republic of Ireland, visited San Francisco and was acclaimed by the several hundred thousand Irish Americans; and the Gadar Party presented to him an Indian sword, which he accepted with ostensible pleasure—wishing India, too, full independence.

Here was one of the symptoms that, at last, the tide of American public feeling had begun to swing away from war and its dictatorial officialism. In San Francisco, certainly, the Irish and the German Americans were stirring up against President Woodrow Wilson (who had promised in 1916 to keep America out of the War, and had taken it into the war)— now trying to get Americans to accept the sort of peace which was adumbrated at The Paris Conference, with Lloyd George and Clemenceau etc. Wilson's most powerful opponent, who had helped him to get elected three years before, Senator Hiram Johnson of California was now thundering against Wilson's doctrines, and the League of Nations. He denounced the League as a British trick—with one vote for America and Six votes for the British (including one vote for India—subject India)...

The British Officials, English speaking Unions and other pro-British setups were trying openly and assiduously to rally American voters around Wilson's banner of the League, for the re-election of the Democrats in 1920.

They were so puffed up with the sense of victory that they failed to perceive that the more they tried to dictate to the Americans the less chance they had of continuing their advantage.

For example, a British Indian official, Col. Sir Popham Young, who had been in the Punjab, and had been sent to California to help carry on anti-Indian propaganda, called on the President of the University of California. (Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler) and talked a lot against Indian students, engaged in anti-British movements. He received a curt reply. Next day he visited the editor of *The San Francisco Examiner* and suggested that the paper were not to publish any Pro-Indian, anti-British stuff; the next day a big editorial attacking the British tyranny in India was published by the newspaper. Sir Popham just could not understand what was happening; why every American was not doing what the British were suggesting, regarding Indian nationalists....

By this time the news of general Dyer's Amritsar Massacre had begun to trickle in to American newspapers. Americans began to shudder at what was going on in India.

One day, it must have been in 1920 or so, Godha Ram Channon and I paid a visit to an Indian Nawab, a former high official in the state of Patiala, who was my uncle's close friend. He had come on a British Indian War Mission, and he introduced us to the head of the Mission—Sir James D' Bouley who was the Private Secretary to Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India.

As soon as our names were pronounced, the English man jumped out of his seat and shouted: "You two are responsible for the tragedy of Amritsar. It is because of what you Gadar men did in the Punjab that the military had to fire to quell the riot..."

We left him, feeling that may be the Gadar made the Punjab British rulers to lose their heads!

If what the English man, the top bureaucrat of the Chelmsford regime, said was even very partially right, it meant that the activities of the handful of Indian nationalists abroad, in America and in Europe etc., had had great repercussions in India. After all Mahatma Gandhi himself entered the great fight, his war of Non-Violent Revolution, by being driven to an intense revolt against Amritsar and what it symbolized.

In the Report of the Rowlatt Act Committee, of which a copy reached San Francisco, we read pages after pages about "Maharaja Har Dayal", whom the Indian rebels, caught by the British, had acclaimed as the liberator of India.... The Punjabi (California) and the Bengali and other revolutionists were described with amplitude; and the Rowlatt Committee wanted the continuation of the wartime repressions (The Defence of Realm Act) because of the danger of the Indian revolutionists abroad...

The fear and hatred of the Indian patriots which had gripped the British rulers of India made them act against their own interests. From the United States, in the post-war years criticism of the British methods in India went out to Britain. And during the war, when the Trial was being held in San Francisco, the American State Department was believed to have strongly urged the Government of Britain to offer or promise as much of a measure of self-government for India as was possible, because the American public sentiments, the American conscience had to be placated regarding "British imperialism in India". The American soldiers were not going to fight to save any kind of imperialism, British or any other.

The smashing defeat of Wilson's Party, the Democrats, in 1920 finally jolted the British out of their illusions. Now, at last, tired, exhausted, with our heads bloody, and our bellies and backs empty, Godha Ram Channon and Taraknath Das and I, for example, started to strive to live in a hostile environment, full of prejudices and suspicions. The quarrels among the Indian patriotic groups had weakened and disheartened us.

In India, now, the Gandhi movement had begun. Sometimes cries reached us that Mahatma Ji had promised "Swaraj Within a year"—if everybody joined the Non-Cooperation Movement. On the whole, the Gadar experience had inculcated the feeling in us that it was not going to be so simple as all that; the struggle might have to be deeper and wider, and a military action might become inevitable. At any rate, it was hard to become pledged to a particular dogma, no matter noble, as regards the nature of the fight which might have to be made to win independence.

Nevertheless, we (Channon or I or Das) did not want to do anything that might interfere without qualify Mahatma Gandhi's amazing work.... India, at last, was waking up... under the Mahatma Ji's leadership. Lala Lajpat Rai, who was having dealing with The Gadar, but had started (with external aid) (a Home Rule for India League in New York returned to India)

Syid Hossain, on the other hand came over from India—and he made the Gandhi-Khilafat Movement understandable to me and others of us.... This time India was really on the way on to freedom, since the Mahatma was a fearless fighter, and profoundly spiritual revolutionist of the ages.

Some of the Gadar men who were hidden in India gave themselves up to Mahatma Gandhi, for they realized that he was genuine REBEL against British tyranny, as well as native despotisms.

It is a comment worth offering that Mahatma Gandhi had developed his methods of fighting for freedom outside of India—in a land where the Indian immigrants had to struggle against their non-Indian rulers, South Africa...

The career of The Gadar after the First World War has no such importance, as far I know, as when the Gandhi Movement had not been started. * * *

Thus, the survey of history brings to light the fact that Indian Nationalism was more manifest outside of India than in India during the period of about 1910 to 1920 or so. And of this outside -of-India movement the most important phase was the Gadar of San Francisco.

The Gadar House which Pandit Ram Chandra had got built in 1916 with its occupation starting in 1917, still stands in San Francisco—add now this venerable old building is a possession of the Republic of India....It is ugly, comparable to the immortally beautiful Lal Kila (Red Fort Palace) of the Moghuls of Delhi; yet both are landmarks of the GADAR...

The Gadar of San Francisco was in a deliberate manner a revival of The Gadar of 1857—by a son of Delhi, Har Dayal... And the American based Gadar just passed the ball of Indian patriotism to many others. Its special contribution, obviously, was to relate Indian Freedom to the movements of Freedom in the United States, Central Europe and other countries of the West and the Near and Far East. Britain was influenced by the American public opinion, directly or through the channels of government.

The Gadar and its collaborators won recognition from Germany and Turkey as an "Indian ally" from Britain as a "foe", from America as a struggle of a "colonial people for freedom".

In its enterprise were involved Indian intellectuals, workers, farmers, persons of all creeds...and at their best they were dedicated people...

It seems, perhaps, very wasteful that in trying to get freedom and justice for people there has to be conflict, bitterness, violence or semi-violence. But man has not yet learned how handle human nature as scientists handle metals and other materials. No science of politics or economic worthy of the name has yet arisen.

Movements of any sort of reform are more like religious movements, with faith, feelings and so forth...

Balancing the budget of The Gadar—taking its gains and losses in human values—it seems to be that it was one of the most significant of the enterprises of Indian Nationalism in the 20th century.

Its hard discipline partly enabled some of those who were in it to develop themselves in America in such a way that they have won some reputation for ability and integrity, and for insight into Indian and American and other national psychologies.

The raw human material of Indians in California, who somehow carry on the traits of The Gadar, is still of value; and may be, it will be utilized to make Indo-American relationship more fruitful for both countries. But all this is apart from the story briefly told about what happened years ago.

GLOBAL DIMENSIONS OF THE GHADR PARTY

Memorandum on Indian revolutionaries abroad computed by the British Foreign Office.

The object of this memorandum is to give a partial account of the Indian sedition movement abroad and to show how far His Majesty's Government are justified, having regard to the existing state of war, in invoking the co-operation of the United States and other Governments in the suppression of the movement, the headquarters of which have long been situated in the Western States.

It is alleged, in a number of the leading revolutionary paper published on the 31st December, 1913, that the campaign of violence began in 1907, and it may be convenient to take that date as the starting point for a short account of the earlier history of the movement.

Prior to 1908 there existed in New York two societies of anti-British tendencies, mainly composed of natives of India. These were the Pan-Aryan Association and the Society for the Advancement of India. These societies, though objectionable, were not regarded very seriously by the Government of India, as is evidenced by the fact that S.L. Joshi, the founder of the Pan-Aryan Association, was allowed at a later date, if with some reluctance, to hold the post of assistant professor of English in the Gaekwar's College, Baroda. The Society for the Advancement of India was promoted by Myron S. Phelps, a United States citizen. It appealed to Hindu students coming to the United States for education, but met with much opposition among Indians themselves, and finally disappeared for lack of support in March 1909. Phelps tried to carry on the work by means of the Indo-European Club, which however was largely a fad of novelty-hunting American Women and was wound up exactly a year later.

With the ignominious failure of these societies New York gave way to California as the centre of the Indian agitation (although the "Free Hindustan", referred to below, was actually published at New York for some time), and the agitation itself acquired a more violent and dangerous complexion.

The ringleader in 1909-1910 was one Taraknath Das, who had already become known as a dangerous revolutionary in India. His paper, the "Free Hindustan", was specially devoted to the promotion of disaffection among the Sikhs, of whom considerable numbers were settled in Canada and the Western States, and who were already much irritated by the Canadian immigration restrictions, under which, they complained, they were treated worse than Chinese or Japanese. The appeal to Sikhs was specially obnoxious, because most of the Sikh immigrants had served as sepoys, and on their return to India were likely to sow disaffection among the very classes from which the Sikh regiments are recruited.

The "Free Hindustan" was succeeded in 1910 and 1911 by two other papers, the "Aryan" and "Swadesh Sewak," equally revolutionary in general, and addressed to Sikhs in particular. The men associated with these papers were most dangerous, inasmuch as they took courses in military training, evidently in contemplation of an armed revolution in India. In addition to these men, one Thakur Das, a skilled agitator, was sent to the Pacific Coast in 1911-1912 with a specific mission to stir up disaffection among Sikhs, and Har Dayal, the present (1915) leader of the revolutionary movement also came to the front in California at about the same period.

Har Dayal, born in 1884, had a brilliant academic career at Delhi, Lahore, and Oxford, but was handicapped by ill-health. He came to Oxford with an Indian Government scholarship, which he resigned on the ground that he could no longer accept Government money. In 1908 he stayed for a short time with some of the reformers

at Lahore, but his ideas were too advanced even for the Punjabi extremists, and they threw him over as a quixotic dreamer. In 1909 he edited the "Bande Mataram" at Geneva with the financial assistance of the notorious Mme. Cama. "Bande Mataram" (Hail Motherland) is the watchword of the Indian revolutionaries, and the paper was at that time the most violent of all.

By 1912 he had gravitated to California, where he was appointed lecturer on Indian Philosophy and Sanskrit at Stanford University, Palo Alto. This appointment he resigned in September of the same year, probably because residence at Palo Alto interfered with his propaganda work, but it is also stated that his private life was not irapproachable, and that he merely anticipated dismissal.

There were about 5,000 Indian settlers on the Pacific Coast at that date. It was among them that Har Dayal preached his doctrine, which was, ostensibly, that young Indians should leave their "holes" or homes in India, visit foreign countries (chiefly California, of course), so that the "social sense might be quickened" and "intense indignation against injustice" be aroused.

On the 25th December, 1912, Har Dayal received the news of the attempted assassination of the Viceroy and celebrated the event at meetings where the "Bande Mataram" was sung, Har Dayal asking "Have you heard what one of my men has done in India?" It was, however, stated in the course of the judgment on appeal in the Delhi-Lahore murder trial that the actual complicity of Har Dayal's organization in the attempt on Lord Hardinge rested only on suspicion, but that particular matter was not then before the Court.

The accounts of the movement on the Pacific Coast during 1913 are somewhat incomplete, but there appear to have been dissensions among the various leaders, resulting by the end of the year in the recognition of Har Dayal as the centre-piece of the organization. Branches were started at various towns on the coast, and subsidiary "bases" under subordinate leaders were established at Manila, Hong Kong and Shanghai, and a division of work was arranged with the centre in Japan.

Meanwhile Har Dayal's doctrines increased in violence. He openly advocated murder, the use of the bomb, and the "discriminating" employment of dynamite. He became a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, the most lawless labour movement which has ever existed, and was on intimate terms with Anton Johansen, one of the accused in the California dynamite conspiracy case. Nor were his activities confined to what may be called open propaganda work.

On the 17th May, 1913, one Ram Padarath, was murdered at Lahore. Eleven persons, including Har Dayal were charged with a criminal conspiracy to commit this murder. Three of the accused, who were proved to be Har Dayal's followers were condemned to death. The evidence showed a very close personal connection between Har Dayal and the accused, and it was made abundantly clear in the judgment on appeal that they were not charged with any political crime, but with murder pure and simple though the motive might have been political and the same motive accounted for many abortive attempts at similar crimes. Har Dayal himself and the remaining accused were absconders, consequently no sentences were pronounced in their cases though the evidence against them was the same as that on which the three were convicted.

On the 1st November, 1913, Har Dayal issued the first number of the "Gadar", a weekly paper in Urdu and Gurmukhi (the Sikh language). It was published quite openly at the "Yugantar Ashram" (New Era Hermitage), 436, Hill Street, San Francisco, and printed at 1324, Valencia Street. Quotations from this number sufficiently indicate its character:

"To-day there begins in foreign lands, but in our country's tongue a war against the English Raj... What is our name? Mutiny ["Gadar" means mutiny]. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will mutiny break out? in India... The time is soon to come when rifles and blood will take the place of pen and ink... Brave men and worthy sons of India, be ready with bullets and shots. Soon the fate of the tyrant will be decided on the battlefield, and days of happiness and glory will dawn for India."

Every effort was made to secure a wide distribution for the "Ghadr", both in India and in foreign countries. Early in 1914 a packing-case full was received in Paris, addressed to Mme. Cama, but was detained by the French authorities for non-compliance with some postal regulation. Large quantities were sent to Switzerland, and hundreds of copies reached India weekly from many places on the Pacific Coast via Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Bombay. Some were sent to Sikhs in the army and many were accompanied by private letters implying that every Indian on the Pacific Coast was prepared to join in an armed revolt against the British Government. Without accepting this sweeping statement, it may be held with some certainty that a large proportion of the Indian settlers in the Western States even at that date, did look upon rebellion in India as both desirable and practicable.

Throughout 1913 and during the early part of the 1914 numbers of Indians evaded the United States immigration regulations by pretending that they came to the States to study at American universities. The United States Government were at that time much perturbed by the Asiatic immigration question and soon found themselves unable to ignore the real nature of the Indian movement. An enquiry was instituted by the Immigration Commission in June 1913, and on their report it was decided to scrutinise much more rigorously all applications for admission by self-styled Indian students. The deportation of known anarchists was also considered.

Har Dayal and his organisation made strenuous efforts to avert the impending danger. Threats to assassinate officials of the Immigration Commission having failed, a deputation of Indians proceeded to Washington to lay their case before the Committee of Congress, which was at that time dealing with an Asiatic Exclusion Bill. Har Dayal judiciously abstained from attending. He admitted that his presence would not strengthen the representations of the deputation, and he was anxious not to alienate the sympathies of the Western Labour Unions, but he did his best to enlist anti-British feeling by an appeal to the Hearst press, quoting the very disparaging views on the Government of India expressed by Mr. Bryan in 1908. These manoeuvres failed so far as Har Dayal himself was concerned. He was arrested at San Francisco on the 25th March, 1914, with a view to deportation as an anarchist. Being released on 1,000 dollars bail (found by the United States Guarantee and Fidelity Company of Baltimore), he fled the country and reappeared in the haunts of the Indian conspirators in Switzerland a few weeks afterwards.

Writing in May 1914 the Director of Criminal Intelligence at Simla was moved to express the opinion that he regarded "the rapid discontent among the Sikhs and other Punjabis on the Pacific Coast as one of the worst features in the present political situation in India."

With the departure of Har Dayal the activities of the United States Government appear to have come to an end, so far as any visible results were concerned. Meetings were held on the Pacific Coast to collect funds on behalf of Har Dayal. The usual venomous sentiments towards the Government of India were freely expressed, telegrams of condolence were sent to India on the failure of some imaginary rising and the "Ghadr" appeared in two additional dialects (Gujarati and Punjabi) so as to cater to the taste of a wider circle of readers.

The postal censorship, which was established on the outbreak of war and gradually extended at many outlying stations with special reference to the "Ghadr" and similar publications, revealed the fact that the papers was being despatched by the United States mails to practically every country where Indian or Moslem communities existed. Moreover, the organisers had discovered that consignments in bulk were more liable to interception and the papers were accordingly sent out in closed envelops or wrappers to named addresses, thus showing that the central office was supplied with lists of addresses by local agents.

Its despatch to Hong Kong, Singapore, Tien-tsin, and North China was noted as early as March 1914. and it is among the numbers issued shortly before this date that a special appeal to Moslems may first be observed.

It was posted on the 27th February, 1914, to Dr. R.N. Sharma in British Guiana, who was already a subscriber to the Geneva "Bande Mataram" and who, on the outbreak of war, ingeniously issued an appeal for the National Relief Fund, and then asked leave to go to the front with the Indian troops as a doctor.

During the summer months its arrival in India with other similar publications was noted in increasing numbers. In October it was reported from Trinidad and Pondicherry, and great efforts were made about that time by the French branch to communicate it to the Indian troops at Marseilles. In January 1915 it was reported from the Sudan and Aden, in March from Morocco, Manila, Siam, Java, and other parts of the Dutch East Indies, in the following April from Madagascar and Reunion, in June from Canton, and in July from South Africa, Fiji, Australia and East Africa. It had evidently been in circulation in these countries and colonies and of course in Canada, from much earlier dates. For Jamaica was reserved the special privilege of a visit by a lecturing party of the "Ghadr" organization. The Governor was warned in advance, and it is not stated whether the visit ever took place.

Some of the more dangerous effects of the propaganda did not become fully apparent till after the outbreak of the War, but the following are mentioned here because they were probably the result of the earlier work of the organisation. Between the middle of October 1914 and the following January no fewer than thirty-three serious crime, including five murders and several raids by large and well-armed gangs, were definitely traced by the Government of India to the "Ghadr incitement". During the same period a comprehensive scheme was unearthed for provoking a mutiny among the native troops in India. Seditious pamphlets were specially circulated, emissaries were sent to nearly all cantonments in upper India, and at Meerut ten bombs were taken into the lines of a cavalry regiment with the avowed object of starting a revolt by the massacre of Europeans.

To this list may be added the murder, on the 21st October, 1914, of Mr. Hopkinson, the Canadian official who had followed the doings of the organisation on the Pacific Coast. Mr. Hopkinson had also been an interpreter in the United States Immigration Department, and was well known to the United States Government. It should be added that though his life had long been threatened by the seditionists, the central organisation was probably not responsible for the murder, which seems to have arisen out of the action of the Canadian Government in refusing admission to some Sikhs who arrived at Vancouver in the "Komagata Maru", with a view to forcing an entry into Canada.

Har Dayal has been selected as a convenient figurehead for this account of the movement in the United States, but he had several predecessors and contemporaries in that country, who were the known associates of European anarchists, and who had achieved the distinction of being "wanted" for murders and other crimes in India.

The movement in Japan seems to have been of secondary importance as compared with that in the United States.

It originated in 1909 with the arrival of Mohammed Maulvi Barakatullah, who prior to that date had been at New York, and in frequent communication with S.L. Joshi, George Freeman, and other revolutionaries. Freeman was a disaffected Irish American, who worked for both the "Gaelic American", and the "Free Hindustan". Barakatullah made a living at Tokyo as Professor of Urdu at the State University, and in course of time became acquainted with a Japanese named Hatano, over whom he acquired great personal influence. Hatano became a convert to Islam, and the chief contributor to Barakatullah's papers, "The Islamic Fraternity" and "El-Islam". With Barakatullah was associated at a later date Bhagwan Singh, a dangerous ruffian whose seditious proclivities had secured his dismissal from the Post of Granthi (Priest) to the Sikh temples at Penang and Hong Kong, and who was subsequently deported from Canada (August 1913) for entering the country under a misrepresentation. Bhagwan Singh was also a prominent figure in the "Ghadr" movement.

On the 26th December, 1913, 27th March, 1st April, and 10th April, 1914, a good deal of information, which appeared at the time to be of somewhat doubtful value was given to the Embassy at Tokyo by a Japanese reserve officer named Shimada. Shimada alleged that he was employed by the Indian revolutionaries in the preparation of a plan by which, at a favourable opportunity, the Gaekwar of Baroda was to head a revolution in India, while Japanese ex-officers and supplies of arms and ammunition were to be furnished from Japan. According to Shimada the Gaekwar was represented locally by a man named Torabally, who was an Indian merchant at Kobe. The leader of the Japanese side of the plot was Nakano Tsunetaro, a notorious intriguer with considerable political influence in Japan. Nakano was in frequent communication with Barakatullah.

Whether Hatano got wind of Shimada's disclosures and became anxious for his own safety, or whether he had, as he said, really become tired of the business, is not clear; but whatever the motive he also turned informer immediately afterwards, and, on the 27th April, 1914, and during the early part of May, made a clean breast of his proceedings to the Embassy. According to Hatano an elaborate plot to poison the higher British officials in India and China was on the point of fruition. Bhagwan Singh had made all arrangements as regards China, and Hatano even produced a sample bottle, labelled arsenic, in support of his story. Those in Japan were to be spared, so as not to involve any intervention by the Japanese Government. This plot, if it really existed, did not come off.

Hatano's disclosures about the propaganda side of the movement were, however, of much greater interest, because that was evidently the part about which he had personal knowledge.

From his statements it would appear that Barakatullah was a sort of connecting link between three different movements; namely, the Pan-Islamic, Asia for the Asiatics, and the Indian sedition. The common aim of all these movements was, of course, the release of Asia, in which was included Turkey, from European domination. In this connection it should be observed that all Barakatullah's papers and pamphlets were Islamic and, according to Hatano, when he lost his employment at the Tokyo school, he was supplied with funds by the Sultan of Turkey and the Amir of Afghanistan.

Hatano then communicated to the Embassy the names of three ringleaders of the seditious movement abroad, and a list of some 500 addresses in India and elsewhere of persons who were in the movement or to whom seditious literature could be posted.

Some of these are worth noting in view of later developments.

The three ringleaders were:-

Ishwar Singh, Malay General Company, Rangam, Johore State.

Secretary, Sikh temple, Vancouver.

Thakar Singh, C.K.R., Canton.

Among the 500 addresses were three at Dar-es-Salaam, one at Chinde, one at Zanzibar, one in Afghanistan and seventeen in the neighbouring Peshawar district, one in London, one (Sudhendra Bose, known to the Indian Government as having been in the movement since 1907) at Iowa, and two at Pondicherry, one of the latter being Mohammed Kassim Marican. Of those in India, 13 were at Chittagong*, 14 in Bengal, 18 in Calcutta, and 46 in Burmah, nearly all at Rangoon, among the latter Abdul Aziz Marican. At subsequent interviews Hatano gave the names of five other persons as being implicated. One was Ratam, Secretary of The Yugantar Ashram at San Francisco (on whose shoulders the mettle of Har Dayal appears to have fallen after

* Roughly speaking the north-west frontier districts and the country round the head of the Bay of Bengal are the chief centres of sedition.

Har Dayal's departure from the United States), Har Parkash at Seattle, one at Peking, and one at Tien-tsin. Shortly after these disclosures (on the 6th May, 1914) Barakatullah and Bhagwan Singh left Japan for the United States, to attend a mass meeting of the Indian revolutionaries at Portland.

Barakatullah was subsequently traced to Persia and Bhagwan Singh reappeared at Manila in May 1915 under a false name, and finding that he was being watched returned to Japan, whence the Japanese Government showed an unaccountable reluctance to deport him, although they also put him under police supervision.

After consideration of the above correspondence the Government of India expressed the opinion, in August 1914, that little importance was to be attached to the alleged Japanese participation because the inclination of the Indian revolutionaries to look to Japan for guidance or assistance had considerably cooled off during recent years. The Government of India were, however, at that very moment calling attention to the great increase in the number of Barakatullah's papers which were reaching India, and shortly after the outbreak of war Sir C. Greene reported that for the last six months rifles in pieces had been shipped to Bombay and Culcutta by an Indian firm at Yokohama.

The centres in France and Switzerland lie outside the scope of this summary. The French Government are naturally keeping Mme. Cama and her gang under close supervision, though we had some difficulty in getting them to take precautionary measures with regard to S.R. Rana, who had political friends.

Switzerland is so much in Germany's pocket that there is nothing to be done.

As regards the other centres, at Manila and in the Far East generally, there is not sufficient material in the Foreign Office to give any coherent account. It is known that Barakatullah's works were mostly posted at Shanghai, not in Japan. Manila was the seat of the Indian Association of the Philippines, which Bhagwan Singh naturally frequented when at that town, and the "Ghadr" had a considerable circulation in the Chinese treaty ports. It may, therefore, be inferred that such centres existed, and that the work was carried on among the Sikhs, who are largely employed as watchmen by firms on the Pacific Coasts.

State of Affairs in the Dutch East Indies

The Dutch East Indies and Siam form the natural bases for any hostile action against India or Burmah in the conditions imposed by the present war.

The Dutch East Indies have a population of some 40-45 million natives, mostly Moslems, of whom over 30 million live in Java alone. The remainder are distributed over the far greater area of the other islands, and are not by any means fully brought under Dutch control. With the exception of Java the group remains largely in its primitive condition of inaccessible mountain and jungle. The trade with Germany is important. In fact, the total value of German trade with the archipelago is in normal times but very slightly less than that of the German trade with Sweden. This trade was carried on by a group of German companies such as Behn, Meyer & Co., at one time a British registered firm at Singapore, and many plantation companies owning estates throughout the islands, Herr E. Helfferich, a brother of the German Finance Minister, being on the board of most of them.

The forces at the disposal of the Colonial Government numbered about 33,000, of whom 1,200 were European officers and 10,000 European non-commissioned officers and men. Of the latter 16 officers and 838 non-commissioned officers and men were Germans. (There were also 220 Belgians.) After the outbreak of war there was a noticeable concentration of the German colony at Bandoeng, a hill station near the capital of Java, which had just been made the military headquarters of the group. Their numbers were gradually increased by the passengers and crews of the German interned ships until they reached some 400, the total number of Germans in the archipelago being then about 4,000, exclusive of soldiers in the Dutch forces.

Early in the war Herr Helfferich's curiosity about the Dutch military preparations had led to his being placed under police supervision. Wireless installations were discovered on the estates controlled by his companies and the use of a similar installation at Singapore resulted in the internment of Herr Diehn, the local manager of Behn, Meyer, and Co. It may be mentioned in passing that Diehn and two other employees of the same company were the only German prisoners who managed to escape to Sumatra on the occasion of the Singapore rising (24th February, 1915).

The Dutch colonial press was almost without exception pro-Ally, but Helfferich and his co-adjutators started one or two pro-German papers, and tried to buy one of the native dailies. The Helfferich press was somewhat offensive to the Colonial Government, and there was no love lost between the German and Dutch population. The position was thus one of some danger to the Colonial Government should any Pan-Islamic propaganda be carried on. This element was in fact provided by a Turkish general, Niazin Bey, who went to some mission to the Dutch East Indies, and by the Turkish Consul-General at Batavia. The same work was also carried on by one Abdul Seam at Batavia, and the "Ghadr" was known to be reaching the island in large quantities. A list of ten addresses at or near Deli, Sumatra alone, was obtained and much seditious matter was smuggled across into British territory.

State of Affairs in Siam

The frontier between Siam and the adjacent British possessions runs through some 1,000 miles of country, much of which is covered with jungle and thinly populated. In addition, there is a considerable Indian and Mahomedan resident population. Siam, therefore, possesses many attractions for persons wishing to enter British territory unobserved or desirous of smuggling in arms or seditious literature.

Writing at the end of 1914, Mr. Crosby, His Majesty's consul at Bangkok, said that before the war the loyalty of all classes of British residents at Bangkok had been unquestioned. This is, perhaps open to doubt, as the "Ghadr" had been reaching Siam for some time previously, but the satisfactory state of affairs described by Mr. Crosby was rudely upset by the arrival at Bangkok in August 1914 of a Turkish emissary, known as Nyaji Bey (not to mention three or four *aliases*). The Siamese Government discovered that Nyaji Bey had a criminal record in Saigon, and deported him on the 18th November, but not before he had succeeded in completely undermining the loyalty of the British-Indian and Mahomedan colony. Among the names of the principal malcontents known to Mr. Crosby were those of three members of the Mirican family, two of whom were on Hatano's list mentioned above. They appeared to be travelling dealers in precious stones, an occupation which, no doubt provided many opportunities of travelling about without attracting attention. One of the German agents mentioned in the footnote also professed to follow same occupation.

Nyaji's efforts were ably supplemented by numerous Sikhs, many of whom spoke English, and undoubtedly came from the United States, while others did not conceal the fact. Others also came from Chinese ports and Tsingtao.

This migratory movement from the United States and elsewhere was reported at the very beginning of the war, and it was noted independently from San Francisco, Honolulu, and Tokyo that the earlier to leave all said they were going back for a rising in India, which was to take place in October, 1914. It has been mentioned that a dangerous rising was narrowly averted at about that date. Later on there were rumours in Siam of a rising in February 1915, and it was stated in the "Bangkok Times" that a revolutionary leader well supplied with money, was in Siam in January, making efforts to reach Singapore by that date. This is the only evidence known to the Foreign Office connecting the Singapore outbreak on the 24th February with the general movement. That outbreak was, however, chiefly due to discontent with certain promotions in the regiment concerned.

During the whole period a great increase in the receipts of the "Gadar" was observed in Siam, and, which was even more serious, a very marked increase in the imports of sporting guns, rifles and ammunition, nearly all of which found their way to eleven Malay dealers in the bazaar. Three British firms alone ordered from England, it is to be hoped in good faith more than six times as many shot guns as were usually imported into Bangkok during the whole year and an attempt was also made by a half breed Chinaman, known to have associated with suspected persons, to place a small order for field glasses and telescopes. It only remains to add that the majority of the Indians in Siam withdrew little by little to places offering special facilities for crossing into Burmah or the Malay States.

German Intrigues

It is generally believed that German influence had been at work in many parts of the British Empire before the war to create disaffection to the Government of India, but there is no definite proof of the fact at the Foreign Office. It was indeed mentioned in the report of the commission appointed by the Government of India to enquire into "Kamagata Maru" case that the Canadian Government were reported to possess such proof. The only facts elicited at the enquiry were that the leader of the "Kamagata Maru" had been quite unable to charter any ship at all until he met Herr Bune, a German shipping agent at Hon Kong; the ship herself had belonged to a German company prior to her transfer to a small Japanese company and that the first news of her sailing reached London through the German press. Generally speaking it is clear that the venture was conducted throughout in the manner best calculated to embarrass the British authorities, and to excite violent resentment among the Sikh passengers and that the Indian residents at Vancouver were intimately connected with it. There is, however, nothing to show that Herr Bune acted in any other capacity than that of ordinary ship broker, and the accounts filed show that he received a commission of 2,500 dollars for his services.

It was also mentioned that the Indian revolutionary societies were in close connection with societies in Germany. Some colour is lent to this idea by the fact (probably not known to the Commission) that V. Chattopadhyaya, again mentioned was studying in Germany at the outbreak of war and there is of course nothing improbable in the existence of connections in Germany with the active sedition centre in Switzerland. To this may be added the fact that a party of some seventy Sikhs were due to leave San Francisco in a Japanese liner on the very day of the declaration of War between Japan and Germany. On receipt of the news a few hours before they forfeited their passages and eventually proceeded in an American boat, the only possible explanation being that they regarded Germany's enemies as their own enemies.

After the outbreak of war there was no further attempt at concealment. The endeavours of the Germans to corrupt the British troops in France by means of the "Gadar", & Co., are matters of common knowledge. One of the agents engaged in the work was S.R. Rana, long known as an Indian revolutionary living in France with a German Mistress.

In Siam, Nyaji Bey, referred to above, was in close touch with the German Legation throughout his visit, and it was with the German Legation, then in charge of Turkish interests, that Marican and others lodged a protest against Nyaji's deportation. The German Legation also conducted an anti-British propaganda of its own among the Indian community, giving magic lantern displays for their benefit at which German or pictures were shown. The "Gadar", of course, published and even improved the German war news, and the propaganda in Siam was helped by an Austrian named Hertzka who ran the local German press campaign. Hertzka also had revolvers and money to offer to likely recipients and it was stated by Indians that Germans were contributing large sums of money to the "Ghadr company".

It has been mentioned that the Sikhs who arrived in Siam from America removed to places near the British frontier. One of these places was Bandon on the Southern Railway. This section of the line was staffed by Germans under one Doering stated to be "extremely bitter about the present War". Consignments of the "Gadar"

reached Bandon weekly. Another was Paknampho, where a gang of 100 Indians was reported to be engaged in the manufacture of bombs under the supervision of two Germans.

A similar state of affairs prevailed in the Dutch East Indies.

One Abdul Selam arrived at Batavia early in 1915, and issued pamphlets in Urdu, with the avowed intention of conducting a propaganda for securing self-government for India. These pamphlets, in Mr. Beckett's opinion, contained strong evidence of being written under Turkish and German influence, and one of them was noted as being addressed to an Indian in the Malay States. Simultaneously large numbers of the "Ghadr" and other seditious papers arrived. A list of known addresses showed that they were being sent very largely to the neighbourhood of Deli, Sumatra, which is both conveniently near the Malay States and the seat of a branch of Behn, Meyer, and Co. on whose estates some of the addresses were employed.

Trustworthy information was also received by Mr. Beckett that German agents in the United States were sending out two Indian journalists to the Dutch East Indies to publish papers under German control for the dissemination of German news in India. The same agents in the United States were stated to be arranging for the establishment of wireless communication between the Dutch East Indies and the neighbourhood of Singapore. (This sounds improbable. However Dicn, who had tried the same experiment before, was again at large.)

In April or May 1915 a German-owned steamer named the "Maverick", left the United States under strong suspicion of an intention to carry German arms to the East Indies. A month before she arrived off Java Mr. Beckett, his Majesty's Consul General at Batavia, was warned by an anonymous correspondent that such a steamer was on the way, and the correspondent offered to sell full particulars of a plot to arm German interned steamers and to provoke a general rising in some locality not specified.

Reports to the effect that Bhagwan Singh and other Indian revolutionaries were frequenting the German consulate at Manila have also been received.

There is thus ample information to prove co-operation between German officials and Indian seditionists in many parts of the world but no evidence definitely implicating the German Government (outside Europe) was obtained until the end of July 1915.

The German Plot

At the beginning of August a German secret service agent (hereafter referred to as "A") was arrested. In return for various considerations he made a full disclosure of the German schemes for India and Burmah.

The account which "A" gave of his movements earlier in the year corresponded with information about him already in the possession of His Majesty's Government. His reason for taking up secret service is one which has been given before by similar agents. His statements were corroborated in some respects by papers found in his possession and in others, as will be shown, by facts already known to His Majesty's Government. He may therefore be considered to have told the truth. This view also held by the officers who interrogated him.

According to him the General Staff at Berlin had an Indian advisory committee consisting of Chattopadhyaya, C. Pillai and other named but not hitherto identified, and three or four others not named. We know that Chattopadhyaya, a prominent Indian revolutionary from the French branch, was in Berlin at the outbreak of War. One of the three not named was undoubtedly Har Dayal, whose presence had been reported in Italy, before Italy declared war, and subsequently at Constantinople.

The German Embassy at Washington was, said "A", the centre of the Movement, the Ambassador being assisted by two Indians named Chakravarty and Rakshit, who were shortly proceeding to Batavia. This agree-

with Mr. Beckett's report given above that two Indian seditionists were being sent to Batavia from the United States. An identical report was received from San Francisco in April.

British India, according to "A", was worked by the German consulates, Bangkok, Batavia, and in Persia, all under the supervision of the consulate at Shanghai, Siam and Burmah were worked by the Bangkok department. Some 8,000 rifles are already in Burmah and German reserve officers from Batavia were waiting in Bangkok to head the revolt. This fits in with our own reports. The Batavia department included Helfferich and his brother, and the firm of Behn, Meyer, and Co., besides the consul. A base was to be established at Deli, Sumatra. Deli we knew to be a centre of the "Ghadr" propaganda (see Mr. Beckett's report above), and we knew that the German ships there had recently been under steam. It was also the site of a branch of Behn, Meyer, whose local manager, Dichn, has been mentioned already. In addition a consignment of forty-five cases of arms and fifty of ammunition were shipped in suspicious circumstances to a Dutch firm at Deli, among other places, from New York by the steamship "Djember". (This ship will be referred to again) 76,000 rifles in all had according to "A" been ordered from America and China.

"A", had no special knowledge of the Persian side, but believed that arms were landed in India by that branch some-where near Karachi or via Afghanistan, as Afghan chiefs were expected to join the revolution. Afghanistan, and the adjacent Indian provinces had, as stated above, been worked by Barakatullah; and a German emissary, who tried to tamper with an Indian clerk at Hankow in June, produced a proclamation signed by the Amir and a list of signatures of eminent persons alleged to be in the plot. The clerk already knew the Amir's zeal and some of the signatures, and thought them genuine. The emissary also said that some 300 Turks and Germans had entered India by the "Straits of Mecan" (evidently the Mekram coast near Karachi).

The despatch of disaffected Indians disguised as Persians, and carrying Persian passports, by Dutch mail steamers from New York, which was reported from San Francisco in April, may be connected with this part of the scheme. One of these travellers may have been Barakatullah himself, who was located in Persia in June, together with twenty other Indians from the United States. All were in communication with the German consulates.

To continue "A's" statement. The concrete scheme on which the German Government were engaged was to seize the Andaman Island, destroy the wireless telegraph station, raise the convict and make a descent on Rangoon, simultaneously with a rising at that town, Rangoon, as we know from Hatano's list, was a centre of sedition, and German in Siam had been heard to boast that Burmah was "ripe" even if India was not. A German supply ship destroyed earlier in the year carried a map of the Bassein delta near Rangoon, which would have been of no use to her for navigating the waters where she was found. On "A" were found maps of the Andamans, details of the local forces, and a list of the chief political convicts furnished by Dr. Haider, an escaped Bengali convict now in Berlin.

The seizure of the islands was to be effected with the help of machine guns transhipped at sea to a Swedish steamer and deposited by her on the Nicobars as lumber. The expedition was to start from Deli. Concurrently arms from the "Maverick" were to be transhipped before arrival off Java, conveyed to Chittagong, and thence to a point near the mouth of the Hoogli River. Chittagong is also known as a centre of sedition, as is the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Shortly before, another informant (called "B") had told Mr. Beckett that the "Maverick" was going to almost exactly the same place at the mouth of the Hoogli to communicate with the natives. The "Maverick,"* according to "A", carried 7,000 rifles, 2,000 revolvers and ammunition, which were transhipped somewhere, possibly, to the "Henry, S". The "Maverick" was met at Anjer by a sailing vessel of Helfferich's which returned later to Batavia, reporting "all well, no arms now on board". According to "B" she never had carried any.

Another base for transhipment was an Island off Portuguese Timor. This would be near the itinerary of the "Djember". Attempts were made by Krupp's agents at New York to ship arms and ammunition in that ship for the East Indies very shortly after the shipment on the "Annie Larsen" from San Diego. The company refused to carry them and she was supposed to have sailed with none. This information was not received in time to prevent her being searched at Durban, where, as previously mentioned, about fifty cases of each were found consigned to Messrs. Stokvis and Vanderlinden at Deli and various ports in the East Indies. Nothing is known against this firm but there are two firms in Holland, one called Stokvise, which was known to deal with Germany, and another, called Vandelinden, about which there is some suspicion.

More information about this plot is expected and more information about German intrigues in China has been obtained, but there is not time to include it.

*An exact account of the "Maverick's" proceedings is still lacking. She was bought from her American owners by a German Government agent in the United States in September 1914. Sailed from San Francisco the following April. War searched on leaving by the United States authorities, her wireless telegraph installation removed, no cargo found but oil. Stayed some time off Socorro Island on the Mexican coast. Where she must have been at the same time as the "Annie Larsen". She was twice searched by British cruisers after the "Annie Larsen" had met her, but nothing found. The "Annie Larsen" carried a cargo of arms and ammunition shipped, as secretly as possible, by Krupp's agent in New York, and eventually returned to Hoquiam (Washington, United States of America) with apparently the same cargo on board. The "Maverick" was later reported from Honolulu as clearing for Anjer, Java, with a cargo of lumber and live-stock. She arrived after an unduly prolonged voyage with no arms on board. What she did carry is not yet reported. A comparison of dates shows that she could have met the "Henry S.", in East Indian waters. The "Henry S." (possibly identical with the "Annie S.") was a motor-schooner chartered by a party of Germans under Messrs. Bohm and Wehde, who travelled from San Francisco to Manila, nominally on innocent business. Bohm said he was a travelling jeweller. They endeavoured to ship arms from a German steamer on the "Henry S." but the Customs refused clearance, and they sailed eventually, nominally for Pontianak, with nothing but a few Winchesters. There are grounds for suspecting some connection between Bohm and an Wehde expedition to India undertaken at the same time by Dr. Cook. The case against Dr. Cook's party, though strong, is not yet proved.

INDIAN AGITATORS

Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador in the United States to the Secretary of State; Forwards an account of the Ghadr Party and its efforts to create revolution in India.

Washington, February 15, 1915.

Sir,

I have the honour, by direction of Sir Edward Grey, His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to transmit to you herewith certain papers relating to recent endeavours to create a revolution in India by means of assassination, dacoity, dissemination of revolutionary literature, suborning of troops, importation of arms, and other means. The papers show that these crimes were in the main instigated, and to a large extent perpetrated, by emigrants who returned from America after the outbreak of war. They also give some indication of the manner in which the conspiracy was engineered in America, and of the part taken in it by German officials.

The documents in question are:—

Judgment of the special tribunal in the trial known as the Lahore conspiracy case. Judgments of special tribunals in cases of murder and attempted murder in connection with the above and other similar conspiracies.

The first-named judgment gives a complete account of the origin and development of the conspiracy in America and its subsequent results in India. In Part III, section (A), the special tribunal has reviewed the evidence placed before it regarding the preparations made in America. Section (B) describes how many Indians concerned in the conspiracy proceeded from San Francisco to India; and the remaining sections show how, in pursuance of the design conceived in America, numerous murders and crimes of violence were committed in India. Section (D) discusses the connection of the Indian revolutionaries in America with Germany. If the judgments in the remaining cases do not disclose equally clearly the connection with the "Gadar" propaganda, that is because the Courts were concerned with the facts of the offence before them and not with their origin; but there can be little doubt that the serious outbreak of disorder and loss of life and property which the judgments disclose are attributable, directly or indirectly, to the plots conceived in the United States and Canada.

The information contained in these judgments is supplemented in some important respects by the statements of Sukumar Chatterji and Jodh Singh, also annexed. These papers contain detailed information as to an attempt at organising an armed expedition against India, under German auspices, which failed owing to the action taken by the United States authorities at Manila. A memorandum on the information contained in these two documents is also enclosed.

Finally, I have the honour to enclose a memorandum on the subject of evidence collected by the India Office in London as to the activities of the Indian revolutionary party in America. Indicating the very important part taken by German consular officials in America in engineering and supporting the conspiracy.

The evidence would appear to justify the following statement.

In May 1913 an Indian revolutionist named Har Dayal made a pilgrimage on the Pacific Slope resulting in the establishment of a newspaper (the "Gadar") and an organisation for the purpose of causing a revolt in British India, murdering officials and constructing bombs, &c. At the end of the year, December 1913, it was announced that war would shortly break out between Germany and England and that the members of the organisation should be prepared for action particulars of the language used and the means advocated are

contained in the papers. Meetings were held in various parts of California, Oregon, and Washington State, and were attended by audience consisting sometimes of as many as 5,000 Hindus. On the outbreak of the European war it was announced that the time had come for action, and lectures were delivered urging Indians to go to India at once and massacre Europeans. Bodies of men were collected at Vancouver, Shanghai, and San Francisco. The "Ghadar" bears witness to the objects which inspired these peoples, which were revolutionized by violence and murder. All Europeans were to be killed—men, women, and children—and no mercy shown. This was the clearly avowed object in America before sailing *en route* to India and in India itself.

The most important vessel of those chosen for conveying the revolutionists was the "Korea", which left San Francisco on the 29th August. There were from sixty to seventy Indian passengers aboard her. Altogether it is estimated that some thousands were collected by various routes from America and China. A number of these on arrival in India were interned, but some of them dispersed themselves about the country and committed various murders and deeds of violence until they were arrested and tried. The evidence in the trials is enclosed and shows that the nature of the offences which they committed.

It is important to note that these murders were publicly advocated in the "Gadar" newspaper and in the meetings held on American territory; that the organisation was perfected there and the crimes plotted which were subsequently executed. In these trials frequent mention was made of the hopes held out of the sympathy and aid of Germany, and also of a "general impression among the natives in America that the German consul is offering assistance in funds, &c., with the object of causing riots and mutiny in India".

Since the Lahore trials further information has come to hand which shows that a world-wide organisation exists, the centre of which is in Berlin (where Har Dayal is now living) and that the object of this organisation is the destruction of the British in India. It appears that some Irishmen are employed as agents, and that efforts are being made to affiliate some of the industrial workers of the world, one of whom is now in Berlin. America is one of the spheres of activity of this organisation, and money appears to provide through German consuls as well as that raised by local subscriptions, for the purpose of sending parties to India and arming them. The voyages of the "Maverick" and the "Henry S.", are instances of attempted convoys of arms probably to some point near Java. The agent in the first case was Jebsen, and ex-naval officer of the German navy. Arms and ammunition are stored at New York and San Francisco, but the places are only known to the ringleaders. The general director appears to be Har Dayal in Berlin, and Ram Chandra in San Francisco, but the German diplomatic and consular officers are said to be cognizant of the plans and to provide the necessary funds.

Separate statements annexed contain the history of two expeditions organised by Indians and Germans, the general object of which was to collect and train Indians in Siam, and so prepare to invade Burma and to arrange for the transport of arms to India. The Germans appear to have undertaken to supply officers. The first expedition, the object of which was to ship arms to India from Mexico, failed, but another attempt was more successful. Money, men, and arms were provided by the German consuls at Chicago and San Francisco and were despatched to Manila. Here the scheme failed owing to the United States Customs officials refusing clearance to the "Henry S.", which had been chartered on behalf of the party. I take this opportunity of expressing the thanks of my Government for the energetic measures taken by the authorities in the Philippines in order to prevent any breach of the neutrality laws.

The above short sketch will enable you to judge of the general nature of the evidence contained in these voluminous papers. In communicating these documents, I have the honour, in obedience to my instructions, to point out that my Government is bound to invite the very serious attention of the United States Government to the nature and consequences of the propaganda conducted in this continent, and to the activities of German consular officials in America in engineering and supporting these conspiracies. In so doing I am to add that His Majesty's Government have every confidence that if the papers herewith communicated should prove

convincing to the Government of the United States, the latter will at once take such steps as they may consider right and proper in order to put a stop to such proceedings, to prohibit the dissemination of incitements to crime through the post, and to secure, if possible, the deportation of the Indian ringleaders. If further evidence on any point is required, my Government will, as far as possible, supply it when they can do so without detriment to British interests, or danger to the lives of the informants.

I have, &c. CECIL SPRING-RICE

German-Indian Conspiracy in America

The India Office forward to the Foreign Office a number of judgments passed by Courts in India on persons who took part in recent endeavours to create a revolution in India by means of assassination, dacoity, dissemination of revolutionary literature, suborning of troops, importation of arms and other means. The papers show that these crimes were in the main instigated, and to a large extent perpetrated, by emigrants, in most cases of the lower orders, who returned from America after the outbreak of War. They also give some indication of the manner in which the conspiracy was engineered in America, and of the part taken in it by the Germans.

We are now in a position to supplement the Indian documents by further information, which not only refers to later activities of the Indian revolutionary party in America, but also throws additional light on its organisation and methods, and indicates clearly the very important part taken by the German consular officials in America and the Far East in engineering and supporting the conspiracy.

2. This additional information is derived mainly from two sources. First, a full statement made by a young Indian, who had been in intimate touch with the Indian revolutionary leaders in Switzerland, and afterwards in San Francisco and other parts of America. Secondly, numerous reports received from the Far East, which carry on the account of the revolutionary operations in countries lying between the western seaboard of America and India.

The statement of the young Indian, whom we will call C, has been corroborated in so many of its details that there can be no doubt of its absolute frankness, and of its correctness, in so far as the informer had an opportunity of knowing the facts.

C's experiences, of which a brief account follows show to some extent how close is the relationship between German and Indian intrigue, and how the Indians look to the German officials and consular agents for support and money.

He had paid a visit to the Indian revolutionaries in Switzerland, and had been promised 3,000m. from the Germans for reasons which need not be detailed here. He was afraid to bring the money in to England, because he was told that he would be searched, and he came away without it. In London he got in to touch with Gobind Behari Lal, and from this person he conceived the idea that he might be able to get payment from the Germans in America. After some time he went to America for the purpose. On arrival at New York he was met by Basanta Kumar Roy and Gobind Behari Lal. He does not know how they found out on what boat he was travelling, but thinks it may have been through the Irishman Freeman. He was now introduced to H.L. Gupta, who was suspicious at first. C. succeeded, however, in proving that he belonged to the revolutionary party.

Gupta tried to impress C. that "he was the National leaders and in close touch with the Germans". He gave C. 100 dollars to go to San Francisco and see the exhibition. There C. met one Ram Chandra (see below), to whom he applied for the money, and received the reply that application for it would be made to the German consul there. No money, however was forthcoming, and C was advised that matters would be arranged for him in New York. He remained some time in San Francisco in close intimacy with Ram Chandra, and much of what he learnt there appears under the various headings below. H.L. Gupta visited Frisco meanwhile, and gave C letters to a German in Chicago, to Freeman, and to the German consul, New York. Subsequently C went to Chicago, and saw the

German who was "connected with a bank", who had charge of Indians there, and who arranged for their passports. The money was still not forthcoming, and C proceeded to New York, where he saw Freeman. Freeman referred him to the German consul, but no actual meeting took place. Eventually Freeman paid the money, and C. returned to England.

3. The information received mainly from C may be considered under the following main heads:
- (1) Revolutionary organisation, propaganda, and training.
 - (2) The dissemination of revolutionary literature.
 - (3) The despatch of missions or individuals to India and to the Far East.
 - (4) The provision of arms and money to India.

(1) *Organisation.*

(a) *In Germany*

We have received a very large amount of first-hand information regarding the actors in the "German" plot and the precise nature of their activities. There is also much information showing the connection between the committee in Berlin and the revolutionary Indian party in America. They have experienced some difficulty in keeping in intimate touch with one another, and details come to light from time to time regarding the despatch of passengers (including women) and the channel of correspondence. Some recent information points to Copenhagen as one of the starting-off places for revolutionaries who are going to America. On the 9th November information reached us from Copenhagen that drafts upon American banks were being prepared for fourteen persons, who were going to the United States of America to forward the German work in China, and further information has since been received that the notorious Egyptian Nationalist, Rifaat, left Copenhagen for America on the 15th October, taking with him a large number of pamphlets for distribution among Indians at San Francisco, through whom he hoped to get in to communication with the revolutionaries in India.

(b) *In United States of America*

A explained that the centre of the conspiracy in America lies at Washington. This is no doubt the case, since Washington is the seat of the German Embassy, but the centre of activity is at San Francisco. The reason of this is that San Francisco is the most convenient place from which to suborn the many groups of Indian emigrants who work in the ranches of the Western States.

C. has given the names of several Indians in the United States of America, and his statements about them and relations with them abundantly make clear that all of them are in immediate touch with German consular agents throughout the States.

The principals are according to C.:—

(i) Ram Chandra, who comes from the north-west provinces of India, and is head of the conspiracy at San Francisco. He is the successor of Har Dayal, and according to C. he is now supreme. He has autocratic control, and takes very few persons in to his confidence. His headquarters are the "Jugantar Ashram" where the "Gadar" is printed. Various references to this "Jugantar Ashram" are made in the Indian Judgments. Ram Chandra is assisted by

(1) A few Indians of the educated middle class—such as Gobind Behari Lal; and

(2) A large number of Indians of the lower classes, chosen apparently from among the more intelligent of the coolies. These "poor people" as C. calls them, live in the Ashram without wages, lithograph the "Gadar," and perform other functions.

(ii) H.L. Gupta, who has been seven or eight years in America, was first sent out to study trade questions with a view to help the Indian nationalist industrial movement. He returned to India and was offered a post in Calcutta, with which he was not satisfied. He then returned to America. At the beginning of the War he was sent to Berlin and was given 1,000 dollars by the local German consul to pay for his visit. On his return

he became the head of the Indian revolutionary party in New York. He has had the assistance of Basanta Kumar Roy and has now left the United States (see below under Missions).

(iii) Freeman: In the printed note of the 25th August, it is stated that Freeman is a disaffected Irish-American who worked for both the "Gaelic American" and "Free Hindustan". C. gives the following further information about him:—

"Freeman is a man who has been in America for many years. He was at one time in an Irish regiment, but he resigned and went to America where he began to work for the "Gaelic American". Since the war broke out he has been in correspondence with Krishnavarma. He sent many letters to him, but when he found that Krishnavarma was collecting and keeping his letters he became very anxious and tried to get them back, but this Krishnavarma refused to do. He is the intermediary between the Indians and the Germans with Gupta and also between the Irish and the Indians. The Germans pay Freeman for his paper and also for his services. When Irish are going to America and have no money, they wire to Freeman, and he meets the boat and claims them. I heard that the Germans pay Freeman well for Irishmen landing in America who are of military age and who will not join the army. Ram Chand intended sending the Indians who were returning to India via Liverpool."

Freemen and H.L. Gupta are reported to be in intimate touch.

Training.

The nature of the revolutionary school, which centres in the "Jugantar Ashram", has already been indicated; it is evidently conducted on lines similar to the nationalist Ashrams in India, though, of course, less secrecy is observed. Much information regarding the character of the doctrines taught, and the evolution of the revolutionary plots, is contained in the Indian judgments, which are most interesting on this point. The making of bombs is among the activities taught in the "Jugantar Ashram". The Indian judgments also demonstrate clearly the remarkable success which the propagandist work has achieved. Further evidence on this point will soon be available, for a supplementary Lahore conspiracy case has been instituted, in which the number of accused persons is over 100, nearly all of whom are emigrants returned from America.

Some of the revolutionaries received part of their training and instruction direct from Germany. Thus H.L. Gupta was sent to Berlin at the beginning of the War, and was paid 1,000 dollars for his expenses, as described above. So also was the Bengali Chakravarti, a well-known revolutionary. Whilst in Germany he was paid his passage and some money to go to India. He spent the money and returned to America, where he now is concerned in the production of seditious literature.

C. States that:—

"A boy—Lahari—Who came from Bengal, and was studying chemistry in Berkeley University was sent to Switzerland. When I was in Switzerland Har Dayal brought him to me and said he was going to India. He afterwards went to Berlin, where he stayed for two and a half months, learning how to make and experiment with bombs. He was going to India via Geneva, and I expected he is now there. The Germans gave him 5,000 M. Lahari looked very intelligent, and was very fervent in the nationalist movement." It will be observed that the expense of this training is borne by the Germans.

Propaganda in the United States of America

From San Francisco, as a centre, seditious literature is disseminated to many parts of the world, and from here parties constantly tour round the main Indian centres, such as Jersey, Idaho, and Seattle. C. describes these missionary tours as follows:—

"Ram Chandra, Gobind Behari Lal, and others go out to the ranches, where poor labourers are working, on Saturdays and Sundays; they preach revolution to them until these poor and illiterate people think they must drive the English out of India or kill them. It becomes a fixed idea with them. The revolutionary songs

which they sing have been committed to memory, and they sing them with great fervour. They do not know the meaning of what they are singing, but they almost treat it as a religion. Ram Chandra and the others who visit the ranches tell these people that the British are ruining them, and keeping them poor. The great danger lies among these poor people in America. The ordinary educated man soon commits himself and is arrested, but the labourer merely goes back to India and commences to sing these revolutionary songs in his native village, and in this way spreads the movement in India."

The truth of this statement is abundantly illustrated by the long list of returned emigrants of the coolie class which figures in the Indian judgments.

One of the main functions of the propagandist tours is to procure funds, and the leaders have apparently been only too successful in deluding the coolies to support the movement. There was at one time, however some friction between the leaders and the coolies, the latter having become impatient, as they thought that the return hitherto made for the money paid and the death or imprisonment of their friends was not adequate.

C. states that the Germans pay for various definite objects, and, so far as he knows, give no regular salaries. The money is derived from the German consul in San Francisco, and comes through an intermediary employed in the consulate.

(2) Dissemination of Seditious Literature

We have already seen that in America, as in Berlin and other centres of German activity against India, the production of revolutionary literature forms an integral part of the plan. The ceaseless stream of the "Gadar" and other seditious literature which is intercepted in this country and in Canada, and of which we hear constantly from the Far East and other countries, shows how persistent this activity is. The nature of the "Gadar" literature is fully described in the Indian judgments, and its effects, which still continue unabated, are stated on the printed note of the 29th August.

While at San Francisco, C. learnt from Ram Chandra that the expense of printing and distributing the "Gadar" and other similar pamphlets is largely borne by Germans, payment being through their consular agents, He says:—

"The Germans give money for printing the 'Gadar' also for pamphlets like the 'Gadar-Gai', which means 'revolutionary voice' a colloquial revolutionary song, advocating assassination, and the 'Gadar-Ka-Karak,' which means 'revolutionary thunder', and other pamphlets containing extracts from various authorities against the Indian police, and giving quotations from Ramsay MacDonald; also Bryan's pamphlet. The Germans were paying for the printing of these pamphlets, and thousands of Bryan's pamphlets had been printed and distributed. Ram Chandra had already received 1,500 dollars for printing."

As regards the circulation of the "Gadar", the following remark made by C. may be found of interest:—

"Ram Chandra asked me to try and find an address in England where copies of the 'Gadar' could be sent from America in bulk, and from where they could be distributed. They find it difficult to distribute the 'Gadar' outside America, and on two occasions the American Government postal officials have complained because the paper has been through the post to Canada, and they warned the editor that they must not send it to Canada. Ram Chandra wanted to circulate the 'Gadar' in India, so as to get the names and addresses of a number of Indians he advertised in a Bombay paper that he was about to start a business paper in America, and asking all intending subscribers to send their names and addresses to him. In this way he got about 2,000 names and sent a copy of the 'Gadar' to each of them.

(3) Missions

The extraordinary elaborate and determined operations of the missions to India during the early part of the War are graphically described in the judgments.

C. referred to some of the missions which were being sent about the time of his visit to San Francisco:—

"They were sending men to Japan, to go from there to Shanghai, and to collect and send more men from there to India.

"Dr. Khan Chand, of Dera Ismail Khan (on the frontier), who had lived in San Francisco, left about ten days before I reached there to go to Shanghai and thence to India, to see if he could arrange for a landing of arms and ammunition near the mouth of the Indus.

"Ram Chandra told me that two Indians had been sent from San Francisco to England in order to return to India. I do not know who they are."

We have a good deal of recent information regarding missions to various places in the Far East, which serve both as recruiting centres and as links between the head organisation in San Francisco and the revolutionaries in India.

(a) C. gives the following account of a mission entrusted to Gupta:—

"Gupta, of New York (i.e., H.L. Gupta), went from San Francisco to Japan, Shanghai, and Sumatra, to inspect the work done by the revolutionists in those districts. Bernstorff told the German consul that these people were not doing anything, and that before they were paid any more money they would have to report; hence Gupta's mission."

As a matter of fact, he did not go further than Japan, where he was detained by the authorities.

(b) C. says:—

"Men were sent from San Francisco to Java to see where there were suitable places for landing arms and ammunition, which would be sent from New York and San Francisco."

(c) Ram Chandra wanted C. himself to go to Sumatra and join the Nationalist party there.

"My mission was to go to the German consul there and arrange about money, to collect Indians, and to create a centre there so as to make it a connecting link with India. I was also to ascertain if arms and ammunition could be safely landed."

(d) It was reported on the 1st August that twelve Indian revolutionaries from America had been discovered in Bangkok, where they were conspiring against the Indian Government and had managed to recruit a body of 600 or 700 men. Six of them were subsequently deported, under arrest, to Singapore. One of these men has made a very interesting statement, of which only a brief telegraphic notice has as yet been received. He journeyed from Rio to Berlin, financed by the German consul. He stayed in Berlin until April, in intimate touch with the Indian revolutionary leaders. Thence he went to the United States, where he met H.L. Gupta and Boehm and Wehde of the "Henry S." He took a message from the Indian party in Berlin that everything should be done to stir up revolution, and that Germany would assist with money to any extent. The statement shows that the German consuls at New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Manila, and Bangkok are the chief agents in their spheres for the supply of money. His experiences were evidently very similar to those of the informer C.

From other sources we learn that two Indians, Sukumar Chatterji and Darisi Chenchaiah, formerly students at Berkeley University, arrived in Siam in July 1915.

(e) C. states that Chandra Kantra Chakravarti, one of the Indian revolutionaries in America, who was attached to the German Embassy at Washington, arrived at Batavia in September. The Far East reports contain many references to German and Indian activity in Batavia, the centre of the intrigue in the Dutch East Indies.

(f) Taraknath Das was a ringleader in America in 1909-10, and ran the paper "Free Hindustan". This man went to Berlin and was sent on a German mission with a Nationalist Egyptian and others, to endeavour to raise the tribes in the region near the Suez Canal.

(g) One Heintig, of the German consular service, was arrested while professedly on a mission to Bangkok.

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE GHADR PARTY

Aims and objects of the Ghadr Party as propagated by the Government of India

1. That Hardayal, the notorious seditious, whose name was prominently mentioned in the course of the Delhi and Lahore conspiracy cases, went to America, and during the years 1913 and 1914, was propagating sedition and rebellion amongst His Majesty's Indian subjects in America and Canada against His Majesty the King-Emperor and the Government of India.

2. That the said Hardayal with the aid of fellow conspirators founded and began publishing a newspaper entitled *Gadar* in November 1913 at San Francisco and, subsequently, a pamphlet of songs, entitled *Gadar-di-Gunj* in the Punjabi language. The said paper *Gadar* was ultimately published in Gurmukhi, Hindi and Urdu. Both the *Gadar* and *Gadar-di-Gunj* are proscribed by the Government of India and are highly seditious and violently incite to rebellion. After Hardayal's departure from America in March 1914 the said publications continued to be edited and published by Bhagwan Singh and others.

3. That the said Hardayal with other British Indian subjects, many of whom have been convicted in the Lahore conspiracy cases, in 1913, in America, formed and founded a number of seditious societies for the purposes of a conspiracy which had for its aim or object the overthrow by force of the Government established by law in British India and other criminal acts against the same Government. Funds were collected, especially for financing, producing and circulating the said paper *Gadar*; copies of which were circulated gratis and in large numbers to Indians in all parts of the world.

4. That this conspiracy continued during the years 1913 and 1914 and that from time to time prior to August 1914 various members of the conspiracy returned to the Punjab.

5. That previous to this conspiracy there had existed from about the year 1911 at Vancouver, Canada, a number of British Indians who were disaffected and seditious towards His Majesty the King-Emperor and the Government of India and leaders of this party were the said Bhagwan Singh and Balwant Singh (sentenced to death, third conspiracy case). Numbers of these Indians also joined the said conspiracy started by Hardayal and some of them also returned from Canada to India prior to August 1914.

6. That the case of the British Indians who went to Canada in the *Komagata Maru* with Gurdit Singh was made the occasion of fresh activity by the conspirators, particularly by the said Balwant Singh and other accused at Vancouver, and these passengers were themselves in large numbers seduced from their allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor by seditious literature, particularly the *Gadar*, and by other means and joined the conspiracy for a rebellion in India.

7. That the leaders of the conspiracy in America and Canada had decided on a revolution in India prior to August 1914 and the outbreak of War with Germany, and were in communication on the subject with Indians at Shanghai, Hong Kong and other ports and informing them of their plans and intentions and inciting them to join.

8. That, in addition to emissaries of Gurdit Singh of the S.S. *Komagata Maru*, emissaries from the party in America, including Sundar Singh of Doolu Nangal (convicted in the Lahore supplementary conspiracy case), and Sohan Singh of Bhakna (convicted in the Lahore conspiracy case), visited these ports in the summer

of 1914, prior to August, for the purpose of inciting Indians to join in the conspiracy and to proceed to India for the rebellion.

That in consequence of these incitements a large number of Indians at Shanghai, Hong Kong and other local ports joined the conspiracy and left for India before the arrival of the main parties from America and Canada.

10. That owing to the outbreak of War in August 1914 it was considered by the conspirators in America and Canada, that the time was most favourable for a rebellion in India.

11. That in addition to the passengers of the Komagata Maru, who returned to India on the 26th September 1914, large numbers of the conspirators left America and Canada after the outbreak of War in pursuance of the said conspiracy to raise a rebellion in India, and to wage war on His Majesty the King-Emperor. The conspiracy was activity continued on board the various ships on which the conspirators returned.

12. That these conspirators landed at various ports where their ships called and held meetings and otherwise inflamed and incited Indians, whilst others broke their journey and visited the various ports for the same purpose. In consequence large numbers of Indians at Shanghai, Hong Kong, Penang, Singapore and other ports joined the conspiracy during the autumn of 1914 and proceeded to India for the rebellion.

13. That arms and ammunition were obtained either in America or Canada, or purchased *en route* and smuggled in to India at the time of arrival. In other cases these were sent to the conspirators in India in concealed parcels.

14. That on arrival in India during the autumn of 1914 and the winter of 1914-15 the vast majority of these conspirators proceeded to the Punjab, of which they were residents, and those, there that were not interned forthwith, or were released, continued the said conspiracy and were joined in the same by conspirators who had previously returned to the Punjab and by others who were seduced by them in India.

15. That the aim and object of all these conspirators in the places named and in the Punjab were and continued the same, namely, to wage war on His Majesty the King-Emperor and to overthrow by force the Government established by law in India, to expel Europeans and to establish a *Swadeshi* or self-government.

16. That the means to be adopted to attain these objects were, *inter alia*, the following:-

(1) The seduction of Indian soldiers from their allegiance to their King and to cause them to mutiny and join in the rebellion and to furnish arms and munitions.

(2) The collection of arms, men and munitions and also money for the purchase of arms and munition.

(3) The obtaining of money for the same purpose by means of forcing and robbing Government treasuries and by dacoities which necessarily involved murders.

(4) The obtaining of explosive bombs and the manufacture of the same for the purpose of murders.

(5) The murder of police and other officials who interfered with the carrying out of the conspiracy and of all Europeans as soon as the rebellion started.

(6) The wrecking of trains and railway bridges.

(7) The sudden attack on and killing of all His Majesty's European troops.

(8) The production and circulation of seditious literature, the delivery of seditious speeches and exhortations to rebel.

(9) The breaking of jails.

(10) The looting of police thanas for arms and ammunition.

(11) The murder of loyal Indian subjects.

(12) The seduction of educated youths.

(13) The seduction of villagers.

17. That in pursuance of the said conspiracy in and out of British India war was waged against His Majesty the King-Emperor and in particular:-

(1) Efforts were made to seduce Indian soldiers and to cause them to mutiny and join the conspiracy. Such efforts were made at:—

- (a) Hong Kong and Ferozepore, on sepoys of the 26th Punjab Infantry, a few of whom joined.
- (b) Ambala, on the sowars and others of the 9th Hodson's Horse.
- (c) Meerut, on the sowars of the 12th Cavalry and sepoys of the 128th Pioneers a few of whom joined and 4 of whom have been convicted and hanged.
- (d) Chak No.5 Sargodha, on sowars of the 22nd Cavalry.
- (e) Lahore Cantonments, on Sowars of the 23rd Cavalry, a number of whom joined and of which seventeen have been convicted and twelve hanged.
- (f) Fyzabad, Benares, Cawnpore, Allahabad and Agra on the Indian troops stationed there.
- (g) Bannu and Nowshera and elsewhere.

(2) Preparations were made on the 27th November 1914 to force and plunder the Government treasury at Moga and a party of the said conspirators set out from Ferozepore for the purpose, but were met by Bisharat Ali, Sub-Inspector of Police, and others and stopped, which resulted in the conspirators murdering the Sub-Inspector and Jawala Singh, Zaildar, and the subsequent death of Dhian Singh and Chanda Singh, two of the conspirators whilst resisting arrest, and the conviction and hanging of eleven others.

(3) Dacoities were committed as follows:—

- (a) On the 23rd January 1915, at Sahnewal, Ludhiana District.
- (b) On the 27th January 1915, at Mansuran, Ludhiana District.
- (c) On the 29th January 1915, at Jhaner, Maler Kotla State.
- (d) On the 2nd February 1915, at Chabba, Amritsar District.
- (e) On the 3rd February 1915, at Rabhon, Ludhiana District.

And the proceeds of the said dacoities were retained for the purpose of the conspiracy.

(4) Other dacoities and raids on police thanas were attempted which did not succeed or were abandoned.

(5) Money was collected for the purposes of the conspiracy.

(6) Bombs and materials for bombs were obtained and bombs were manufactured.

(7) Some arms and munitions were obtained and efforts were made to obtain or purchase more.

(8) Meetings, particularly at Ladhawal, Moga, Bhadowal, Jhar Saheb, Kairon, Amritsar, Lahore, Dhudari, Dundhar and Gujarwal were held and plans, particularly to print seditious literature, seduce troops, loot treasuries and thanas, manufacture bombs, procure arms, murder loyal subjects and officials, destroy railways and telegraphs, seduce villagers, and commit dacoities in furtherance of the cause, were made.

(9) Dates were fixed for the outbreak of the rebellion and men were collected for the purpose particularly at Lahore on the 25th November 1914, at Jhar Saheb and Kairon at the end of November and at Lahore and Ferozepore on the 19th February 1915.

(10) Seditious and revolutionary literature, including the Gadar, a History of India by Bhai Parmanand and pamphlets entitled Gadar-di-Gunj, Gadar Sandesa and Ailan-jang, were printed and circulated. The last named purports to be a declaration of War.

(11) Seditious speeches were made.

(12) Members of the conspiracy visited towns and villages to induce men to join.

(13) Youths in schools, particularly at Ludhiana, and villagers were seduced and induced to join.

(14) Head Constable Mahsum Ali Shah was, on the 20th February 1915 murdered, and Sub-Inspector Muhammad Musa wounded by Arjan Singh alias Sajjan Singh, one of the conspirators returned from America, in Anarkali Bazar, Lahore. Arjan Singh has since been convicted and hanged.

(15) Chanda Singh, Zaildar, was murdered on the 25th April 1915.

(16) Kapur Singh, a witness against the conspirators in the Lahore conspiracy case, was murdered on the 2nd August 1915.

(17) An attack on the regimental guard on the Walla Canal bridge, Amritsar, for the purpose of obtaining rifles and ammunition, was made on the 12th June 1915, when two sepoys were murdered, others were wounded and six rifles, accoutrements and a large quantity of rifle ammunition were carried off and, subsequently, in the pursuit, two other men were murdered.

(18) A large number collect in Kapurthala State with the intention of looting the State Treasury of arms, munitions and money.

18. That the following murders were committed and injuries caused at the several dacoities mentioned:—

(1) *Sahnewal*—

(a) Khushi Ram, son of Sarna Mal,—Murdered.

(b) Mussammat Sobi, wife of Khusi Ram,—Wounded by knife and sticks.

(c) Mussammat Shanti, daughter-in-law of Khusi Ram,—Simple hurt.

Rupees 300 cash and jewellery to value of about Rs. 800 was carried off.

(2) *At Mansura*—

(a) Hari Ram, son of Raja Ram,

(b) Phona Mal, son of Devi Ditta,

(c) Jawala, son of Nehala,

(d) Kishen Singh, son of Tara Singh,

(e) Charanji, son of Hamir Chand,—Simple hurt by *lathi* blows.

Simple hurts by explosion of bombs.

Property alleged by complainants as follows was carried off--

Rs
Jewellery 19,571
Cash 4,211

(3) *At Chabba*—

(a) Beli Ram, son of Moti Ram—Murdered.

(b) Jewan Singh, son of Sher Singh,

Grievously hurt by bomb explosions.

(c) Tara Singh, son of Lehna Singh,

(d) Nikka, son of Nizam Din,

(e) Bulanda, son of Ditta,

(f) Vir Singh, son of Jhanda Singh,—Simple hurt by bomb explosion.

(g) Mussammat Bhag Devi, widow of Beli Ram, Grievous hurt by *lathis*.

(h) Kundan Lal, son of Beli Ram,

(i) Hansraj, son of Beli Ram,

(j) Tara Singh, son of Dyal Singh,

Simple hurt by *lathis*.

(k) Asa Singh, son of Lal Singh,

Bombs, revolvers and *lathis* were used.

Jewellery to the value of 6,000 was looted.

(4) At Rabhon-

Mussammat Sardi, widow of Kirpa Ram
Lehna Singh, Lambardar, son of Wadhwa Singh,
Property to the value of Rs. 4,198 was carried off, of which the jewellery is estimated at Rs. 3,000 and the remainder was cash.

Simple hurts.

(5) At Jhaner-

Jowaher Mal, son of Manna Mal,
Waziri Mal, son of Ishar Mal,

Simple hurts.

Property carried off amounted to the value of about Rs. 1,000.

19. That large numbers of the conspirators in pursuance of the conspiracy, started in the SS. *Korea* from San Francisco on the 29th August 1914 and changing on to the SS. *Tosha Maru* at Hong Kong, arrived in Calcutta on the 29th October 1914, and many of them have been convicted in the Lahore conspiracy cases.

20. That in addition to the above, large number of conspirators arrived in India in the autumn of 1914 and early in 1915 from America, Canada, Shanghai, Hong Kong and other ports individually, or in parties, or groups under various leaders in pursuance of the said conspiracy and in furtherance of the same.

21. That on arrival in India some of the conspirators were interned or restricted to their villages, but others assembled in Amritsar in October 1914, when plans for waging war and carrying out the objects of the conspiracy were discussed and thereafter meetings were held and plans made as set out generally in paragraph 17(8).

22. That large numbers of the conspirators assembled at Lahore Cantonment on the 25th November 1914 with intent to attack troops stationed there and loot arms and then start the rebellion and that, owing to the failure of their plans, large numbers of the conspirators met at Ferozepore Cantonment on the 26th November with intent to loot the arsenal for arms and start the rebellion with the aid of mutinous troops stationed there.

23. That gatherings and meetings of conspirators took place on and off from about the 23rd to the 26th November 1914 at Jhar Sahib, when plans in furtherance of the conspiracy were discussed, including dacoities and the seduction of troops; and the arrival of mutinous sowars from the 23rd Cavalry at Lahore Cantonments, with a view to a general rising and war against the Government, was awaited.

24. That the expected contingent from the 23rd Cavalry not having arrived, the party agreed, on the 26th November 1914, to assemble at Kairon, few miles distant, the next day and there await the sowars. On the 27th November accordingly, the party assembled at Kairon, and the mutinous sowars not having arrived, it was decided to raid and loot the Sarhali Police thana the same night for arms and ammunition. The party proceeded to the Sarhali thana, but the attempt on the thana was abandoned.

25. That the conspirators took part in a meeting on or about the 14th February 1915 at Gujarwal at which it was announced what had been accomplished so far by the conspirators and what was being done, and the conspirators were exhorted to be ready to join in the proposed rising against Government, the date of which would be announced to them shortly, and were urged obtain recruits to the cause.

26. That a meeting of conspirators was held at Duhari about the 17th February 1915 at which a revolutionary speech was delivered and the conspirators were exhorted to rise in rebellion and to collect men and join in the proposed Ferozepore raid on the 19th February 1915.

27. That large numbers of conspirators took part in the gathering and proposed raid on the arsenal at Ferozepore on the night of the 19th February 1915 in pursuance of the agreement and arrangements for a general rising or rebellion on that date.

28. That a number of conspirators took part in an attempted raid on the military guard on the Doraha Railway bridge on the 21st February 1915 for the purpose of obtaining rifles in pursuance of the plans of the members of the conspiracy and in furtherance thereof.

29. That on the 19th February 1915, which date was fixed for a general rising of the conspirators, certain premises occupied by the conspirators in Lahore were raided by the Police and a number of conspirators were arrested. Owing to some of the conspirators turning approvers and important discoveries being made of seditious literature, arms, ammunition, bombs, chemicals for bombs, revolutionary flags and implements for cutting telegraph wires, locks and safes, a large number of conspirators were arrested and tried by commissioners appointed under Act IV of 1915, and were ultimately convicted of waging war, and of conspiracy to wage war, against the King-Emperor at three trials generally known by the name of "the Lahore conspiracy case" and the "Lahore supplementary conspiracy cases," respectively.

30. That, though large numbers of the conspirators were arrested, including the majority of the leaders, and were tried as stated, the conspiracy continued and further acts in pursuance and furtherance of the conspiracy were committed by members of the conspiracy then at large, the most important of which are:—

(1) The murder of Chanda Singh, Zaildar, at Nangal Kalan on the 25th April 1915, for being instrumental in the arrest of Piara Singh—since convicted in the Lahore conspiracy case.

(2) The murder of Sardar Bahadur Achar Singh at Jagatpur on the 4th June 1915 for being loyal to Government and being regarded as an enemy and hostile to the conspiracy.

(3) A meeting of conspirators at Doudhar on the 2nd June 1915, when plans were discussed, including the raiding of the Kapurthala State treasury for arms, ammunition and money.

(4) A gathering of conspirators in Kapurthala State on the 5th June 1915 in pursuance of the decision arrived at the said meeting at Doudhar and for the purpose of raiding the State treasury for arms, ammunition and money. It was ultimately decided that their numbers were too few for the undertaking and that they should gather again for the same purpose in large numbers. It was also settled that in the meantime, the military guard on the Walla Canal bridge near Amritsar should be attacked for the purpose of obtaining rifles and ammunition which could be usefully employed in the attack on the Kapurthala State treasury.

(5) The attack on the military guard on the said Canal Railway bridge on the morning of the 12th June 1915. In this attack a havildar and a sepoy were wounded. Whilst 6 rifles, accoutrements and a large quantity of ammunition were carried off.

31. That the majority of the conspirators concerned in the offences referred to in paragraph 30 above have been tried, convicted and sentenced to death, transportation and imprisonment by Commissioners appointed under Act IV of 1915 in a trial known as the Lahore supplementary conspiracy case or in other trials held by the said Commissioners.

32. That the accused was a leading member of the said conspiracy and is liable for all the acts committed by the conspirators in pursuance and furtherance of the said conspiracy, but the following are some of the more important acts done personally by the accused. The acts set out are not exhaustive:—

The accused apparently joined the conspiracy in San Francisco in 1913 and then arrived in Shanghai where he was active conspirator. In pursuance and furtherance of the said conspiracy he started from Shanghai on the 18th July 1914 with a party of co-conspirators taking with him a bundle of Gadar pamphlets for distribution amongst the Indian Military sepoys and Watchmen at Hong Kong.

On arrival at Hong Kong on the 24th July 1914 he distributed the said pamphlets to sepoys of the 25th and 26th Punjab Infantry and of the 24th Battery and directed his co-conspirators to proceed to India for the revolution promising to follow.

He arrived in Amritsar at Dewali in October 1914 with a party of conspirators including Harnam Singh (hanged L.S.C.C.) and proceeded to make plans for the revolution with another leader Gujar Singh (transported for life, L.C.C.) and was appointed a leader at a meeting at Khassa about the 30th October 1914.

Aims and Objects of Ghadr Party

He was present at several meetings of conspirators at Amritsar, including a meeting held in the Virpal Dharamsala, Amritsar, on or about the 31st December 1914 which included the following desperate and dangerous conspirators amongst others:—

Harnam Singh of Sialkot, hanged, Lahore conspiracy case.

Kartar Singh, hanged, Lahore conspiracy case.

Jagat Singh, hanged, Lahore conspiracy case.

Pingle, hanged, Lahore conspiracy case.

Nidhan Singh, transported, Lahore conspiracy case.

At this meeting plans for the levying of war, means of obtaining arms, the looting of treasuries, and the making of bombs were discussed. The accused said he could make bombs. It was arranged to have some bombs made, to commit dacoities for obtaining funds and to start a bomb factory in Ludhiana.

The next day an experimental bomb was made by the accused and after it was tested it was decided that the accused and one Parmanand II (transported, L.C.C.) should make more bombs. He was paid Rs. 150 for making bombs at Jhabewal, Ludhiana District, and left Amritsar for that purpose. He took chemicals for bombs to Jhabewal, where he proceeded to prepare the chemicals. On his return to Amritsar he made four bombs and received Rs. 200 for chemicals to be obtained in Lahore or Jhelum and proceeded to Lahore for that purpose. At Lahore he gave orders for potash and sulphuric acid to Rakha Ram and for iron cases for bombs at the Ragho Factory. He also had forms printed with the words "M.S. Koli" to facilitate the obtaining of bomb ingredients. For the purpose of distributing literature to troops and others, the accused purchased six duplicators on which literature was duplicated.

He attended several meetings of leading conspirators, including Rash Behari, in Lahore when plans for waging war, collecting arms and explosives and men and seducing troops were discussed, and arrangements for a general rising were made and, in particular, he attended a meeting at the Mochi Gate house on or about the 15th February 1915, when the date for the rising and the waging of war was fixed for the 21st February, and men were despatched to collect conspirators, and to distribute literature.

After the arrest on the 19th February 1915 the accused escaped into Afghanistan and having subsequently made his way in to Russian Turkestan was arrested there and made over to the British authorities.*

* The reference is to Dr. Mathura Singh, who was convicted and hanged for his revolutioning activities.

IDEOLOGY OF THE GHADR PARTY

Translation of the extracts from the Ghadr throwing light on the ideology of the party

The "Ghadr" is the organ of the Indian revolutionary party in San Francisco. It was founded by Har Dayal, the creator of the party. The first number was issued on November 1st, 1913. Har Dayal himself was arrested by the federal authorities in March, 1914 because of his anarchist activities. He fled to Europe, and when war broke out he became one of the principal members of the India Committee in Berlin, and he is one of the principal defendants in the conspiracy case now being tried in San Francisco. When he left Ram Chandra became head of the party, and continued to be editor of the "Ghadr". He has exercised these dual functions ever since. It is shown in the conspiracy trial that the "Ghadr" was used as one of the principal agents for fostering the main purpose of the party, namely, to create rebellion in India with German aid. The personnel and activities of the paper are in fact in no way distinguishable from the personnel and activities of the general conspiracy and all the principal members of its staff are now under trial or defendants in the case. Har Dayal established the "Ghadr" and a press at 1324 Valencia Street, and the paper has been lithographed and issued from this address ever since. In addition to the "Ghadr" journal itself, many broad-sheets and pamphlets were lithographed at the press and widely distributed. Indeed the distribution of the journal and of the other literature extended to all parts of the world where Indians were to be found. The journal was not sent to them to meet their demand, but their addresses were carefully and deliberately sought out, and the journal was issued to them in the hope of exciting among them hatred of British rule. After war broke out and, German funds became available, they were used for the preparation and dissemination of this literature in the same way that they were used for other purposes of the conspiracy. With the aid of the German Consulate in San Francisco, copies of the paper and other literature they were dispatched to Europe. That in some cases were re-printed there. The German distributed it to Indian prisoner of war and even among the Indian troops employed on the west and other fronts.

Each successive number of the journal was filled with the most violent and false abuse of England and British rule in India. It openly advocated violent revolution, and invoked German aid before war broke out. It advocated violent crime, and especially the murder of loyal Indians who assisted the Government, and it never failed to publish detailed accounts of the murder of Government Officers and agents in India. It dealt with war topics after the same fashion as other German inspired periodicals, exalting everything German, belittling the achievements of the Allies, and taking the German side of the quarrel at every turn.

In May, 1914, Bhagwan Singh, another of the principal accused in the conspiracy trial, came to San Francisco from Japan and worked with Ram Chandra as one of the chief leaders. In October 1914, he went on a mission to the Orient in pursuance of the conspiracy, and he returned to San Francisco in October 1916. The Sikhs on the Pacific Coast complained to him that Ram Chandra was spending the German money on himself, and had assumed an unduly autocratic control. After meetings held in January, 1917, Bhagwan Singh was able to force Ram Chandra to resign, and he took permission of the press at Valencia Street. There he continued

1. The first issue of this weekly paper appeared on 1 November 1913 in Urdu. Subsequently an addition in Gurmukhi was brought out in December 1913 and in Gujarati in May 1914. The anti-British nature of this paper was never matched by any other paper either before or after. The paper ceased to appear after 1918. The party, however, carried on its propaganda through another paper entitled *Independent Hindustan* and later on through *India's Voice* and *United States of India*. But these papers were not as violent in their propaganda as the *Ghadr* was. The above note was prepared by the U.S. Department of Justice.

to issue the "Ghadr", and began to publish in addition a monthly publication named "Yugantar". He also prepared to publish a revolutionary journal in English. He explained that his weekly "Ghadr" paper was merely a continuation of Har Dayal's original publication, that the "Yugantar" was its younger brother, that the projected English paper was a "lie born in the house of the Ghadr party.

Ram Chandra was able to retain the balance of the German money, and to gather around him a portion of his former staff, including several persons under trial in the conspiracy case. He established a new press, first at 1017, Valencia Street and afterwards at 5 Wood Street, and there continued the publication of a rival "Ghadr" newspaper, indistinguishable in aim and methods from his original "Ghadr" paper. Like Bhagwan Singh, he claimed that his journal was the real "Ghadr" of Har Dayal. Ram Chandra's "Ghadr" ceased to appear at the end of July, 1917, but he now contemplates issuing it again.

Since the arrest of the principal conspirators the "Ghadr" both of Ram Chandra and Bhagwan Singh have naturally been more cautious, but there has been no change in the men responsible for the journals nor in their objects, and the spirit that permeates them is the same spirit that prevailed during most palmy days of the conspiracy.

Appended are extracts under the following heads:-

- (1) General abuse of Great Britain and British rule
- (2) Incitement to rebellions and conspiracy with German aid.
- (3) Incitement to the Indian army to mutiny.
- (4) Incitement to violence.
- (5) Bhagwan Singh's "Ghadr"

(1) General Abuse of Great Britain and British Rule

A book might be filled with extracts under this head, but two examples out of hundreds may suffice:-
Issue of May 10th, 1917

1. Jottings Concerning the British Raj. Commit these to Memory

The British extract five hundred millions of money from India annually and take it to England. Owing to this the people of India have been so impoverished that their daily earnings average a penny and half penny per day.

2. The land tax is about 65%.
3. On a population of two hundred and twenty four millions the expenditure on education is 775,000,000 rupees. On sanitation 800,000,000 rupees, but on the army there is spent 229,500,000 rupees.
4. Under the British Government famine is on the increase. In the past ten years 200,000,000 have died from starvation.
5. Within the last sixteen years eight million have died from plague. It is estimated that the mortality per thousand has risen from twenty-four to thirty-four.
6. In the native states great pains are taken to spread dissatisfaction and to inculcate the doctrine of loyalty to the British Government.
7. Englishmen in India are not punished for the murder of Hindustanis and for outrages on Indian women.
8. The missionaries are supported by money taken from the Hindus and Mohammedans.
9. Pains are taken to cause dissension between the Hindus and Mohammedans.
10. India has been exploited for the sake of England.
11. With Indian money and with Indian troops China, Burma, Afghanistan, Egypt and Persia have been subdued.

Issue of July 25th, 1917:

Ghadr Party

The Reason and Object of the National Party and its Origin

Why the Hindustan Ghadr was established. There is no need to give the reason. Every man, woman, and child of India is aware of the reason of its name. They celebrate its anniversary joyously and why should they not, for it makes lions of cowards. All are aware of the work done by its servants.

It has destroyed the fruit of tyranny exercised by the British, who have destroyed entirely even to their name, the arts, crafts, and industries of India. The British have spread plague and famine and India, which is such a healthy country, cannot support its children for eight days at a time. This is truly astonishing. That India which has had the avaricious eyes of the World turned towards it for a generation, is now afraid of famine. That India, whose children were always healthy and prosperous, are now sallow and emaciated. That India to whom all the students from all parts of the world flocked to improve their knowledge of science and philosophy, is today in this twentieth century unknown and unremembered. Her sons are today looked upon as animals. The British have sworn to destroy and raze her to the ground, and her sons, intoxicated with the wine of ignorance, remember these things and lay the foundation of liberty.

(2) Incitement to Rebellion and Conspiracy with German Aid

Issue of 1st November, 1913:

This was the first issue of the journal. In a leader entitled "Our Home and Work" Har Dayal, the editor says:

"A new epoch in the history of India opens today, the first November, 1913, because today there begins in foreign lands but in our country's language a war against the English Raj... what is our name? Mutiny. What is our work? Mutiny. Where will the mutiny break out? In India. When? In a few years. Why? Because the people can no longer bear the oppression and tyranny practised under British rule and are ready to fight and die for freedom.... Time is gliding on. Oppression and misery have passed all bounds in your country. The whole world is waiting to see when these brave men will rise and destroy the English. Serve your country with body, mind and wealth. Give this advice to all and follow it yourselves. The time is open to come when rifle and blood will take the place of pen and ink. Pray for this rising, talk, dream, earn money, eat for it alone, make soldiers of yourselves for its sake. Brave men and worthy sons of India, be ready with bullets and shot. Soon the rate of the tyrant will be decided on the battlefield and days of happiness and glory will dawn for India."

Issue of 15th November, 1913:

Already on the 15th November we have a reference to German aid:

"The German have great sympathy with our movement for liberty, because they and ourselves have a common enemy (the English). In future Germany can draw assistance from us and they can render us great assistance also."

Issue of the 6th January, 1914:

This issue gives an account of a big Ghadr meeting held at Sacramento on the 31st December, 1913. Har Dayal made a speech, in the course of which he said:-

"If I am turned out of this country I can make preparations for the mutiny in any other country. Our Asram and our arrangements are so complete that the Ghadr work will not be stopped by my leaving the country. I shall have to go to Germany to make arrangements for the approaching Ghadr."

This is already the third reference made in the "Ghadr" to the part Germany is to play. Can there be any doubt that Har Dayal and the German representatives in America had laid their heads together and began to plan the future? We shall find as we go on further evidence tending to the same conclusion.

Issue of the 23rd June, 1914:

This issue contains an article headed "The Time for Mutiny Approaches."

Issue of the 21st July, 1914:

This issue contains a most significant reference to Germany and the mutiny:-

"All intelligent people know that Germany is an enemy of Great Britain. We also are the mortal enemy of the British Government and an enemy of my enemy is my friend. Germany will most assuredly help to liberate India. The might of Great Britain is a eyesore to Germany. As the day of the revolution approaches Germany will most assuredly help us. It is imperative to be friends with the German correspondents and political leaders, and that they be given information as to the progress of our movement. In the future those patriots who are exiled would do well to choose Germany as the country to live in."

Issue of the 28th July, 1914:

The "Ghadr" leaders, very likely possessing inside information, knew at once the meaning of the ultimatum which Austria presented to Servia. An article headed "A Bloody and Dangerous War in Europe. O Hindus do not allow this Opportunity to slip through your Hands." Predate a general war in which the kicks of all nations will be aimed at England, and concludes as follows:-

"India has got her chance. Hurry, O Hindus. Do not lose this opportunity. You have before lost several golden opportunities. Forget the old adage 'slow and sure wins the race.' Rise and fly like hailstorm, and when the war begins in Europe do start a mutiny in India."

Issue of August 4th, 1914:

On the day that war between Germany and England was declared the "Ghadr" published a triumphant articles entitled "The Trumpet of War" in which stress is laid on the success that will follow co-operation between the Indian revolutionaries and the German Government:-

"War has started between German and England.

Now is your chance for India's freedom. This news is so important that I will give you a short account of it. The entire nations of Europe are divided into two parties. On one side are Germany, Italy, and Austria, and on the other side Russia, England and France. War has started between these two parties. All Britain's land and naval forces will fight against Germany. Therefore all the white troops in India will have to leave. This is the right time for you to start a war of freedom. You can very soon expel the British from India. O brethren, take your freedom now. If you do not you will remain slaves forever. Warriors. If you start to mutiny now you will put an end to the British Government, because on the one side you will attack her. If you do not do this Germany alone will find it very difficult to succeed and it is possible that by the end of the war the English will become more powerful. So dear ones, raise your hands and start the mutiny. Go to India and incite the native troops. Preach mutiny openly. Take arms from the troops of native states and wherever you see the British kill them. If you do your work quickly and intelligently, there is hope that Germany will help you. Get help from Nepal and Afghanistan. Start the War quickly. Don't delay. Remember that the mutiny of 1857 began on a like occasion, and that the British troops had gone out of India to fight. Again such an opportunity has arisen."

"Wake, O Hindus, and rub your eyes. Open your minds. Store your wealth in the Ghadr office and register your name in army of the Ghadr. Cleanse your blood. How long will you remain seated in lethargy? Be ready to spring like tigers.

Issue of 11th August, 1914:

The following passage occurs in an article headed:

"Opportunity for Mutiny in India."

"The Hindus should wherever they are start and mutiny. They should mutiny in China. They should mutiny in India, and then on all sides will be heard the cry "kill the English, kill the English". These British are only warriors where we are concerned. In Europe they receive kicks from all directions, and now Germany will cut them off root and branch. We should not fight for the British against the Germans in China, for a paltry sum of ten rupees, but we should turn and mutiny, and so prevent the British from sending troops to India."

Issue of the 18th August, 1914:

From an article headed "Hindus, Go and Mutiny":-

"This is the time to mutiny in India too. Later it is useless to cry over spilt milk. Send your bags or wealth to the Ghadr office. This is now the most important thing, and also to gird your loins, and go to India. Mother India calls you."

From an article entitled "O Hindus, Help the Germans":-

"How and in what manner are you to do this. In this way, by mutiny in India. Then the German warriors will look on policy of the Hindus with favour, as also on this opportunity of fighting."

Issue of 1st September, 1914:

In this issue the advice to go back to India to mutiny is repeated... It is also prophesied that Turkey inspite of admonition by the English will ally herself with Germany.

Issue of the 8th September, 1914:

This issue was published at a time when many Hindus, obeying (see typel strip.)

"Go back to your country quickly for mutiny: The people have been transformed. The Firangi has been exposed: Germany is going to defeat England. German have taken the whole of France; and Russia too has been dismantled."

I have not at present got the "Ghadr" for the next twelve months. They will be examined in due course, and will doubtless yield further material similar to that quoted in this note.

Issue of 8th December, 1915:

The following is an extract from a poem published in this issue:-

"Rise up, for the day will come when your flag will be respected throughout the world. Rise now is your strength. Your enemy is in distress. Your learning, your wealth, your power have all been seized and carried off. The whole world is waiting to see your flag wave on the field of battle. Soon, with the aid of the Germans and Turkey, your enemies will be slain. This is the opportune time. Draw your sword from its scabbard, and the world will honour you."

Issue of the 8th January, 1916:

A leaflet was published with this issue containing a passionate exhortation to the native troops in India to mutiny.

Issue of the 3rd May, 1916:

This issue contains a poem which ends as follow:-

"Expel these low-caste men with a blow of your shoe, and welcome the aid of Egypt, China, Turkey, and Germany."

Issue of the 10th May, 1916:

This day is the anniversary of the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny of 1857. The opportunity is taken to publish a long article enjoining the present day Indians to go and do likewise.

Issue of the 7th June, 1916:

A poem, the substance of which is as follows:-

"This paper has a message for you. This is the favourable moment to rise. Now our enemy is busy. How is the time to repeat the occurrences of 1857. Welcome the message which we bring you, and rise."

Issue of July 19th, 1916:

This issue contains an article by Har Dayal against Lala Lajpat Rai, who had apparently delivered the opinion that India should be neutral in the war. The following is an extract:-

"How rebel and yet stand neutral or separate from Germany? The day has gone by when a nation can stand alone. If England is our enemy. We must cast in our lot with England's enemies. Belgium, in the grip of Germany and Austria, seeks her freedom through the assistance of her allies, so India in the pursuit of freedom must fight not only England but also her allies, and of necessity she must grasp the powerful hand of Germany."

Issue of October 25th, 1916:

"It should be a matter of proud interest to Hindustan that four of their brethren laid down their lives for the liberty of their country at Singapore. The English heeded not their cries and ordering them to stand against a wall they shot them. Well, you scoundrels of English. We will settle our account with you. The time is near when you will clasp your hands together after you have lost the name of your fathers and grandfathers, and you will tear out your hair with your hands and will beat upon your breasts. The Gadar approacheth."

Issue of November 1st, 1916:

"Notice to soldiers of the Gadar.

O soldiers of the Gadar, by your courage, your sacrifices and by your strength, You have given the Gadar a greater prominence in 1916 than it had in 1914 or 1915. You have done a great deal: but there still remains plenty to do. By your lectures you have frightened the British, but they have not yet been expelled from India. Redouble your efforts. Don't bring your private quarrels into the work of the cause: for get all selfishness, cast your religion aside and let your personal desires be the desires of the cause. O soldiers of the Gadar, you know that revolution is only successful through the spilling of blood and that blood of martyrs is not shed in vain. So combine your efforts for that glorious day. Gather together wealth, health and brain power: take unto yourselves fresh vigour every day, and on this the first of November, you should determine to live and spend your life in freedom or die a slave's death.

Issue of the 17th January, 1917:

Extract from article headed "Indian revolutionists Defeat the British":-

"In 1914 when the European war broke out. Turkey joined Germany and scared the life out of the British, Russians, French and Italians. Remember, O British Government, that you are now less than dust. On the one side the Germans are winning, and on the other the jugglery of the British in India has been destroyed."

Issue of May 10th, 1917:

The anniversary of the mutiny of 1857 is celebrated by an article in the course of which it is stated that the duty of the patriots living in 1917 is to carry out and complete the work started by the patriots and martyrs of 1857.

(3) *Incitement of the Indian Army to Mutiny**Issue of February 17th, 1914:*

"O Hindustani sepoys, e.g., warrior Sikhs, Mussulman, and lion-hearted Rajputs, residents of Peshawar and frontier Pathans and dignified Afridis and Afghans, who have entered the military service of the British, for what reason do you fight for the British and sacrifice your lives for no purpose? Are you not ashamed that in time of war you are ordered to the trenches and the British troops are kept in the rear in security? For all your trouble you get only nine rupees a month and out of this you have to clothe and feed yourself and you save from

this for your family, whereas the British soldier gets three good square meals a day and is provided with the best of uniforms, besides getting forty-five rupees a month, and after three years' service he receives a bonus of thirty pounds, that is four hundred and fifty rupees, on the occasion of his return to England sepoys: your eyes are turned yellow from eating dhal and chapatis your countenance is wizened up, because when out of nine rupees a month you have to pay for your uniform, how can you possibly live well?"

The following further extracts are taken from the judgment in the Supplementary Lahore Conspiracy Case:-

(a) "The mutiny party has undertaken to make India free.

You have a sufficient number of soldiers. Your brothers are in the army, and there are many reservists and retired soldiers living in the villages."

(b) "If any men of the police or army come across you, preach your mission to them."

(e) "O soldiers in the army, have you sought to do with Indians...Have you vowed to live as slaves of the English..... Are your lives worth only Rs. 9 each.... You can exterminate the European...in a moment.... O brave men, how long will you remain slaves? Arise and sacrifice yourselves."

(d) "Let us preach Sermons to the armies to the effect that we must kill the whites and cut them to pieces."

(4) Incitement to Violence

Issue of November 1st, 1915:

"In the first issue the "Ghadr" relates that one Hem Chandra Das went to Paris to learn how to make bombs, and returning, set up a factory in Calcutta and taught others, and proceeds to mention with approbation the Muzaffarpore outrage, when two ladies were foully murdered in 1908."

(Judgment of Lahore supplementary conspiracy case)

Issue of 16th and 23rd December, 1913:

"This paper (Mutiny) is a messenger of this cause. In the beginning few Mohammedans also belonged to this party, but now all the young men are joining it. This society is giving the Government a great deal of uneasiness. For the last two years the young men among the Mohammedans have been throwing out their oppression and gloom and learning thoughts of liberty and freedom, and they are ready in their mind for the mutiny. This has increased the difficulties of the Government. Lately the Hindus and a few Mohammedans were agitating. Now all the Mohammedans are following them. They saw is always kept fresh."

Along with the patriots there has arisen a party of bomb makers and bomb throwers whose work has come to lights since May, 1908. This has kept the heart of the Government in its mouth. This party is preparing to bring on the mutiny at a very early date, and to make war on their enemy (the Government). This party includes Bengalis, Mahrattas, Madrassis, and Punjabis, and in this year have shown their hand many times. The work of this party is to give themselves course by killing English officers and the natives who help them. In this way the palms of the Government are spoiled. The officers and their subordinates tremble with fear. The young men any more benefit is derived from doing a thing than talking about it.

We cannot tell when the mutiny will break out, but we can go on doing our share of the work. In Russia also a similar party has been in existence for a long time, and on the 13th March, 1881, killed the Czar of Russia with a bomb. Since the date in this country there have been many accidents. Robrekof, Terekof, Stolypin, and other had officers were killed by the patriots of the country. A similar party has been started in India who call themselves the lecture party, but if this small party were called anarchists it would suit them much better. If the Government is trying to suppress this party there are no visible results of it.

On the 2nd May, 1908, Khudi Ram Bose and Prafulla Cheki threw a bomb in Muzaffarpore and they killed two Englishmen. Since then many officers have been killed by bombs and pistols. In the province of Madras Mr. Ash, in Bombay, Mr. Jackson: in London, Curzon Wylie, were the targets of this party. Besides these native police officers and spies have been killed by this party.

This party in 1908 in Bengal entered a prison and killed Gossem with sword—he was giving evidence for the Government. The people of Calcutta have a great respect and admiration for Kana Lal, the person who killed this man. All the women fasted for one day in his memory and took home his ashes and placed them in gold and silver vessels. The hearts of the Bengalis were so filled with the courage of this man that the Government became afraid and began to take very strict laws. They suppressed newspapers and put a stop to meeting. The leaders were arrested. They punished even boys for singing Bande Mataram and similar things. The Government stated in the Council that they would put a stop to all expression of sedition."

Issue of 27th January, 1914:

"On the 23rd of last December when the Viceroy went to Calcutta, the bomb party became very strong. British Government was full of bluster that they would put a stop to this party, but from what happened it will be that this party is getting stronger every day, and the Government is so afraid that they are very careful about the steps they take. This fear of the Government was well shown in Calcutta. So much so, that the Viceroy was guarded like a prisoner and he was not able to travel on the intended route."

*Issue of 29th August, 1915:**"The Riot or Disturbance in Hongkong".*

The American paper, Goalic, published in U.S.A. says that in Hong Kong the soldiers of the Indian army are trying to create a disturbance and that the soldiers are turbulent and disobedient to their officers: it is impossible to ascertain the true cause. They took all the Germans away to the south shore so that they could not have any intercourse with the Hindus. Later a telegram was received from Shanghai that somebody had thrown a bomb at the Governor of Hong Kong, and that the man who threw the bomb had escaped leaving no trace. Well done."

Issue of 12th April, 1916:

"Have not these cunning, deceitful English robbers tried to crush the secret societies of Bengali? Yes, they have tried, they have spent hundreds of thousands of rupees: white men have had this work in charge: in 1907 scores of patriots were hanged, others imprisoned for life, bombs, munition factories were discovered, but these disclosures have taught the Bengalis wisdom. They are now wiser, they now pursue more skilful tactics, the detectives are now non-pulsed and the Government is now crying out in despair. Murders are frequent, they are daily reported, and the slayers can't be found. The explanation is this; the dead men were detectives in the pay of the Government. But they pretended to be revolutionists, their deceit was detected, and the society took a short method of getting rid of them. Day by day the revolutionary party in Bengal by its skilful methods is gaining, strength, and never will the movement succeed in other provinces unless the course pursued in Bengal is followed."

Issued of 3rd May, 1916:

"Ireland rebelled when Sir Roger Casement was arrested but India remained quiescent when Gurdit Singh was arrested and shot and no Englishman has been shot to avenge Gurdit Singh's death. Parmanand was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment, but no Indian demanded the reason for such sentence without trial".

*Issue of 26th July, 1916:**"Crown witnesses,"*

"The man that deserts his party and the cause of rightness and deceives his companions should be treated as a mad dog. The mad dog is not allowed freedom of action. If seen in the open he is to be shot.

A man that breaks the oath of his society should be shot. The deceiver is dangerous, he should have no sympathy."

Issue of the 23rd August, 1916:

"Police Superintendent of Bengal, killed June 23rd, 1916. Deputy Superintendent of Police Basant Kumar Chatterjee has been murdered in Calcutta on his way to his home on his bicycle after leaving office. On the evening of June 28th, six young Bengalis attacked him. The detective fell down from his bicycle after two shots had been fired at him. His orderly, who was also on a bicycle, grabbed one of the assailants by the neck, but the other young Bengali shot the orderly in the chest and he fell to the ground. The detective died right where he had fallen. The orderly was taken to the hospital. There has been no trace found yet of the murderers. This detective was appointed to run to earth the members of the National Party in Bengal. Last year a bomb was thrown into his house and several other attempts have been made to kill him, but he escaped. One of his brothers is a Sub-Inspector in Barissal. The Lt. Governor of Bengal sent a letter of condolence to the deceased's wife, who has also received a pension from the Government. On the day of the murder, twelve houses were searched, one lawyer and his family being arrested, besides many suspicious persons. The students of the colleges and hostels were examined by the police: but those who revenged themselves on the officer were not arrested. The week previous to this occurrence, two police officers were murdered at Dacca the perpetrators of which crimes have also not been captured. The Chief British robber is the Viceroy, who sent a special telegram of condolence to the superintendent's people. The British rated the Hindustani as dirt: but how that the revolutionaries have taken revenge, the Government is loud in its praise and flattery. For this murder 25 Bengalis have been arrested, out of which one is a Vakil of the Bengali High Court besides two doctors."

Issue of 4th October, 1916:

"A corpse of a young stalwart Bengali was found in a trunk at Bandel railway station, which pointed to his being a good family, because the trunk was found in a 2nd class compartment. A few minutes before it left it was brought to Howrah station by a Babu. He had it lifted and put on the train by two coolies. One man, on seeing the enormous size of the trunk and that it was heavy, asked the Babu what it contained. The Babu replied, there are brass utensils in it, and to safeguard himself against suspicion he showed a second-class ticket. After a while he left the trunk in that room and went away and did not return. Other travellers notified at the Chandernagar station. As the train had left it was impossible to remove trunk: but Bundel station was notified by wire. There the trunk was removed and when a great stench was noticeable it opened and from it a corpse was taken. The photo of the corpse was taken. Police believe that it is the body of a detective who had been murdered by the revolutionaries."

Issue of November 15th, 1916:

"I was implicated in the Sainwal political dacoity (the word means gang robbery with violence) the reason for dacoity was that I could get funds to bring out a certain paper. We had firearms and bombs. My intention was to establish an Ashram such as we have in America and secretly distribute the paper. I visited several cantonments, as well as the Central Provinces and bought cloth to make a national flag. I used to be on the Gadar staff in America."

The Judge said: 'Are you aware that will become of you' Kartar Singh replied "Oh, yes, I know what treatment you will meet out to me."

Issue of 13th December, 1916:

"Photos of the martyrs are being printed and will be produced in a few weeks. These brethren who wish to hang them in their houses, will please let the Gadar know by postcard. This is most necessary. From 1857 to date, photos of all the martyrs are requested from those brethren having them. Some of the Punjab martyrs' photos have reached the Gadar. Photos of the Bengal and Madras martyrs are wanting, and if any of the brethren have some, will they please send same to this office. Thousands of copies will be printed.

*Issue of December 20th, 1916:***"Riot amongst Recruits"**

Sardar Hukam Singh, a noble, of District Montgomerie, when recruiting in a certain village, was assaulted by several young men with axes and hoes. He received 13 wounds and had his left arm broken and several teeth knocked out. In 1857 this man's father helped the Government and the mutineers shortly after killed him. Ever since the war broke out our Hukam Singh has been recruiting, and now he has received the fruits of his labour. It is apparent from this that the populace detest the English and there are none who want to help them.....

"Father of Madan Lal Dhingra dead. People's fathers are dying daily, so what was the use of advertising the death of the doctor, unless it to be remind one that he left a son named Madan Lal Dhingra whose mind dwelt on the freedom of India and who was hanged in London for the murder of Curzon Wylie. The father died from the shock from the fate meted out to his son."

Issue of January 17th, 1917:

"Indian revolutionists defeat the British. Mutiny is a courageous act. Fresh news daily reaches us from India. The river of mutiny is increasing in flood. All the efforts of the British Government to stop the Gadar have been in vain. In the 3rd Lahore Conspiracy Case it is said that six patriots were hanged. One transported for life and the balance received long sentences. The result of the Gadar effort is apparent from the fact that the Gadar has in reality defeated the British. The public will not understand how this can be and will think that the blood of the martyrs has been shed to no purpose. There is no doubt that as a national humiliation, the arrest and sentencing of these patriots is a truth, but it should be remembered that they died fearlessly in the great cause. Hundreds have been hanged within the last ten years, yet it is surely apparent that the wish of all to unite and expel the British. It is not desired that just one or two Englishmen be killed. Unless the British were angry at their defeat, they would not hang or exile anyone. It is the desire of all to mutiny and this preparation is increasing inefficiency every day. The British do not want political agitation and it is against their interests that this agitation should be so wide spread.

Within the last twelve years the foundation of the British established in India about 300 years ago, has been badly shaken. Their political fortifications are undermined. Educated learned political agitation, have spread the love for India in the leading cities. About 25 millions have heard the message in 1908. In 1911 the entire educated population of India received the message. In 1912 when the bomb was thrown at Lord Hardinge, the most sub-servient saw that the British influence in India was on the wane. All Indians knew then that the public were against the British. In 1913 this also was established that the Sikhs and Pathans had joined forces and had become patriots. In 1914 when the European War broke out, Turkey joined Germany and scared the life out-of the British, Russians, French, etc. Italians, etc. Remember, O. British Government, that you are less than dust now. On the one side Germany is winning and on the other the jugglery of the British in India has been destroyed.

(5) *Bhagwan Singh's "Ghadr".**Issue of 14th March, 1917:*

"We are very much behind the times and it is necessary for us to become equal with other nations. As long as you remain selfish and neglect the duties of your country, so long will you retard the progress of intelligent advance. Observe the times. The World is with you. Kitchener the butcher, who would have gone to India if there had been a mutiny, is gone from this world. Other useful and prominent officers of the British Government have met their death on the field of battle. The eyes of the world are upon you and they wonder if you are going to allow this golden opportunity to slip through your fingers."

Issue of 25th April, 1917:

"We possess but one weapon which will help us to escape from plague, pestilence and famine. As in sickness it is necessary to apply a cure immediately. So in your case it is necessary to take immediate steps to remove your national disease.

I have produced an easy remedy. It is the "Ghadr". So if you wish to end your life in peace then prepare to be the enemies of the British and to join the revolution to expel them. Don't go on statements made by George, who is there only to bleed you. Such a fool has as his objects the looting of you and, as Kier Hardie said, were he deprived of his dignity, he would starve to death."

Who is the Greatest Fool Amongst the Crown Heads.

"Which is the Greatest nation on earth? England: Which is the most cunning and deceitful Government in the world? England!! Who is the present ruler in England? George! Which is the greatest fool amongst the Crown Heads? George ! It beats one's comprehension how England, the greatest nation on earth, has such a fool of a ruler as George, and who undoubtedly is the biggest idiot, but no, George is only a mutton figure head."

Issue of 27th May, 1917:

"In tyranny the British are pastmasters. So bear in mind that we have to expel the British with courage and intelligence. To preach amongst the troops is most imperative. The Duma preached to the troops so secretly and quickly that the news did not reach anybody's ears and when the revolution started the entire army backed the Duma....."

Issue of 24th June, 1917:

"The army of Afghanistan is ready to fight and India waits her opportunity. When will you arise, O warriors, to save your diamond, India? When will you decide to sink the tyrant's ship? The British are embroiled in Europe and hastily drew her native troops from India. The Hindus gave their lives to conquer the country for the tyrant and to uphold their prestige. Where before the foreigner could not even get fish to eat, he is now offering them fruit. What thanks are due to such people. Who have been looting India to protect themselves? Even the money earned by the sweat of our brows is taken by them to London. We are passing our lives in slavery and fight for the sake of England. If you consider this an indignity, then why do you go to the front to receive kicks? You are satisfied with jackals credentials and, in consequence, you are an object of rapproch in the world. You have epithets such as black thief hurled at you and yet you are not ashamed. Morocco, Egypt, and Arabia have revolted and their eyes are on India. First go and surround the British and those that remain will run away of their own accord. Take an oath, men and women of India to raise the flag of India."

Issue of 1st July, 1917:

"O sons of India, gird your loins and fight. Sacrifice your health, wealth, and strength for the eyes of the world are turned on India. The fate of Asia is in your hands. The trumpet of battle has sounded, so do not delay. Put your shoulder to the wheel and the result will show what warriors are forthcoming."

Issue of 9th September, 1917:

"When the British declare that they are fighting for democracy, even unborn children laugh at the honour of it. The dead rise from their graves and look at them and say. Why so many lies. O Englishmen? O tyrannous Englishmen, who are fighting for democracy, who have trodden under foot the peoples of the world, who have broken promising buds or have at last killed them by the darkness of tyranny."

"We know and we declare emphatically that the entire wealth of India has been robbed and sent to Great Britain and is still being sent. We have not forgotten that the men and women of India have been the victims of famine and plague, but the tyrannous Government knowingly has neglected to take steps to cure this evil."

Issue of 30th September, 1917:

In the following extract Bhagwan Singh claims his "Ghadr" is the real Har Dayal "Ghadr", and also claims his monthly periodical "Yugantar" is the Ghadr's younger brother and that his project English periodical "Young Hindustan" was born in the house of the Ghadr party:-

"On November 1st, 1913, a beautiful child was born in the house of the Hindus of America and Canada, which was named 'Ghadr' or "Hindustan Gadar." Without doubt heavy tribulation has fallen on this beautiful child in the past, but no harm could come to interfere with the welfare and progress of this child. It is young, but has the strength of a lion and in the future it will perform a very great and glorious work. It is not necessary to say what great work it has already done in its infancy. The eyes of the British Government are blinded by its brilliance. It is not only a beacon light to the Gadar party but to all inhabitants of India. It is necessary to state here that not in India alone, but all over the world first comes revolution wherever the foot of the tyrant has trodden on the peoples by keeping them ignorant, or by exercising tyranny and keeping them in poverty and slavery. At such a time the Gadar arrives and helps the people. From the time of its native rulers to the present the Gadar has shown itself on various occasions. In 1757 the Battle of Plassey and in 1857 the Indian mutiny are the most prominent of its land-marks, it is very pleasing in that since the 1st of November, 1913, its birthday, after three and one-half years, a brother has now been born. This little brother is also a pleasant creation. Like the Prophet Christ, who for fifteen or twenty years was in some unknown place and sent a message to the people, saying 'O you who are down-trodden by the heel of tyranny. I will send you a saviour which is Christ who will liberate you from execution.' Truly like unto this is the young brother of the Gadar, named "Yugantar" who born in India to meet the needs of the nation and to inculcate the spirit of knowledge, has gone on a sojourn to other lands. The British strove strenuously to suppress this young man, but this lion-hearted! man established himself so strongly that the light of battle shone brilliantly. The idea is this, that at present it is hoped to help the brethren. Welcome! Welcome! Welcome!"

We wish to announce to our beloved readers one other pleasant fact that there has been born in the house of the "Gadar" party a lion whose voice and action will be like that of the American people, who will educate the minds of right thinking men concerning the falsehoods spread about itself. I welcome you on the birth of this young brother and I praise the fatherland for the birth of this boy, who was born on the 1st of October, 1917, and his name is the "Young Hindustan". I appeal to the cultivators of India that for the sake of their land and homes they will help this young brother. The price of a copy of the "Young Hindustan" is 10%. The brethren in America and elsewhere, who wish their brother to become conversant with the 'Young Hindustan' should purchase thousands of copies and distribute them free. In this way by preaching from every corner of America the monetary burden of the Gadar will be lessened. A single copy can be purchased or hundreds can be purchased. No subscriptions will be asked from the educated Hindustani. Those of the brethren who can write and speak English can get the copies free. Others, who can read, should order at least fifty copies or one hundred copies soon so that before the paper is issued arrangements can be made to meet the demand. They should send their names and addresses together with subscription from their American friends."

AMERICAN VIEW OF THE GHADR PARTY

The Gadar Party was organized at Lahore, Punjab, India, in 1907 as part of a movement to emancipate India from British control and to establish a free united states of India, with a democratic form of government. The word *Gadar* is derived from the Arabic and means traitor. At one time it was commonly used as an epithet to designate any Indian who resisted British authority. Har Dayal, the founder of the Gadar Party, deliberately applied the term to his followers as a gesture of open contempt and defiance against what they considered to be the ruthless British imperialist domination of their country.

Har Dayal was educated at the University of Punjab, and after an exceptionally brilliant academic career received his M.A. degree and a scholarship which enabled him to complete his studies at Oxford University in England. It was after he finished his education abroad that he returned to India and resolved to devote the balance of his life to the rapidly growing movement to free his country from British domination.

Shortly after the Gadar Party was organized, Dayal was sought by the British authorities, but managed to elude them and made his way to France. He travelled throughout Europe, came to the United States, was an instructor at Stanford University and in 1913 served as editor of the *Hindustani Gadar News*, an organ of the California Gadar Party. In 1914 he was arrested on a deportation warrant by U.S. Immigration officers, but left the country voluntarily and remained in Europe until the end of World War I. Thereafter he returned to the United States and died of a heart attack in New York city in 1942.

From its inception in 1907 the Gadar Party attracted Indians throughout the world. The organization which started as a rebellious political movement ultimately assumed the character of a semi-religious crusade, and its members became highly indoctrinated with a sense of fanatic loyalty to each other and to the Gadar Party.

A striking example of this fanaticism is found in a trial held in the United State District Court of San Francisco in 1918, and which involved the activities of the California Gadar Party in connection with the first World War. A Gadar member named Ram Chandra had succeeded Har Dayal as editor of the *Hindustani Gadar News*, but soon was operating the paper for his personal financial gain instead of for the organization. He sold a news service to American papers, and was regarded as a traitor by members of the party. When he and 30 other defendants were arrested on charges of violating the Neutrality Act, it was believed that he might betray his associates, and reveal the secret activities of the group. The United States Marshal in San Francisco, realizing the political tension generated by this case, and fearful that some physical injury might be inflicted on potential witnesses, had all spectators searched as they entered the courtroom. A Gadar assassin, however, had concealed a revolver in his turban, and when the Ram Chandra was about to testify concerning the subversive activities of the organization, rose in the audience, took deliberate aim and shot the witness as he sat there on the stand. The assassin stood calmly with the gun in his hand until he in turn, was shot by the United States Marshal.

1. Extract from the *The Seventh Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California* (1953). The report translates Ghadr as traitor. Perhaps the correct meaning of the word Ghadr (Mutiny) were not known to those who wrote the report. Most of this report as Spellman has pointed out is unreliable. It is presented here as an example of how the U.S. Government looked at the Ghadr party whose members have also contributed a lot toward the development of the so-called land of liberty. The report mainly points out the link between the party and international Communism.

Members of the Gadar Party have frankly stated on numerous occasions that they would operate with any nation or any organization working to further the effort to free India from British rule. Hence, during the first World War the Party was suspected of being pro-German. During World War II, it was suspected of being Pro-Japanese and Pro-German. Since 1945, it has been suspected of being pro-Russian.

The All India National Congress and the Gadar Party, although entirely separate organizations have worked closely together for a common purpose, the leaders of one group often being affiliated with the other. Prominent among the leaders of the congress was Subhas Chandra Bose (not to be confused with Ras Bihari Bose). He, like Har Dayal, was educated in England, and was thereafter appointed deputy commissioner for the British government in Bengal. He soon became deeply interested in the movement to free India, however, and resigned from his highly lucrative position to devote full time to the cause. Immediately after his resignation he was arrested and imprisoned, but escaped and went to Switzerland. From there he went to Italy, where he became intimately acquainted with Benito Mussolini.

After the outbreak of the second World War, Bose returned to India where he was promptly arrested and imprisoned, and once more managed to escape. This time he went direct to Italy, thence to Germany and finally to Tokyo. As of January 8, 1944, Bose was reported by the *Domei News Agency* as having transferred his activities from Singapore to Burma, where he set up his Japanese-controlled "Provincial Government for Free India," as "another important step in the preparation for the launching of destructive forces" to loosen the British grip on India.

It is important to bear in mind the profound and widespread influence of Subhas Chandra Bose on Indians throughout the world, and their abiding devotion to the cause commonly espoused by the Gadar Party and the All-India National Congress. Bose had repeatedly told his followers through written material and through the facilities of the Axis-controlled radio that India would never emancipate herself without the assistance of foreign nations. He convinced them that help could not be expected from the allied powers, and assured them of the aid and cooperation of the Berlin-Tokio Axis. This concept is the real key to any logical conclusion to be drawn from this report. Bose planted the idea that those who sought to free India must have foreign aid. After World War II it was only natural that the Soviet Union emerged as the only real power to which the Gadar Party and its followers could turn. This was, of course, bolstered by the Soviet propaganda machine concerning the emancipation of all Asia, and even more by the revolution in China. In 1943, Bose broadcast from Singapore: "Now that India's neighbour, Burma, has achieved its freedom, nothing on earth can keep the Indians enslaved any longer." (*Time*, August 16, 1943, page 26.)

Har Dayal started the Gadar Party in California in November, 1913, but it had no formal organization until it was incorporated on January 22, 1917, the first directors being G.B. Lal, now science editor for the Hearst Papers, H. Chandra and H. Sharman. Between 1913 and 1917, the party has no regular membership and no constitution, but was simply a loose association of Indians who issued propaganda material and raised funds to build the party into a larger, more effective organization.

On March 31, 1916, the Gadar Party purchased lots 1 and 2 in block 1069, situated on the west side of Wood Street in the city of San Francisco, about 400 feet north of Geary Boulevard and adjacent to the Laurel Hills Cemetery. On this property, since known as no. 5 Wood Street, a three-story building was erected consisting of a garage, a room for printing presses, a large meeting room and library on the second floor, and eight sleeping accommodations on the third floor. This property has been the state headquarters for the Gadar Party from its inception.

On June 6, 1928, a corporate charter was issued to the Hindustan Gadar Party. The purposes of the organization were expressed in this charter as follows:

"To encourage the establishment of a system of government in India which shall be free from all foreign control, and which shall have as its aim the greatest good for the greatest number, and which shall guarantee freedom of thought, speech, press and organization, and ensure the minimum necessities of life to all;

"To publish a periodical review of political, economic, social and intellectual conditions in India by voluntary contributions, and without sale." Directors of the corporation in 1928 were : Lakar Singh, Isleton, California; Charn Singh, Merced, California, and Tarjan Singh, Palmeda, California.

It may be estimated with a fair degree of accuracy that there were never more than 1,500 members of the California Gadara Party at any one time out of an Indian population in this state of approximately 6,000. However, Gadara Party members refer to "inside" and "outside" members of the organization. By inside members they allude to those who participate in the affairs of the party and have the right to vote for its officers. By outside members they mean any Indian who has financially helped the organization, and they, combined with the inside members, would clearly bring the total of all Indians affiliated with the party to considerably more than 1,500.

Each of the Gadara Parties throughout the world was purely autonomous — there being no organizational connection between them. The contacts between these groups in the United States were informal and indirect. And in India, for obvious reasons, the Gadara party members were compelled to work individually and underground.

The California party adopted a formal constitution which was placed into operation in 1928. Its essential provisions defined the membership as comprising five classes, as follows: (1) Honorary members— Any person who is in sympathy with the principles of the Hindustan Gadara Party and is over 21 years of age. (2) Associate members— an honorary member who also pays \$5 annual dues; (3) Active members—any person who; is a Hindustanee by birth. Over 21, and who agrees to obey the constitution, by-laws and statutes of the party and who pays \$25 annual dues. (4) Special members, being anyone who in addition to fulfil the qualifications for an active member, pays \$100 annual dues. (5) Life members— any person qualified as a special member who "Pledges in addition his time and income after meeting the minimum needs for a moderate living".

Provision was made to establish state committees of nine members each, except for Marysville where the large Indian population justified a committee of 11. The term "state" is apparently used here in the Indian sense of area or region. Committee members were to be elected by secret ballot for a six-year term. Each "state" committee managed the area under its particular jurisdiction, and each elected two of its members to what was known as the Central Panchayat.

The Panchayat comprised 19 members, 11 to be elected by the five state committees—three by Marysville and two by each of the others.

Three commissioners (life members or functionaries) were ex officio members of the Panchayat, and they appointed five others.

The Panchayat was an extremely powerful body—but the influence of the three commissioners and their five appointees was usually sufficient to dominate it. This group of 11 men made by-laws, rules and regulations; it could amend the constitution; it appointed the three-man commission for life terms; it could supersede any state committee, and its members served for six-year terms. The three commissioners actually ran the Gadara Party—and one of them usually did most of the work. It selected its own officers, president, secretary and treasurer, who served the Panchayat in those capacities. The commission was also empowered to "appoint its agents abroad and to issue credentials to such agents."

For a short time following the adoption of this constitution in 1928, its provisions were to some extent, followed. But as time went on the entire direction of the party fell upon one man, whose activities will later be discussed in detail.

From the Immigration and Naturalization Service it was learned that under the Immigration Act of 1917 the only Indians admitted to the United States were visitors and students whose stay was supposed to be temporary. However, the act contained a limitation of five years after which no deportation proceedings could be instituted. Many students and visitors therefore were allowed to enter the state, vanished among their countrymen for five years and were then free to remain as long as they pleased.

In 1924 the law was changed to remove the five-year statute of limitations against deportation proceedings, so any Indian who entered subsequently to 1924 could be sent back at any time. Under these conditions it would appear that the Indian population would steadily decrease. But while there has been some change in that direction, it was not so pronounced as might be expected, since many entered the state illegally and when the older residents returned to India for visits their younger relatives frequently assumed their identity and entered the State unnoticed. Thus the Immigration service cites the example of one Dalip Singh, "Who entered the United State in 1907 and returned to India in 1925, taking all his old papers with him. These papers he gave to his nephew, who assumed his identity. When he had smuggled into the United States and was questioned by immigration officer he produced the papers of his uncle. Sometime this resulted in a man 20 years old claiming to be 40, and the burden was on the government to prove he was not the person he claimed to be."

The Immigration report continued: "It was found necessary to combat this deception in nearly every case when the Indian was arrested by having an investigation conducted by the British authorities in the man's native village in India. It was not long before the Indians were able to overcome this obstacle. This was done by immediately writing to their home village when they were arrested, bail being placed by the Gadar Party. The story was then arranged for in their home village. In many cases the only officer in that village is a native, and probably a kinsman of the person under investigation. In time these investigations in India began to give negative result."

Several Indians who came into California illegally have become wealthy, and aroused the envy of many of their countrymen. They have been subjected to attempts at blackmail, and coerced through threats to inform the immigration authorities that unless the victim paid for his continued residence his illegal immigration status would be disclosed. As will be seen, the practice gave rise to small but potent "thuggee" groups that murdered potential informers for a price. There has been a tendency to attribute this long record of unsolved murders in California to the Gadar Party on the part of law enforcement officers, but, as far as can be determined from all existing evidence, this blanket charge is without foundation.

On April 25, 1944, a check of the records in the Sacramento office of the State Department of Criminal Identification and Investigation revealed the following open homicide cases, all involving Indians, most of whom were Gadar Party members:

1925: Juala Singh murdered. Body found in brush near Walnut Grove on October 29, 1926.

1927: Bhala Singh, disappeared. Made numerous loans to friends and associates. Was kept under the influence of liquor for two weeks, then taken to a hospital. Was never seen again after his friends removed him from the hospital.

1927: Amar Singh, disappeared. Went out to start irrigating pumps on his ranch near Biggs, California, at 3 a.m. in July of 1927, and was never seen thereafter.

1928: H.R. Mehra, murdered. Shot and body thrown in a river. Discovered on May 29, 1928. Reported to have assisted in the murder of another Indian, and was insisting on payment of the money promised him for his part of the job.

1929: Naranjan Singh, Fresno. Originally reported as a suicide, but it was later learned that three days before his death decedent drew \$5,000 from the bank for the purpose of financing a trip to India.

1929: Kishan Singh, murdered. Body discovered in a pond near the Santa Fe depot in Stockton.

1929: Sher Singh, Kidnapped near Butte city and never seen since. All of his close acquaintances returned to India immediately after the kidnapping and disappearance.

1929: Dasunda Singh, murdered. Choked to death on a ranch near Marysville.

1930: Amar Singh. A blind Indian, originally reported to have committed suicide near Yuba city. Subsequent investigation disclosed, however, that decedent had a large sum of money, which was claimed and taken by a friend.

1930: Buja Singh, alias Daku Singh, murdered choked to death near Walnut Grove in August, 1930.

1930: Bola Singh, murdered. Shot by Bosant Singh near Walnut Grove. Murderer arrested in Victoria, B.C., and committed suicide in jail.

1931: Nagani Ram Dhomi, murdered. Decedent had acted as an interpreter for the U.S. Government. He was shot on a street in Sacramento by Marian Singh on February 9, 1931.

1931: Sant R. Pande, murdered. Decedent was a student at the University of California. His headless body was discovered in Cache Slough on March 3, 1931.

1943: Omar Singh, Broderick, California, disappeared. Gave information about the Gadar Party to a government agency on September 15, 1943 and has never been seen since.

From a reliable informant who has been a member of the Gadar Party in California almost since its inception, it was learned that the Gadar Party never actually ordered the murder of anyone. The informant pointed out, however, that small groups of members in California have murdered several Indians for a variety of reasons—political, for monetary gain, and to prevent the government from obtaining critical information. This statement has been verified by similar declarations by three other independent informants. One statement, taken in writing read, in part, as follows:

"On Tuesday I went to Chico to the rice fields where they had called a meeting for the purpose of collecting \$10,000—\$25 from each man; they said the money was for the purpose of destroying their enemies and all those who worked against the party or for the state or federal government."

An excerpt from another written statement, taken from a separate and independent informant, read as follows:

"The next night we went to Kishan Singh's house and 14 members were sitting in the vineyard. Just they were sitting on the ground with the wine * * * I believe everybody drank wine that night, and they discussed the matter and collect the money and they gave—the job to bring Sher Singh and give the job to—for the killing. They collect the money, about—\$2,000 in cash, from every person and hand over to—and they promised to pay him the rest of the money soon."

This informant continued with minute details of the attempted murder, together with the names of those present and the amounts contributed by each. Among those present on this occasion were Naranjan Singh, Joga Singh, Arjan Singh, Nidhan Singh, Bhan Singh, Kishan Singh, Sunder Singh, Kehar Singh, and sixteen others.

Since most of the Indians in this state are Sikhs, and 85 per cent of the total Gadar Party membership was comprised Sikhs, it is important to know something of their history, religion and temperament. This is especially true in view of the fact that the Gadar Party was originated in the Punjab where the Sikhs also originated about 1500 A.D.

The Sikhs were not a nationality, but rather a religious sect bound together by additional ties of military discipline. In two wars against British troops the Sikh forces were defeated, and their home state, the Punjab, was annexed by the British as a part of their Indian domain. Thereafter the Sikhs proved steadfastly loyal to

the British Army and were used extensively throughout English possessions in Asia as soldiers and military officers by the English forces.

With the opening of the Twentieth Century there was a plague of widespread famine in India and an epidemic of mass revolt against British rule. The colonial authorities at once took drastic counter measures, and the repressive steps increased to such an extent that all India seethed with hatred of the English. It was at this time that Har Dayal launched the Gadar Party, to which he rallied Sikhs and other Indians throughout the world to help rid the country of British rule.

There is a Sikh temple in Stockton where religious services are regularly conducted, and to which the worshippers come from all over the State on religious days of special significance. Almost exclusively engaged in farming, the Sikh has, with the exception of the homicidal inclinations displayed during the period from 1930 to 1945, been a well-behaved, productive and reliable resident.

When Har Dayal inaugurated the Gadar Party in California in 1913, it operated loosely, as has been seen, issuing some propaganda material but devoting most of its efforts toward building its membership and raising funds. After 1916, however, its operation was quite different. Printing Presses were set up at the Wood Street headquarters, virtually all California Indians were affiliated with the movement in one way or another, and certain revolutionary activities were undertaken on a rather ambitious scale.

While underground Gadar work caused a revolt in the Malay States, troop mutinies at Rangoon, Singapore, Cawnpore and Hong Kong in 1915 and 1916, these efforts were assisted by funds and leaders sent from the Gadar Party in California. Some of the latter were, in fact, arrested while plotting an attack against the government arsenal at Lahore. In 1918, the California Gadar Party raised a large sum for the purchase of two ships, the *Maverick* and the *Annie Larsen*. These vessels were to transport men, arm and ammunition to India for use against the British. The plot was discovered, arrests were made, and among the 30 defendants who were found guilty were the German consul and vice consul in San Francisco. It was during this trial that Ram Chandra was killed in the courtroom by Ram Singh, as heretofore described.

According to immigration reports, the Gadar Party purchased an airplane and trained some of the members as pilots; bombs were manufactured, and on one occasion when a member of the California Gadar Party returned to India the officers there found a supply of explosives concealed in the false bottom of his trunk.

During the first World War many Gadar Party members travelled from California to Berlin. Some of them returned to San Francisco and urged active cooperation with the German war effort—not because the Gadar Party was essentially pro-German, but rather because Germany was emphatically anti-British. With the defeat of Germany the Gadar Party resumed its independent activities, continuing with the circulation of the paper, the raising of money for use in India and a loose liaison with other units and individual membership in foreign countries was established.

During World War II, as has been stated, the contacts with Germany were resumed, but on a limited scale. Japan and China were Asiatic nations with whom India had much in common. The Japanese propaganda for the unification of Asia in a "co-prosperity sphere" exerted a tremendous appeal and the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose were exceedingly effective. With the defeat of the Axis powers only one great nation remained through which the Gadar Party hoped to accomplish its purpose—the Soviet Union.

The Gadar Party was a natural target for Communist infiltration. Here was a conspiratorial, highly disciplined group that was fanatically dedicated to rid India of imperialist domination. Its members were scattered throughout Canada, the United States, Africa, Asia and South America. The Party was well financed and operated in secrecy. Clearly, it fitted imperfectly with Russia's post-war plans for the Communizing of Asia.

Almost from the time of its inception in California the Gadar Party membership included some highly indoctrinated Communists, but there has never been any discernible connection of any kind between the Communist apparatus in this state and members of the Gadar Party who are also known to be Communists. Occasionally an Indian Communist would appear at front meeting, in the Communist schools, or would receive favourable attention from the Communist press in California, but these occurrences are exceedingly rare. Bipan Chandra, mentioned in the 1951 report of this committee, is an illustration of a highly placed Communist Party member who had no connection with the Gadar Party.

This pattern appeared at utter variance with usual Communist practice. In cases where the Communist was known to be a member of the Gadar Party, he would remain completely aloof from all contact with the California Communist apparatus; in cases where the Communist was not a member of the Gadar Party, his connections with the orthodox Communist apparatus were easily established. Recent investigation has apparently provided a logical explanation to this puzzling question, as will hereafter be explained.

Gadar members insist that while some of their associates in the party became highly indoctrinated Communists, they were converted in Russia or Europe; not while they were in California. With a few exceptions, this contention seems to be fully substantiated by all available evidence. After an extensive survey, an excellent report was developed by the San Francisco Police Department which stated, in part: "Thus far no information could be obtained to definitely link the Gadar Party in any way with the Communist Party."

Teja Singh Azad was probably the most fiery, indoctrinated and active Communist of all. Teja, who sometimes used the name Teja Singh Giani, was born about 1901 at Aloona, Gurdaspur, India, the son of Desa Singh. His real name is believed to be Samundar Singh. In 1925 Teja, who as a young man had participated in uprisings against the British, was sent by the Indian Gadar Party to attend a military school in Constantinople. It was intended that eventually he should return to train and lead a Sikhs republican army of the Punjab.

Teja went to Constantinople and became a Turkish citizen, received his commission as a reserve officer in the Turkish army, and then went to Berlin for a conference with Isher Singh, who had been active in Gadar activities in California, and who was then one of the Gadar party's most influential foreign agents. Teja had become a member of the Indian Gadar Executive Committee several years before.

From Berlin Teja went to France, and on November 27, 1929, sailed from Havre for New York on the *Isle de France*. He then went to Detroit for a conference with prominent Gadar leaders, proceeded thence to San Francisco and established himself at the Gadar Party headquarters, No. 5 Wood Street, on December 14, 1929. In the meantime Isher Singh had entered Mexico, and Teja secretly met him at a prearranged rendezvous on the Texas-Mexican border, whereupon, Isher returned to Europe.

During the January and February, 1930, Teja was extremely active in San Francisco. He formed the Hindustan-American Trading Company as a cover for political activities—principally the shipping of critical materials to the Gadar underground in India. He travelled throughout the state, delivering impassioned lectures to various Gadar groups. Drawing upon his Turkish training, Teja instructed his associates in the latest techniques for the manufacture of bombs and explosives, and told them how to make poisons and blow up buildings. He persuaded the Gadar Party to buy an airplane; he installed a new printing press at No. 5, Wood Street, and continued his lectures and his propaganda activities until October, 1931.

On January 27, 1932, Teja, at the urgent request of immigration officials, departed from San Francisco on the *S.S. Rakuyo Maru*. He landed at Panama on February 12th, where he indoctrinated the Gadar Party members there with new enthusiasm, founded another cover organization—the Hindu Trading Company—collected \$5,660 and then departed for a tour of duty in South America. There he continued his organizing, collected \$50,000 more and returned to Europe in July, 1932.

The point in relating Teja's activities in such detail during this remote period lies in the fact that this shrewd and capable Gadar party member, impatient with the progress being made by that organization, turned to Communism and thenceforth operated as a highly placed member of both Parties simultaneously. It should be added that one of Teja's disciples was arrested in San Francisco, and among his effects were found detailed formulae and lecture notes on the making of explosives.

Nidhan Singh first came to California in 1930. Two years later he was working on the Gadar News in San Francisco. In 1918, he was one of the 30 defendants convicted in the espionage trial heretofore mentioned. It is highly important to note, for reasons that will be fully developed later, that while he was free on bond, Nidhan was making contact with Agnes Smedley, the Soviet agent who was to play such an enormously vital role in the Chinese Communist revolution and in softening the way for Communist revolutionary movements throughout the entire area of the Far East.

After serving his sentence, Nidhan devoted most of his time to Gadar activities, and was elected president of the California organization in 1930. He was an ardent admirer of Teja, worked closely with him and was put in contact with Sikhs in Russia, India and Afghanistan for the primary purpose of sending more Indians to Moscow for specialized training as revolutionary activists.

In June, 1931, Nidhan was arrested by immigration authorities and charged with being an undesirable anarchist. Almost immediately pressure in his behalf was exerted by the Communist controlled Berlin League Against Imperialism and its American counterpart, the International Labour Defence. The case was finally dismissed, and two years later Nidhan went to Moscow for training at the Lenin School. He is now a Communist member in the Punjab Assembly, having been elected to that highly important position during the general election of 1951-52.

Achar Singh Cheema came from Afghanistan to California in 1927 or 1928 and, like the other members of this minority group of Gadar Party members, went to Moscow for Communist training in 1932. After completing his course there, he returned to San Francisco via Berlin in July, 1934. He tried to recruit the Gadar members at No. 5, Wood Street to Communism, and like the others, toured the state making inflammatory Communist propaganda speeches. He continued this activity during most of 1935, during which time he is known to have been in touch with Gurmukh Singh in India, another Gadar member who had also become converted to Communism. Achar then went to France in December, 1935, for a conference with a French Comintern agent. He is now believed, on reliable information, to be an active leader in the underground Communist Party in India.

Other members of the Gadar Party who also went to Moscow for espionage training and who vanished into the Indian Communist underground were, directly or through intermediaries, influenced by Teja. Thus Hermander Singh Sodhi, a former editor of the Gadar paper in San Francisco, went to the U.S.S.R. in 1922. Joga Singh, who ran the Wood Street headquarters with Naranjan Singh, in 1929, later graduated from the Moscow academy. In 1932, six more were recruited for Russian training: L. Singh Hundal, who had studied at the University of Washington before coming to California; Chanan Singh, a former University of California student; Harbans Singh, once head of the Gadar group in Stockton; Jaswant Singh; Achar Singh Cheema, above-mentioned; Prithi Singh Azad, who also graduated from the notorious Lenin School, and Bhagat Singh.

As late as June, 1947, Kuldip Singh, who helped with the printing presses at No. 5, Wood Street as an Assistant to Keshar Singh, was surreptitiously teaching night classes at the Communist California Labour School in San Francisco—and at the same time assiduously circulated Communist propaganda material among his Gadar Party contacts.

Other Indians who, while connected in one way or another with the Communist organization, are not known to be party members, include such figures as Munsh Singh. While secretary of the Gadar Party he was also contributing articles to the Communist *Daily Peoples's World* in San Francisco.

In 1853, Karl Marx wrote a series of eight articles on India for the *New York Daily Tribune*. These articles, together with a study of the correspondence between Marx and Frederich Engels, shows that the founders of Communism considered India the key to the conquest of all Asia. These views were recently collected in a booklet, *Karl Marx—Articles on India*, printed by Jayant Bhatt, New Age Printing Press, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay, India, and distributed by the People's Publishing House in that city. This little booklet is highly significant for two reasons. It was originally issued in 1940, and after the successful Red revolution in China was re-issued in 1951 and made available to Communists not only in India but throughout the world. Secondly, it has a running commentary by Rajani Palme Dutt, Communist member of British Parliament and expert on India.

In the complicated affairs of international Communism—especially since the last war, and more particularly since the war in Korea—there has been a sharp division of Communist organizations into an underground apparatus and a semi-legal organization.

Orders are directly sent to the underground by Kremlin agents. The vast above-ground organization—the actual Party members, fellow-travellers and Marxists, are kept abreast of the swiftly changing scene by the writings of such men as Jacques Duclos of France, Pieck and Eisler of Germany, and Rajani Palme Dutt of England. Thus when Dutt digs up the early Marxian material on India and the collection is republished in 1951 and then appears on the shelves of Communist book shops throughout the world, it simply means that an alert is being sounded; the signals are being called and a way is being prepared to soften up India for the kill. The committee's copy of this important publication was obtained recently at the International Book Store, 1408 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

On the heels of Dutt's booklet came a flood of propaganda pieces—most of them slanted to show that Marx had charted the path for Lenin to follow in bringing about the Russian revolution of 1917; that Lenin charted the path for Stalin to follow in establishing strong Communist bases throughout the world; that Stalin charted the path for Mao Tsetung to follow in bringing about the Chinese revolution; that Mao Tsetung has now charted the way for an Indian Communist revolution as a final step toward the communizing of Asia.

In the booklet mentioned above Dutt says that a full study of Marx's writings "would show how continually he had in the forefront of attention the distinctive problems of Asiatic economy, especially in India and China (committee's italics), the effects of the impact of European economy upon it, and the conclusions to be drawn for the future of world development as well as for the emancipation of the Indian and Chinese people. This close attention is instanced by some 50 reference to India in *Capital* and the considerably larger number of references in the Marx-Engels correspondence."

No report concerning the activities of the Ghadar Party in California, and the extent of its Communist infiltration, can be made intelligible unless the background of the Communist Party of India is also understood, at least fully enough to show that while China was the number one target for the Communizing of Asia, India, most assuredly, is target number two. We have now considered the nest from which the most prominent Communist agents in India were hatched, and the circumstances attending their indoctrination. It now remains to describe current Communist Party conditions in India for the purpose of relating that situation to the international Communist strategy and the activities of not only the Ghadar Party in California, but of the orthodox Communist Party apparatus in this state to further the Communizing of India by a campaign of propaganda and recruiting that is now being intensified.

Following the Marxian concept, an attempt was made in 1922 to plant a Communist organization in India, but these plans were met by the British with considerable success. The party was outlawed and its leaders were

imprisoned. Manabenda Nath Roy, one of the earliest Kremlin agents, clashed with Stalin in 1929 and was swept from power. He had been one of the founders of the All-India Trade Union Congress in 1920 and, as a Communist functionary, was well-aware of the extent to which it was infiltrated. He therefore opposed it, and in 1940 was elected president of the Indian Federation of Labour.

In 1924, the Indian Communists were instructed to bore their way into all phases of local government, pursue disrupting tactics and prepare the way for a series of general strikes. At the same time the Communist Propagandists were viciously attacking Mahatma Gandhi as a patriarchal despot.

By 1927, the membership of the Communist Party of India had grown so rapidly that the leaders were compelled to warn rank-and-file Comrades that "An Indian who calls himself a Communist must be a Communist like the others in the rest of the world." This Kremlin alarm was caused by a fear that if the party organizations in China and India were allowed to grow too fast they might develop too independently and evolve their own peculiar brand of Marxism. The iron control of Moscow must be maintained at all costs, and these vast, seething masses of Asiatic peoples had demonstrated their capacity to slowly absorb their would-be conquerors.

It is extremely important to bear constantly in mind that in Russia, in China, in the Iron Curtian countries, the Communist technique for conquest has been precisely the same: (1) infiltration, (2) disruption, (3) coalition (4) conquest. India presented an ideal field for the employment of this technique—and this is how it was operated. From 1922 to 1924, the Party concentrated on infiltration. From 1924 to date, on disruption. The process of forming a common Communist front from the radical wings of the dissident political elements is now under way.

The infiltration was accomplished chiefly through the All-India Trade Union Congress, through which an interminable series of strikes was launched. These disruptive tactics continued. While as early as 1942 the Communists (not the British) told the Hindus and Moslems through the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India: "To the Hindu masses we must explain that what is just in the Pakistan demand, namely, the right to autonomous state existence, including the right of separation, must be conceded. * * * Similarly, we must get the congress-minded people to recognize the urgency of the congress conceding the right of self-determination of the Moslem nationalities and thus hasten the achievement of congress-league unity." This apparent plug for unity was actually a political wedge driven deeply between the Moslems and the Hindus—according to the old principle of "divide and conquer".

The hostility between Moslem and Hindu dates back to the middle ages—and it is hardly likely that the Communists, who thrive and flourish on such conflicts, would do anything but secretly pile fuel on the fire. One has only to consider the technique by which the Soviet Union has Communized the Balkan countries and China to realize that the same in-fallible system would inevitably be used in India. It has now passed into stage two. Next will come the effort to form radical elements in both factions and bring them together in a Communist-dominated coalition.

According to the well-known communist writer, A.M. Dyakov, the importance of India on the time table of world revolution was recognized by Lenin, who told the third congress of the Comintern in 1920 that the rumbles of revolution were sounding in many colonial countries and that "British rule is at the head of these countries, and their revolution is maturing in proportion to the growth of the industrial and railway proletariat, on the one hand, and to the increase and the brutal terrorism of the British—who are more frequently resorting to massacres, public floggings, etc., on the other."

In 1925, Stalin established the strategy for the Indian Communists by directing them to enter and break up the princely states and the wealthy classes. (*Marxism in the National and Colonial Question*, J.V. Stalin, 1927,

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page 217.) This concept was re-emphasized by Georgi Dimitrov in 1935 when he issued Comintern directive for the establishment of united and popular fronts in all non-Communist countries. Since that time the Indian Communist Party has sent its agents into the All-India Trade Union Congress, the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League, and other organizations start small but powerful Communist Party factions.

By 1941, this concentrated strength in the National Congress was shown by the change toward the war. In the words of Dyakov; "In the period of the second world war the struggle against the British rule in India did not cease until the attack of Hitler Germany on the U.S.S.R., the alignment of forces in India was essentially no different from the pre-war one. It was not merely a question of the National Congress refusing to render active assistance to the war efforts of Britain, but what was much more important was that until June, 1941, an antiwar mass movement was going on in India, in which workers and partisan, students and peasants participated actively. This movement was expressed in the form of strikes, in various conferences of protest against drawing India into the war and also in strike actions against the rise in prices, etc." (*New Stage. in India's Liberation Struggle*, A.M. Dyakov, New Age Printing Press, Bombay, 1950.)

In 1946 the demonstrations were stepped up. Airmen and naval personnel revolted ; 300,000 workers went on strike in Bombay : Students incited riots and spread Communist propaganda. In March of that year Prime Minister Attlee suggested independent status for India as part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, with the Dominions split into Hindu and Moslem provinces. The Moslem League agreed in August. While the high-level political conferences were in progress, the Communists insisted on complete Indian freedom, pointing up its line with a series of strikes and riots and a heavy propaganda barrage. During the first six months there were 1,115 strikes involving half a million workers: Says Dyakov:

"The first official expression of the deal between the British ruling circles and Indian bourgeoisie and landowners was Attlee's declaration in the House of Commons on February 20, 1947, about Britain's 'withdrawal' from India in June 1948, and the transfer of power to the Indians."

It is necessary to understand that as the Russian Revolution of 1917 provided a master plan of strategy to be studied and followed by the Communist parties of the world, so the experiences of the Chinese Communists provide a pattern for the colonial and semi-colonial Communist parties throughout Asia. This textbook, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, is the international Communist authority on tactics and strategy for revolution. The writings of the Chinese Red leaders provide the blueprint for revolution in Asia—and particularly India.

The following books, all obtained from Communist book-stores in California, prove their value to Indian Communists in unmistakable terms, and all of them were sold in the Indian Communist bookshops. They are:

(1) *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary war*, by Mao Tse-tung, May, 1951. First Indian edition printed by Jayant Bhatt at the New Age Printing Press, 190-B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay-4, and published by the People's Publishing House at the same address.

(2) *Aspects of China's Anti-Japanese*, by Mao Tse-tung, People's Publishing House, Bombay.

(3) *China's New Democracy*, by Mao Tse-tung, 1951. People's Publishing House, Bombay.

(4) *On the Party*, by Liu Shao-chi. People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1951.

(5) *Lessons of the Chinese Revolution*, by Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi. People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1950.

(6) *Chinese Revolution and the Communist Party of China*, by Mao Tse-tung. People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1950.

(7) *Stalin on China*, People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1951.

All of this literature stresses the Russo-China bloc, the organization and discipline of the Communist Party of China, the strategy and tactics of revolutionary warfare, the freedom and democracy of its Communist regime,

the decadent and imperialist nature of the Anglo-American capitalists. It is also significant that this propaganda material, written in Moscow and China, reprinted in India, distributed through the propaganda channels in that country, is now being distributed in the Communist bookstores throughout the United States. This, of course, can only mean that the American Communist Party is being alerted for the purpose of playing its assigned role in the global strategy pointed toward the eventual Communizing of all Asia. Here are some excerpts from the foregoing sources that are now being studied by the Communists of India and the United States.

From *Lessons of the Chinese Revolution*, by Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi, People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1950:

"This experience of China's revolutionary victory is very important for the people of the countries which are still under the rule of imperialism and their domestic reactionaries. That is to say, the characteristic of armed struggle which appeared in the course of China's revolution can, under certain historical conditions, become the common characteristic of all revolutions of other colonial and semi-colonial countries. This has been explained in the *Outline for the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Revolutionary Movement* issued by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in August, 1928.

*** It becomes absolutely clear that the characteristic of an armed people opposing armed counter-revolution does not pertain to China's revolution alone. Under the present conditions, it can and should become the common characteristic of the liberation struggle waged by many colonial and semi-colonial peoples."

The Cominform Bulletin of January 27, 1950, is cited as follows:

An editorial published on January 27, 1953, in *For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy*, organ of the information bureau of the Communist and workers' parties, commented that. "The path taken by the Chinese people, as Comrade Liu Shao-chi noted, 'should be the path taken by the people of many colonial and semi-colonial countries in their struggle for national independence and people's democracy.' The editorial further pointed out:

"As the example of China, Vietnam, Malaya and other countries shows, armed struggle is now becoming the main form of the national liberation movement in many colonial and independent countries."

"It went on to stress the significance of China's revolutionary experience for India. After the publication of this editorial, Ranadive, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, issued statement expressing 'full acceptance of the conclusions drawn by this editorial.' He added:

"Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung the Chinese Communist Party has successfully applied the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in the course of the victorious liberation struggle of the Chinese people. The lessons of this victorious liberation struggle of the Chinese people will serve as an infallible compass for the Indian Communist Party and working class, which are responsible for the task of leading the national liberation struggle."

From *China's New Democracy*, by Mao Tse-tung, Bombay, 1950, People's Publishing House. On the inside front cover of this item, appears the following:

"*Lessons of the Chinese Revolution*, by Mao Tse-tung and Liu Shao-chi. This booklet contains three important documents: (1) *Introducing the Communist*, by Mao Tse-tung; (2) *On the Party's Mass Line*, by Liu Shao-Chi; (3) *An Armed People Oppose Armed Counter-Revolution*, by Editor, People's Daily, Peking

"All the three documents deal with the question: what is the correct path of national liberation for the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries?

"The valuable experience of China, which has successfully over-thrown the imperialist-feudal yoke, is obviously indispensable for the people of India, whose problems and tasks are to a great extent similar to that of the Chinese people."

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All members of the Gadar Party in California, as elsewhere, were pledged to do anything necessary about the freedom of India from British domination. As we have seen, this led to anti-British cooperation in Germany during World War I and to anti-British cooperation with the Axis powers in World War II. It also led to active cooperation with the Soviet Union, which had for its major objective an intensive anti-American campaign during the postwar period to undermine the prestige of those powers among the peoples of Asia. Russian propaganda linked Great Britain and the United States together as imperialist war intent on ruthlessly exploiting Asia for their own financial gain. Added to this highly successful campaign was the fact that the Kremlin had shown the Chinese Communists how to stage a successful revolution—the Indian people to use the tactics of the Chinese Reds in an all-out effort to produce the same results.

This appeal was extremely effective with the Gadar Party. Huge sums of money were raised by Gadar underground agents in India—most of whom were also Soviet agents. This dual allegiance was well known to the leaders of the Gadar Party in California, who have frankly admitted that since Russia was working in India it was only natural that these two movements, the World Communist Organization and the Gadar movement, should, to some extent, join forces. The two movements were strikingly similar in many respects. Both were secret, conspiratorial movements with international affiliations; each was comprised a discipline-trained membership fanatically dedicated to the achievement of the same objective—but for very different reasons. In addition, the Gadar Party and the Communist Party each had a powerful underground organization of activists scattered throughout India. Communist agents were far more numerous, of course, and carefully placed in strategic positions in Tibet, Iran, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, Afghanistan and other areas. Furthermore, the Communists controlled an enormous propaganda machine that was of inestimable value to the whole joint undertaking.

We have already explained, in tracing the rise of world Communism, how news of the Russian Revolution of 1917 electrified the radical wing of the American Socialist Party and convinced its leaders that only the practical application of Marxist principles: discipline, force, militant strikes and violent revolution, could lead to the attainment of its objective. The radical wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Party had used Marx as a guide, and Lenin added his own concept of a disciplined elite group of fanatic activists and his own Communist strategy. The winning of the revolution in Russia convinced American radicals that he was the tried and tested recipe for success, and the way was thereby opened for the creation of the Communist Party of the United States.

The Communist revolution in China electrified radical elements throughout Asia precisely as the Communist revolution in Russia had electrified American radical elements. Its effect was most significant, however, on the people of India and especially on the radical elements in the Gadar Party.

In California, several prominent members of the Gadar Party, impatient and restive at the delay in any practical success in the drive to emancipate India, turned to Communism and urged the entire movement to do likewise. Led by the fiery Teja, several members left for Moscow to take the four-year course at the Red University School, which since 1926 has been operated as a university at which selected party members are trained in the fine arts of sabotage and espionage.

This academy of treason has produced some noted graduates. From the United States: Steve Nelson, Scherer, Loretta Starvus Stack, Rudy Lambert, Eugene Dennis, Harold Ware, Ben Gold, James Ford, Siskind, Clarence Hathaway, Mrs. Earl Browder. From England: Rajani Palme Dutt, Harry Pollitt, Gallacher, Arthur Horner, Emile Burns, William Rust. From China: Mao se-tung, Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai. From Korea: Kim II Sung. From India, by way of California, Teja and his followers. Graduates of the Red school are the real leaders of the world Communist movement, chosen because of their special aptitude for subversion, and intensively trained in Communist politics and ideology before they are given their assignments.

courses in train wrecking, street fighting, guerrilla tactics, underground organization, disruption of transportation and communication systems, contamination of food and water supplies, and the extremely refined and delicate art of espionage.

This was the academy, then, to which Teja and his group were sent for special training. Some of them later returned to California to secure additional recruits from the ranks of the Gadar Party, but the majority were sent to provide leadership for the Communist underground in India. As will be seen, however, the vast majority of Gadar Party members in California viewed these Communists agents with considerable suspicion. The older members in particular were apprehensive that if they permitted large numbers of their colleagues to operate under the iron discipline of the international Communist apparatus they might succeed in throwing off British control only to find India firmly lodged in the iron clutches of the Kremlin—thus exchanging one form of domination for a far more ruthless and complete domination by a totalitarian dictatorship.

So the Gadar leaders in San Francisco agreed to supply Teja with funds but firmly refused to turn control of their organization over to the Communists. They believed that Teja's group of underground Kremlin agents (who still maintained their Gadar Membership) had developed excellent facilities for disseminating anti-British propaganda, as indeed was true. The fact that these dual agents were also using funds from Gadar members in California to spread anti-American propaganda was immaterial and completely subordinate to the main objective. The sole purpose of the Gadar Party was to achieve the freedom of India, and during this era it was quite aware that the Soviet Union had the same purpose. Very well, they would collaborate—but not to extent of submitting to Communist control of the Gadar Party itself.

While the funds were being sent to Teja it was necessary to maintain a liaison between the Gadar officials in San Francisco and the Communist underground in India. From time to time secret meetings were arranged—surrounded with all the necessary ingredients—precautions against detection, elaborate preparations to provide a safe means for the transfer of the funds. In some instances counter-intelligence work emerges from its prosaic and often painstaking routine of research, checking, following of leads and sheer tedium and assumes elements of intrigue and secrecy that far exceed the fiction writer's concept of such subjects.

This was true of certain aspects of the links between the Gadar Party and the Communist underground in India. It was also true of certain aspects of the FAECT espionage operation in Berkeley, and especially true in connection with certain phases of the murder of Everitt Hudson. All of these subjects were discussed in the previous reports of this committee. It is plain, however, that the more interesting and colourful elements in such cases usually are obtained through sources that cannot, for a variety of good reasons, be revealed. Consequently, they cannot be included in a public report, although, it may be said parenthetically, they certainly provide intriguing material for discussion among those who work together on such cases.

In 1946, the Indian Communists decided to send their ace propagandist to California in the person of one Fazal Hahi Qurban, who had been directing underground activities in the Punjab. He delivered speeches in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton and Fresno, advocating closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, urging Gadar members to join the Communist Party, asking for more funds. His propaganda technique was good, but not good enough to sway the Gadar officials who were becoming concerned at the intensified efforts to communize their entire movement.

Qurban declared that the Indian Congress was much too weak to bring about the unification of India; he insisted that the Communist-dominated All-India Trade Union Congress was the proper instrument through which to work together with the heavily infiltrated Moslem League, and that these two organizations provided the only media through which the country could be unified—naturally with Communist assistance. He gained a few converts, but only a few; and when he departed the situation remained much the same. The Gadar Party would continue to send funds; it would maintain its liaison with the Communist agents in India, but there the collaboration ended.

Then, in 1947, India won her freedom and became part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Nehru headed the new government and the wave of Communist strikes, riots, sabotage and disruption was once more unleashed. The Party line had to be changed a bit, too. This was not emancipation, said the Communists. This was only a ruse engineered by the Anglo-American imperialists. They had divided the country into Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan. American money would be used to enslave the Indian people more ruthlessly than ever. Then came demands for more money from Teja and his Soviet agents to the Wood Street headquarters of the Gadar Party in San Francisco. The demands were accompanied by letters explaining the new party line and declaring that the fight to free India from the grip of the Anglo-American imperialists must be prosecuted with renewed vigour.

This frantic effort to continue Gadar support was of course, to be expected. After all, the Gadar Party had been operating on a far-flung basis since 1907-10, years before the revolution in Russia, almost 20 years before there was a Lenin Academy for espionage specialists. The Gadar members were highly respected by the masses of India, while the force and violence tactics of the Indian Communists, the contradictory course of their party line and their obvious control by a totalitarian power had all combined to weaken their prestige. Gadar members had been executed, imprisoned and driven underground during the long battle against British control. Gadar agents had been strongly entrenched in carefully prepared positions before Teja had even started his freshman year at the Lenin School. Wealthy Gadar Party farmers in California had provided huge sums for the Indian Communists, to whom it was extremely important that this situation be continued.

The old wooden structure at No. 5 Wood Street became a scene of acrimonious debate. Communist agents, in person and by letter, insisted that the relationship be continued, that India was far from free, that more and larger sums be raised. The older Gadar officials contended that their work was ended; their objective at last realized, and proposed that the Gadar Party be liquidated. They pointed out that, after all, dominion status placed India in the same political position as Canada; that India had formed her own government, and had her own diplomatic representatives. The fact of the matter, they declared, was that India *had* been emancipated, and fact was much more convincing than propaganda.

In addition to these convictions, the wiser and older members of the Gadar Party had grown weary of the long struggle and had few illusions concerning the Soviet Union's long-range scheme for a Communist revolution in India, Chinese style; and they had taken a long and sober look at what had happened behind the Iron Curtain. They wanted India free, but permanently, not temporarily.

Shortly after India had been formally established as a dominion and had appointed her diplomatic representatives, 30 influential Gadar Party members met at the Wood Street headquarters and unanimously voted to disband the organisation.

When this news reached the Communist underground contacts in India violent letters of protest were received from Teja and two of his agents, Gurmukh Singh and Nidhan Singh. These gentlemen were informed that the decision would stand. Messages of protest and a variety of pressure tactics persisted until 1951, when a carefully drafted announcement was published in the *Phulwari*, an Indian newspaper of general circulation at Jullundar, stating that the Gadar Party had disbanded and had no connection whatever with any other political organization. The statement was also carried by several other Indian papers of general circulation, copies of which are in the possession of this committee, together with the English translation of the article.

In December, 1947, another resolution was passed to the effect that the Gadar Party should offer to donate its Wood Street premises to the new Indian Government together with a sum of \$10,000 which had been raised by popular subscription to renovate and modernize the building. The offer was made to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian Ambassador to the United States.

The older Indians in California wished the Indian Government to preserve the building as a memorial and to use it as a cultural centre, while younger Indians suggested selling it and sending the proceeds to some school, library, or similar institution in India. The Gadar Party complied with the wishes of its older members, since they were the persons who had raised the funds with which the premises were acquired in 1917 and had guided the destinies of the Gadar Party in California since its inception.

On July 25, 1949, S.K. Kirpalani, Indian Consul-General in San Francisco, notified the former Gadar Party leaders that their offer had been accepted and that the building would be kept, either as a residence for government representatives or as a cultural centre. In July, 1952, the formal conveyance of transfer was completed.

While the Gadar Party was being disbanded, the Indian Communists were meeting with stiff opposition from Nehru's government. In the elections of 1951-52, they met with little success, although from those parts of the country where their strength was most concentrated they managed to elect formidable set of candidates. It is from the underground apparatus, however, rather than the relatively small fragment of the exposed portion of the party, that the most trouble can be expected. The Soviet Union is far from infallible in its subversive strategy, and the most powerful weapon against it consists in spreading accurate information about its now-familiar tactics as widely as possible among the people.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is hammering home the idea that Asia must be solidified to resist the imperial designs of Great Britain and the United States—and this campaign is meeting with considerable success.

India's first general election following her independence was commenced in the autumn of 1951 and completed in May, 1952. Communist candidates received about 5 per cent of the total vote, which gave them 27 representatives in Parliament and 180 in the State Assembly. The next general election will not be held until 1956, and in the interim the Communist underground will be vastly strengthened and prodded into increased activity. This prediction is amply corroborated by the vastly increased propaganda material now being culled from far-flung international sources and distributed to Party members everywhere. The stacks of this material—all carrying the same line—are increasing every day in the Communist book-stores of California.

What is the relation of all this to current Communist activities in California? The significance is of enormous practical importance. From this material we learn that the Communizing of India stands in a position of highest priority on the Communist agendum of world conquest, a matter that certainly *should* be of prime significance to all of us. We also know that from the Indian population of California important Communist agents were recruited and are now working with fanatic dedication and are renewed vigour to sow the seeds of revolution in India. We also must realize that these agents still have valuable contacts in this state, and now that the Gadar Party has disbanded, are already working to fill that vacuum by setting up a new organization through which to raise funds and recruit new agents. This situation must, therefore, be closely watched and publicly exposed before it can solidify.

Perhaps the most important conclusion to be drawn from this section of the report on the Gadar Party is that one can never hope to cope with a local problem until one is thoroughly familiar with its international implications. For Communism is not local; it is a global conspiracy, and every local activity is fitted neatly into the master Plan. It is relatively simple for any investigator worthy of the name to assemble information concerning Communist activities, but it is quite another matter to intelligently evaluate that information, draw the proper conclusions from the assembled facts and determine on an adequate and practical plan of counter action. And this is true no matter what phase of Communist activity one may be investigating.

Are we concerned with educational infiltration in California? Very well, we must then know something about the background of Abram Flaxer in New York and the United Public Workers of America, of which he is president. We must also know about Dr. Langford's instructions to Communist teachers about the reorientation

of their courses along Marxian lines. We must know about the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Federation of Teachers Unions.

Are we concerned with trade union infiltration? We must then turn to the Profintern, to the Party's Trade Union Commission in the United States and once again to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

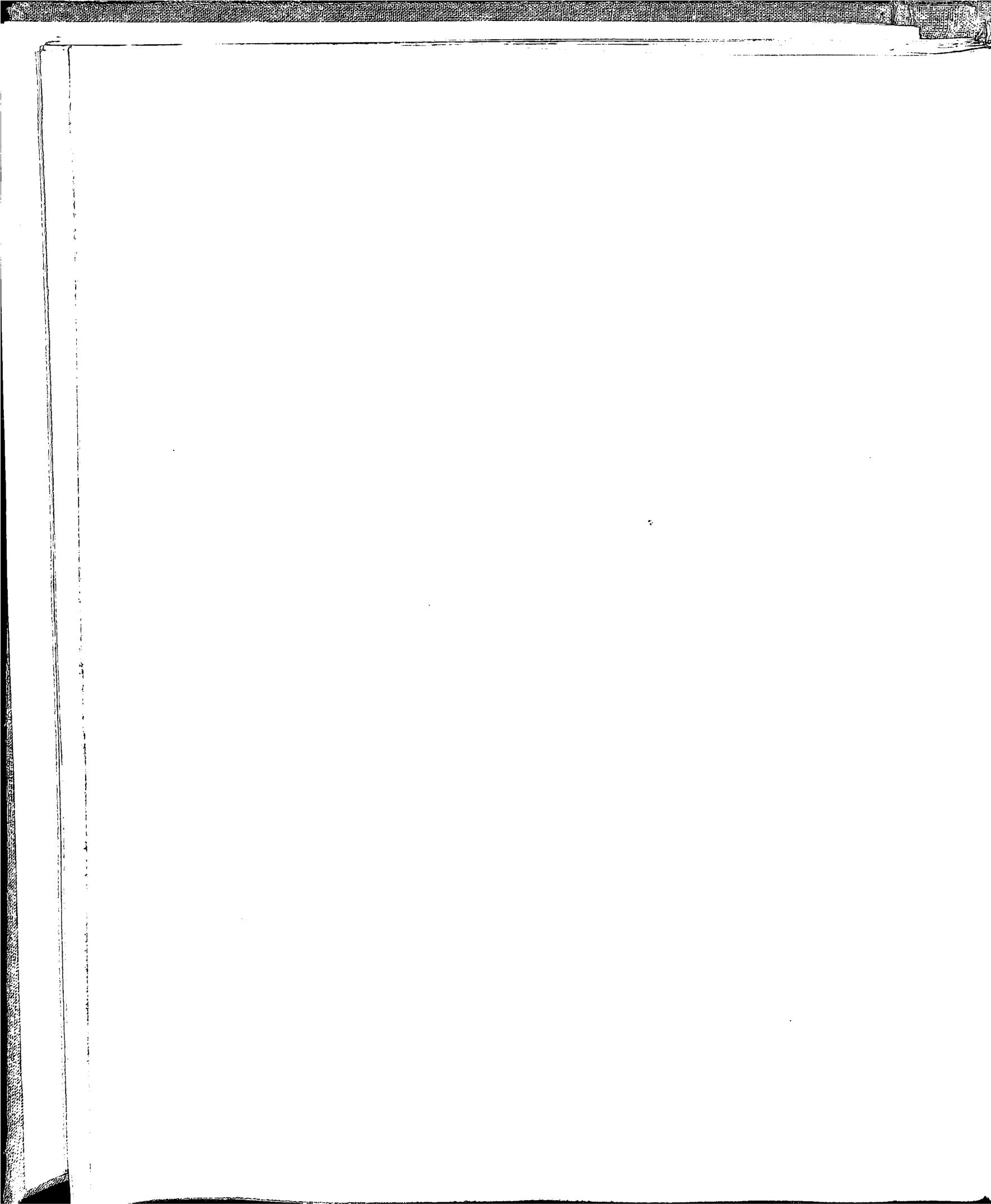
Are we concerned with Communist youth activities? We cannot possibly deal with this problem unless we know that the Labour Youth League was preceded by the American Youth for Democracy, and that it was in turn preceded by the Young Communist League—and that all were simply parts of the Young Communist International, a section of the Comintern.

Clearly, then, one cannot adequately prepare to meet a situation such as threatened attempts to recruit party agents and raise funds from the Indian population of California unless one is familiar with conditions in India and with the history of Gadair Party activities in this State.

As matters now stand, the Gadair Party has been disbanded. It collects no dues, it holds no meetings, it sends no funds to India, it issues no propaganda, it has given its old Wood Street headquarters to the anti-Communist Indian Government. Its leaders have steadfastly resisted the demands of Teja and his followers and their anti-Communist attitude has been established beyond doubt.

The fact remains, however, that the Indian Communists will not quit trying to raise financial support and recruit potential agents from our Indian population. Experience has demonstrated that the Lenin School graduates do not give up so easily.

PAMPLETS



WHY INDIA IS IN REVOLT AGAINST BRITISH RULE?

Many Englishmen are asking today, why in peace-loving India insurrection is extending now all over the country, while Britain is fighting for her very existence? Grievances, true, she has had many, but she of all countries should have remained true to her past ideals and been chivalrous enough not to have attacked England from her back.

Yes, if England would have practised what she has been preaching? Many an Indian in the beginning of the war listened to that sophistic argument and learned to his bitter experience it was but another tyrant's pretext. Perfide Albon puts on a pious holy cloak and appeals to India's sense of religious honour, so that she lets slip this golden opportunity offered by the present European war, and when the war is over, all the momentum of the British Empire can be brought in operation to crush the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people for generations to come. But the hour has struck and destiny has decreed that India shall no longer be deceived and the disintegration of the British Empire, based on treachery, perfidy and tyranny, is but the question of a day.

England has filled her cup to its bitterest full, and like auto-intoxication, she is dying by her own hands. Whirlwind she has sown and must reap her harvest. This is the immutable law of Karma. Her tyranny and hypocrisy have generated the poison, and by its virulent toxin she has sealed her own doom. Mystic and peace-loving India has learned to hate England with that religious fervour and passion which transcends the souls and in which remains the only exquisite delight of revenge. To see England but humiliated and crushed would be as if to ascend the gates of heaven, and on her brow the stigma of slavery—as she has robbed others of their liberty, so she feels its pathos and pains for her own retribution.

That is why millions of orientals today are praying for the success and victory of the German arms more ardently than the devout Christians prayed for the delivery of Jerusalem. Thousands are adding every day to the standard of revolt and painting the Eastern sky with the vermillion—red and with their martyr's blood, are cementing national unity and consciousness.

Out of gloomy despair and dark pessimism have come the undying hope and enthusiasm. The iron chains of slavery that bound them are being forged into the flaming sword of liberty and freedom.

Call it madness, if you please, or havoc of oriental emotionalism, for the unarmed masses to rise against modern artillery. But what else could they do? To cherish revenge only in heart, when seeing the country robbed and outraged by the worst kind of legalized piracy, and the best leaders, the hope of the future, dragged into the dungeons—to live that life of lingering torture, degradation and shame without a manly protest, would be a living grave. Rather death thousand times more enjoyable on a hangman's stand or sword in head before the cannon's mouth, avenging the wrongs, than the vegetating life of meek submission to tyrant's haughty and disdainful threats. Through that death, life becomes a new invigorated spiritual force, as the embodiment of an ideal for others to guide, as long as the goal is not reached. This disembodied reincarnated soul lives in thousands of others and inspires with the ideal, and death loses its terror—the tyrant loses his power.

That is what has been happening in India today. Death has entirely lost its terror for hundreds of thousands; it has become rather an object of emulation and family pride and prison for political offence a card of social esteem and recognition. And the British power is crumbling in its blood-soaked grave.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the English statesmen cleverly used to keep before the Indian people that if there were any revolution in India and the English power withdrawn, the people would be trampled under the Russian heel; and the Indian people, though they had never any love or loyalty for the English, chose the lesser evil.

But this time India is disenchanted. The bogey of German invasion and oppression has had quite a different effect. The people took it at its worth. Those who were not convinced before, became finally convinced—what hypocrites the English could be. An honest enemy is more preferable than a seeming friend with the hidden dagger of a cut-throat, a serpent hidden in a flower.

England plunges into this world-war to defend the liberty of Belgium; her heart bleeds for the sufferings of its people—for its outraged women and oppressed children. India, the land of romance, and chivalry, should help England with men and money, in her splendid mission to restore liberty in Europe and erect high again the temples of gods, sacrilegious by the German Barbarians. This appeal to these heathens for the defence of the Christian temples first thrilled the imagination of many, and many a heroic son responded to its martial calls, believing England might have seen her own mistakes and changed her policy and would willingly give to India her rightful dignified place in the Councils of Nations, as she has been promising for half a century. But soon they found out, it was another dirty but old and clever game of England. India has been fooled again, but England has lost for ever her magic spell over India.

Many went to fight England's battles in Europe. Very few returned; but those who returned told quite a different story. The soldiers of the past generation have been brought up with the conviction, from the memory of the first revolution of 1857, that the English are invincible as long as they hold the mastery of the sea, and better trained in science and organization than any other people. But their personal experience and observation shattered their old belief. They found the Germans were superior to the English in everything—in trained knowledge and efficient organization both on land and sea. The exploits of the "Emden" and the submarines, and the retreats on the Gallipoli, corroborated their conviction, and whatever doubt was left was removed. When the physical fear which kept them awed, was no more of pressing concern to them, as to the moral hesitation, there was none. The stories widely circulated in India, as to the spoilations of the temples and the outrages on Belgian women and children by the German Huns and that they would do just the same, in India—if they are not bitten, only provoked the mirth of the populace and England enmeshed herself in her own net.

Who could surpass England in her Satanic Majesty? Nobody could devise more clever and systematic economic robbery and drainage and ruthless persecutions of the Nationalists.

An India could not be worse off under any other administration. Of course India wants to be free from any foreign control and she needs only a breathing space of time to recuperate her energy and the secret strength that will be necessary to drive out the English, would be sufficient to maintain the internal peace and defend the country against any foreign aggression. That will open equally all the markets of the Orient, thereby benefiting all the nations. And farsighted Germany would not be shortsighted to imitate the English, while she would enjoy better economic results through her more efficient commercial organizations.

Of course India would fight against any interference with her sovereignty, as against the English, if not more valiantly, with stronger determination and better effectiveness, with the growing consciousness of her nationality.

England has been telling India that if German militarism is not crushed, Germans would never rest content unless they take India.

No wonder the English are regarded as the white devils all over Asia, and have raised prejudice against all Europeans. Even the missionaries are suspected. Divide and rule is her nefarious policy. Intrigue and treachery are her formidable weapons.

No—India does not tremble at the imaginary fear of German invasion. That is not our immediate concern, but only a metaphysical problem. What we are suffering from is British oppression and we need to get rid of it. Whoever hurts England and weakens her, adds to our strength and is our friend. So India rejoices at Germany's success and every shot of her victorious guns sends a joyous thrill all over Asia. They sympathize with France—France of social revolution and of a thousand intimate memories of human progress; they feel for Belgium, and industrious and thrifty democracy. But they are in wrong camp and they must pay the price for the wicked company they keep. And who can say it is not the retribution of their Karma—the wrongs of France in Cambodia and Algeria and her unholy alliance with Russia and England, and surrendering even her political principles for the memory of which she is loved everywhere even going so far as to refuse the political asylum to our patriot martyr, Savarkar, at the request of England—and Belgium of Congo fame.

And as to England not only in a revengeful spirit, but as a policy of self-interest, all the Static Nationalities are convinced that defeat of England and victory of Germany would not only check England's further aggressions in the East, but help in reasserting their independence and sovereign dignity; and the disintegration of the vampire British Empire would liberate humanity from the iron shackles of her navalism and the consequent economic slavery with which she is grinding them.

As to England's assertion that if Germany comes out victorious with such a prestige and military record, no nation would be safe and immune against her aggression, as who afterwards would dare to challenge her. No one nation should be left too powerful in international politics, and without taking into consideration the merits and the demerits of the war, it is in the best interests of humanity that German militarism is crushed once for all, and if not, at least the European war is brought to a draw, so that the balance of power is preserved. England by this betrays and foretells her own history. What of her boasted empire, in which the sun never sets? When has England been so saintly and pious? Has she acquired her empire and is it being retained as a trust by the grace of God for the good of the people and with their consent? If German militarism is not safe for the world, how could the British navalism be? And is it not a greater menace to humanity and has it not proved so? Military force by the very nature of its constitution and circumstances is limited in its operation and movement, while the mistress of the sea should be allowed by the grace of God to roam everywhere and practise its time-honoured piracy, sanctified by the name of imperialism.

What hypocrisy; England should be the only one to enjoy unmolested the spoils of her robbery, and any rival must be blackmailed. The veil is too thin even for the unsophisticated, and whom does England expect to fool except those who are in the same boat with her? Germany does not need our defence. Her arms, success and her accomplishment in every branch of human activity are silently, but more eloquently, answering for themselves. The world is filled with admiration at her marvelous success. Soon the lies will be forgotten and her civil and municipal administration will be regarded as the model for the whole world to imitate.

And if the English are so desirous of serving humanity they should be the last to condemn the school of Bernhardi. Bernhardi after all has followed the footsteps of Darwin and Spencer as an honest man, to its logical conclusion. The survival of the fittest is the English philosophy. It is the only argument with which they have been imposing in India, China, Egypt and everywhere. It has been their cardinal political axiom that expansion is a biotic law of growth. It is the only philosophy they have known, preached and practised. Bernhardi, therefore, should be their new prophet of efficiency and Superman.

Why then condemn? Modern fighting is no longer brute force. It is the coordination of scientific knowledge, technical efficiency and organized national cooperation and sympathy. The fate of nations is decided today in the seclusion of their chemical laboratories and work-shops rather than on the battlefields. And Germany has contributed more to human knowledge than any other nation, and it will be no exaggeration to say that if all the written records of past achievements are simultaneously obliterated all over the world as if by a catastrophe and

the human race has to begin new its intellectual life, there would be left more accumulated knowledge in living memories in Germany than in the rest of the world combined. Why should not such a nation have a freer hand than England? Why are all obstacles put in her path of progress and expansion? Is it because it threatens the British interest?

We do not agree with this school of imperialism. We believe Germany has a better destiny. She can gain much more by being the accepted leader of world's progress, in science, art and industry. Even in material wealth she can get much more by winning the goodwill and esteem of nations, liberating humanity from the British navalism and tyranny than by political sovereignty over alien peoples, which inevitably lead to grave dangers and complications. The gate of the Oriental trade would be widely flung to her. More than half of humanity would acclaim her as their liberator—the people of India, China, Egypt, Persia and Turkey would gratefully acknowledge her leadership.

What better destiny could await a nation? The world is still in the crucible of strong nationalism. Humanity as a concrete unit is yet in its embrionic process of development. Internationalism, anything but a gigantic monied trust, is a thin, shadowy film. The present war has attested enough to its constitutional vitality. Every nation, how small, insignificant and undeveloped, has some function to serve in the human economy. It cannot be violently shaken by the rude process of war. Paradoxical, though it might appear, history gives ample evidence that this rejuvenates it. If it is unadaptive time and nature would slowly eliminate it painlessly. War or political subjugation could hardly accomplish this object. In the conflict of ideals, the clash of arms and in the rivalry of nations' economic and industrial expansion, step by step, humanity would be lifting to a higher standard and ideal. When thus the world is federated into free states and each individual and social corporated body could do whatever it desired, in a harmony with the ideal and without interfering with the same liberty of others, then not only the earth would be a happier abode to live in than the imaginary heaven of the prophets, the progress would not only be quicker by better exchange of thoughts and commodities, but a highly organized State like Germany with systematized industrial efficiency would be the greatest beneficiary. The earth is big enough, vast enough to feed and maintain all the growing human population for at least the next thousand years, and in the meantime the unfit would die out by process of natural selection. And Nature's cure, though slow, is the surest cure.

So German victory stands for world-progress and a new epoch of world civilization. England is the worst violator and culprit of the rights of men. Her records are the blackest and cruellest; moreover, she has not the saving virtue of honesty. She is the most shameless hypocrite history has ever recorded.

No wonder India is in a state of guerilla warfare and the whole Peninsula, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, is in seething discontent, and any moment the British power may be shattered into pieces and India be lost as Lord Curzon, one of their craftiest viceroys, predicted, "The loss of India would be the setting Sun of the British glory."

Yet how England has treated India, and not only that, has misrepresented her to the whole world; she has ruined the arts and industries of India by prohibitive taxation, legislation and many other unwritten discriminations by her inspired magistrates, and then she tells the world that the Indians are impractical and mystic. Instead of protecting the infantile industries as all nations do, she taxes the home industries exorbitantly, so that Manchester traders can easily beat down the prices and ruin the industries of India. She does not spend even a penny per head of the population for the education of India, and there is not more than a primary school in eighteen villages, and she tells the world that the Indians do not care for education and are half-civilized and need the British guidance for their own good, while the private schools are not allowed without Government permission and inspection, and many schools are closed and suppressed on political suspicion, and its teachers and organizers are persecuted and jailed on any pretext. There is hardly any technical school in India, and no student is allowed to leave without the permission of the authorities and the authorities do not like the students to go anywhere else for education except to England.

England is telling the world that India has been losing her habit of temperance, while she has been exerting her governmental influences to introduce opium and alcohol for the sake of revenue. This is what the American Cyclopaedia on Temperance says:

Previously to the era of British dominion, the inhabitants of India were among the most abstemious of peoples..... The British government in India inaugurated its Excise policy in 1790, but for thirty or forty years comparatively little liquor was sold. Until 1878 all the distilleries were owned and operated by the government, under what was known as the Sudder (or District) system. The sole object was to produce revenues, and it was thought the distilling business would be most profitable if operated by government itself. Under this system the revenue finally reached considerable proportions in excess of \$ 10,000,000 annually; but the authorities were not satisfied, and a new scheme was devised. In 1878 the new measure or Abkari act, was published by the government of Bombay..... It is now in force all over India excepting a few small districts under native rule..... The right to operate distilleries in competition with the government is sold at public auctions to the highest bidders. The successful bidder in each locality may distil as much liquor as he chooses, and of any kind, free from government supervision. But the revenue from private distillers is only one element. All the sapbearing palm-trees, yielding juice from which fermented liquor is made, are taxed by the government; the right to sap is farmed out of the highest bidder, and nobody—not even the owner of the trees—can extract sap without government licence. Thus the excise policy of India is based on the High Licence principle exclusively..... and it is an active success as a revenue measure.

Statistics given by W.S. Caine in the "House of Commons" (1888) show that in eight years (after the Abkari act) the increase was 135 per cent in Bengal; in the Central Province it was 100 per cent, in ten years, etc. In Ceylon the revenue from drink is almost 14 per cent of the total revenue.

"The government is driving this liquor trade as hard as it can," said Mr. Caine, "Collectors find it the easiest way to increase their consumption of liquor to the utmost. If the government continues its present policy of doubling its revenue over ten years, in thirty years India will be one of the most drunken and degraded countries on the face of the earth."

"The government of India merits commendation for none of the virtuous pretensions. ... The officials frankly declare that they are interested in the revenue only solely, and not in the promotion of temperance. In 1888 the Finance Minister for India used the following language in the legislative council: "I look hopefully to a considerable increase in the excise revenues, and believe that a great deal might be done in Northern India by the introduction of the methods which in Bombay and Madras have so powerfully contributed to the increase of revenue under this head."

In the vicinity of Bombay, a movement was started among the country people against the use and sale of liquor, when the magistrate had eight of the leaders imprisoned. In reporting this tyrannical act of the Secretary of State in London the government of Bombay said:

"The question for decision is, shall we sit quiet and allow the temperance movement in the Colaba District to continue and to spread, and thereby forego a large amount of revenue, or are measures to be adopted which will bring the people to their senses?"

It seems the English House of Commons has its seasons of repentance, for it framed, after much opposition, the following resolution (1889):

"That in the opinion of this House, the fiscal system to the Government of India leads to the establishment of spirit distilleries, liquor and opium shops in large number of places, where till recently, they never existed, in defiance of native opinion and the protests of the inhabitants, and that such increased facilities for drinking produce steadily increasing consumption, and spread misery and ruin among the industrial classes of India."

The missionaries freely make such statements as the following:

Archbishop Jeffrics (31 years in India): "For one converted Christian, as the proof of missionary labour, the drinking practices of England have made a thousand drunkards."

The methods now undertaken to increase the Opium trade in India are most atrocious. The government controls the crop. The opium is sent from government factories to "Collectors" of the various districts who are also magistrates. These collectors are the wholesale dealers of the drug, and they sell to contractors who are forced under heavy fine to sell a certain quantity in their district. If they can not sell as much as they promised they pay a forfeit and the contract is given to others.

"Thus the trade is pushed by the government," says a writer in the *Banner of Asia* (September, 1889), "and the damnation of the people speed a pace."

In licensing ganja, bhang, charas, and majum, the four noxious preparations of Indian hemp, the Christian government of India places itself on a much lower moral plane than the Mohammedan, Turkish and Egyptian governments, which most stringently prohibit them.

"The whole atmosphere of India," said the Hindu reformer, Keshub Chandra Sen (1870) in a speech at St. James Hall, "seems to abound with cries of thousands of poor helpless widows, who curse the British government for having introduced that thing."

Another accusation—though it does not befit the English people to make it—is that India does not give her women freedom. Why, in ancient times Indian women used to enjoy more freedom than the modern feminists would desire. But she was compelled to restrict it to guard the social integration and race purity against the Mohammedan licentiousness during the Moghul rule, and strange though it may sound, the truth which is often more startling than fiction is that under British rule the policy of restraint has been found desirable, even by those who believe in the entire freedom of women, on account of Tommy Atkins. In railroad carriages and near the cantonment stations, the outrages are so common that decent women often do not like to travel alone, in fear of molestation even from the railroad guards of the anglical puritan descent, and many will rather kill themselves than bring shame upon their families by the publicity of a law-suit. Yet when suite is brought not unfrequently the offender goes unpunished or is so slightly punished that it is no deterrent to the committal of the crime.

The following cases may be cited: On December 7th the assistant station master of Rawalpindi outrages the modesty of a girl in the waiting room and thereupon the wronged woman named Viranwati committed suicide. Mr. Moore was simply dismissed from the service. On February 17th at Barrackpur Cantonment Station a girl of 18, named Kamala, was waylaid by William James Walker of the Reliance Jute Mill and assaulted. He was fined 200 Rupees. On March 28th, a girl of 20, named Gribala, was outraged by six soldiers at Jhalkati and all of them went scot free with loss of rank only.

This is the justice the English boast of and frequently excuse it by the plea that prestige must be upheld or that the climate is responsible. Not only this, the British regiments wherever they are stationed, exact from the local magistrate a number of women victims—thus spreading the Englishman's civilization in the shape of alcohol and syphilis wherever they go.

Another pet argument in favour of British rule is that the Hindus and Mohammedans hate each other, and if the British power is withdrawn, they will cut each other's throats, and it is therefore for their own good that England sends so many of her best youths to suffer the discomforts of a tropical climate. How unselfish! What a martyrdom for humanity! The whole truth is that it is one of their favourite policies to incite the one against the other. They even use the worst class of criminals for their purposes, and in the Jamalpur case these were engaged by the Government to attack Hindu women, to show how helpless they were without British help. Of course, the whole country is disarmed and as not even a heavy stick is permitted, how can they defend

themselves against the ruffians inspired by the Government officials. They can not even help themselves against the wild animals, and the annual loss of property from their ravages is quite formidable. Moreover, when they defend their homes and the family honour, the Government easily picks out the leaders, and under the pretence of a riot puts them into prison, and in this way can also easily take hold of the more spirited members of a community and select them for further persecutions. Commenting on this policy of the Government, the conservative paper *The Tribune*, of Lahore, said on May 3rd:

"The situation in East Bengal is alarming in all conscience. The baneful policy of divide et impera, of which the ex-Lieutenant-Governor Sir Bomflyde Fuller was the high priest, which still rules the mind of many officials—there is now seen its bitter fruit, and for once it seems as if the reign of order and law is just at an end, at least at Jamalpur."

In one case, in March, 1907, when the people defended the homes and honour of their women, the government, instead of punishing the rowdies, arrested the leaders: Niberan Chandra Roy, inspector, sentenced to death; Mangal Singh, constable, transportation for life; Dwarika Nath Dey, lawyer, transportation for life; Upendra Chandra Chakraberty, lawyer; with 30 others: Bhagaban Chakraberty, landholders; Surendra Guha, Shatish Chodhery, Bejoy Gupta, Basanta Sen, Upendra Dey, Basanta Choudhery, students; Paresh Sen, Satish Bannerjee, Superintendent of States; Biseswar Roy, Mahin Ghose, Dwarika Sen, Mohin Dey, Jogesh Dutt, Nishi Mukherjee, lawyers; Dr. Prakash Dutt, Nogendra Dey, Sishir Ghose, Indra Nandi, Bepin Ganguli, Narendra Bose, Prakash Dutta, and Grindra Sen.

Thus it is evident that the Government incites one religion against the other whenever it serves its political purposes and even tries to divide the country by creating an artificial barrier by introducing provincial dialects in the schools, thus bestowing favour upon one to the disadvantage of the other. Even the Englishman protests against such a policy, and in its issue of July 14, 1906, says:

"Loyalty, patriotism, race feeling and kindred qualities may be philosophically described as aspects of sentiment, but even the most practical people hesitate before they trample all sentiment underfoot. Probably there is no nation, the characteristics of which have excited so much division of opinion, as the Bengal. Friends and foes, however, are inclined to credit them with possessing a great deal of sentiment. When, therefore, a proposal is made which would amongst the races excite sentimental opposition why should the government go out of its way to assert that Bengali opposition must be artificial? Lord Curzon and the Secretary of State may have found, however, a number of grave reasons why Eastern Bengal should be cut off from the rest of the province and added into Assam."

In every progressive movement in any country it is a few strong thinking individuals who blaze out the trail—paving the path with their blood and ideals—while the majority remains sympathetic but passive, and a few betray the cause and the country for money or lust of power. The British authorities always appeal to that class of people, and in order to make their utterances serve the object, give them titles and make them self-styled leaders and circulate their stories of treachery as proofs of India's loyalty. What an audacity on the part of the British to expect India to be loyal to her—and what for? For ruining the country in every way? It is the boast of Britain that England has brought peace to India. Yes, if it be peace, it is the peace of the grave, where millions of souls are crying out for revenge. If they had the choice, they would rather prefer the living unrest on this earth than the peace in the tomb of eternity. Of course, if it is due to famine, what can England do? The only thing she can do is to pack herself out of the country if she believes in humanity, as she pretends, and India would be one of the richest countries in a few years. Famine and pestilence are due to her wicked administration. India exports even in her worst years more grain than Canada and Argentina produce from their virgin soil in their fat years. And the productivity can be raised ten-fold by a better system of irrigation and drainage. Every year in the rainy season—there are floods filling the soil with silt and the land with malaria, while in the summer

millions go thirsty for want of a drop of water. Yet millions are spent every year for military expenses, and more millions to feed the easy-chair politicians at home and the cupidity of their wire-pullers—Beer-Barons and Merchant-Pirates—and there is hardly anything left for the improvement and sanitation of the country. England wants all the money she can get: what does she care what happens to India as long as it fills her pocket? Rather she prefers that India should be in an acute state of malnutrition, so that she does not have vitality enough to revolt, and as for education she has had already enough for safe administration. It may be said that it is not the fault of England, but rather of India herself, who is so weak as to tolerate her and that weakness is a crime in modern age. Why do 315 millions of people allow a couple of hundred thousand soldiers to rule them? Humanity is guided by self-interest and not by idealistic phraseology. It is the diplomatic wisdom of England to say to the world that she is in India for the sake of good administration, but is there any thinking being who does not understand that India is her milk-cow which she will keep as long as she can? This is a political and economic truism.

India knows it and understands it. And she hates the British hypocrisy and mean misrepresentations more than her tyrannical abuse of power. If she had an honest enemy, it might save much of the bloodshed. India knows she has to gather strength secretly before she can strike the blow. It is known that failure on either side would not be tempered with toleration and sympathetic justice and no quarter would be either asked by nor given to the vanquished.

England often makes the assertion that India's population has been increasing at such an enormous rate, under the peace and protection of the British rule, that famine is the consequence and nature's only check, while the truth is quite different. Almost all nations have doubled their population during the last 30 years, while in India, to quote *Patrika* of December 24, 1906:

"There are leaders who think that we are rather impatient, that we must wait for a reasonable time to secure substantial self-government from the rulers. The mischief, however, is that the nation can not even wait ten years. They would have gladly waited fifty years more—but where would the higher classes be by that time? During the last fifty years, more than half of our big and respectable families have gone. With the next few decades the remaining half will vanish."

And this is no exaggeration or fancy. Statistics are more convincing:

Average increase of population per years, per million		
Germany, 1837	Germany, 1911	14,528
31,589,547	64,925,993	
Belgium, 1866	Belgium, 1912	11,910
4,827,833	7,571,387,	
England, 1871	England, 1911	11,726
21,495,131	31,045,270	
Japan, 1908	Japan, 1914	10,270
495,888	53,696,888	
Hungary, 1880	Hungary, 1910	11,443
15,737,259	20,886,487	
India, 1861	India, 1911	8,636
215,798,302	302,494,794	
British India, 1901	British India, 1911	5,623
231.61 millions	244.27 millions	
Native States, 1901	Native States, 1911	13,085
62,755,116	70,888,854	

The conclusion is too obvious that under British rule the average increase of the population (British India is the smallest of any country), while in Native States it is only second to Germany.

It is the boast of England that her courts are just and impartial. It must be admitted that they are often very fair, when both parties are from among the people themselves, although there is a great deal of police corruption. But when the case lies between an Englishman and an Indian, there is only mockery of justice, and as for political cases one recent example may be cited as a good criterion of the British sense of justice.

Lahore sedition case: 102 arrests, 6 sentenced to death, 45 transportation for life, 8 four years rigorous imprisonment each, 12 rigorous imprisonment from 3 to 10 years each, 9 escaped.

Justice is often so revengefully administered that even tender boys are whipped into unconsciousness. Even the *Morning Leader* protests against such brutality and in its issue of December 12, 1907, London, it says:

"Many who are by no means enthusiastic opponents of corporal punishment, would be startled at the latest example of judicial flogging in Bengal. The case is reported in length in India. A boy of 7 was accused by a constable of hitting him with a stone, while he was on Latral duty at Mymensingh. There is grave doubt about the truth of the charge in the first place. The constable said he saw the lad throwing the stone at him. Yet one of the witnesses of the prosecution deposed that he himself had been first seized by the constable and charged with throwing it. In spite of this, the Magistrate, Mr. Garlick, refused to grant the defence an adjournment for the purpose of summoning absent witnesses and passed sentence of 30 stripes on the boy prisoner. Perhaps the best commentary on this outrageous judgment is that the civil surgeon declared that the child could not stand it, and so the number was reduced to 6. We can only hope that Mr. Morley will lose no time in promptly putting down a system under which ignorance and brutality can thus degrade the administration of law and our national reputation."

But the English sense of justice can be still more clearly comprehended by reading the following item of news which appeared in the "Englishman" of May, 17, 1906:

"The district magistrate of Mymensingh wrote to the sub-divisional officer of Tangail the following letter: 'In the case under Section 147 of the penal code against Rajendra Saha and Purna Saha, please take care that the case is disposed of promptly and the prosecution witnesses are not unnecessarily troubled. Let me have a copy of the orders you pass on the order-sheet each day the cases come up for trial.'

Any comment on this is superfluous; yet the English are not ashamed to accuse the Germans of cruelty or injustice.

As for the freedom of the press and the loyalty of the country, in the first ten months of the war more than 200 newspapers have been suppressed and the money deposits of 625 and 378 printing houses have been confiscated. Lala Lajpat Rai, a social reformer and leader of the Arya Samaj and a victim of the British persecution—now an exile in U.S.A.—calculates through meagre press reports that at the lowest estimate there have been more than 3,000 arrests since the beginning of the war. That is the loyalty of which England was boasting all over the world. Of course the British tyranny is not a new thing. It is not all due to the excitement and nervousness of the war. It is concomitant with the British administration. Take for an example a quiet year, 1907-1908, and it will be evident that the hands of British are never free from blood and tyranny.

July 5 - Bhupendra Nath Dutta, editor, *Jugantar*, Calcutta, sentenced by Kinsford to one year's rigorous imprisonment, under Section 124A.

April 17 - Chagan Lal Lalu Bhai Thanawala, editor, *Hind Sharaja*, 2 years on 124A, by Aston.

April 11 - Shatish Chandra Mukerjee, of *Anushilan*, Calcutta, 18 months and 500 Rs., by Kinsford.

June 3 - Shivaram, Mahadev Paranjape, editor, *Kalpoona*, 9 months on 124A. Shatni Narain, editor, *Sharaj*, 3 years and Rs. 1,000. Pandit Panchannana Tarkaratna, Dr. Braja Roy Ghose, Ram Gopal Bhattacharjee, Kali Das Bhattacharjee, Ram Ranjan Bhattacharjee, and Hari Das Bhattacharjee of Bhatpara, arrested on bomb charge of Kakinara.

July 10- Hati Lal Varma, 7 years transportation; Ram Sarup, Superintendent, Vedic Ashrama, 3 years by F.G. Terry, Aligarh; Eteraj Surendra Nath Iyer, lecturer, Madras, 5 years transportation.

August 10 - Naraingung, Trailaksa Nath Chakraborty, Jadu Nath Das and Benode Behari Chakraborty, arrested.

August 20- Poona, Kelker, editor, *Marathi*, 14 days and Rs. 1,000.

July 20- Bombay, Dhondu Kashi Nath Phadke , editor, *Arunodaya*, 14 months.

June 25- Poona, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, 6 years.

June 27- Monoranjan Guha, editor, *Nabasakti* and Raja Rai Charan Dhobal, arrested at Giridihi, and sentenced 6 months and Rs. 1,000.

July 12- Bhasude Bhattacharye, editor, *Sonar Bhangla*, Calcutta, arrested.

July 13- Lahore Ram Singh, Upadeshak Ghasit Ram, Sowaran Singh, Gobordhan Das, Karbar Singh of *Bharat Mata*, arrested, Lala Joswant Rai, proprietor, *The Punjab*, Lahore, 2 years and Rs. 1,000; Athvale, editor, *The Punjabee*, 6 months and Rs. 200.

September 11 - Bhrama Bhandav Upadhyay, editor, *Sanda* (died in the confinement); Sarada Charan Sen, manager; Hari Charan Sen, printer.

September 13 - Daca, Promotha and Khagendra arrested in Janmastami riot; Mahendra Nath Chatterjee, publisher of *Sandhya*; Baikanta Chandra Acharya, publisher of *Jugantar*, 2 years and Rs. 1,000; Muzzafarpur, Jugal Kishore Singh, 6 to 9 months and Rs. 200 each; Ishar Das, Amba Prasad.

July 10- Aligrah, Fuzulohasain, editor, Urdu *Imansanilla*, arrested.

July 16- Dacca, Makhan Lal Sen, head master, Sonarang National School.

July 20 - Ghoramara, Pandit Govinda; Poona, P.M. Bapat, 7 years and Rs. 1,000; Kolhapur, Gokhahle, 2 years; Dhandu Kashi Nath Phadke, editor, *Arunodaya*, 14 months.

April 6 - Tinnevelly, Locknath Iyer, teacher, Hindu College suspended; Vithal Row, of medical service, suspended; Balkrishna Narain Pathak, editor, *Behari*, Bombay, 6 months.

November 11 - Manickgunj, Gnan Sankar Roy, Niberan Chandra Das, Romesh Chanda Sarkar, Prem Nath Gope and Prabath Shankar Roy, 6 months each.

August 26 - Cocanada, Narsing Row, 2 years, and seven others 10 months each.

June 20 - The printing materials of *Jugantar*, *Sonar Nagia*, *Sandhya* and *Bande Mataram*, seized and confiscated; Commilla, Shatish Chandra Roy, arrested.

August 7- Basanta Kumar Bhattacharya, printer, 2 years; Abinash Bhattacharya, manager; Sailendra Nath Bose, assistant manager, and Jyotish Chandra Roy, arrested.

October 24 - Sarada Charan Sen, manager, and Hari Charan Das, printer of *Sandhya*, arrested.

October 12 - Bhaskar Bisnu Phadke, editor of *Behari*, Bombay, 2 years and Rs. 200.

October 24 - Basanta Kumar Mozumdar, Rungpoor.

October 8 -The editor of *Bharata Bhava* and eight others

September 24 - A.C. Bannerjee, Bat-at-Law.

September 18—Barrisal, Durga Mohan Sen, editor of *Barisal Hitaisi*; Shandpur, Surendra Nath, Dinajpur.

September 24—Durga Chandra Sanyal, Lawyer, transportation for life.

December 22- Nagpur, Hari Kishore, Lecturer.

December 23— Bombay, Bhaskar Balwant Bhapatkar, editor of *Bhala*.

March 2—Tuticorin, Chidamberam Pillai,director, Shadesshi Steam Navigation Co., transportation for life; Subramanya Siva, 10 years; Shola, Poona Limaje, editor, *Hind Sharaj*, 3 years; Birendra Nath Bannerjee of *Jugantar*, 3 years; Phanindra Nath Mitra of *Jugantar*, arrested.

April 27—Tinnevelly, Gurunath Iyer, station officer, 7 years transportation; Lokhjanath Iyer, teacher, 5 years and Rs. 2,000; Shankar Narain Pillai, merchant, 5 years and Rs. 500; Ram Langan Pillai 5 years and Rs. 500; Sankar Narain Iyer, 5 years; Kangatha Nath Pillai, 5 years and 61 others accused and the punishment varying from 6 months to 3 years; Tuticorin, Padmanava Iyenger, Shiva Gurunath Pillay, Niberan Chandra Pal, editor, *Mattri Puja*, Rs. 200; Kolatkar, editor; Desh Shevak, Nagpur.

March 24—Delhi, Syed Haider Reza, editor.

March 25—Aftab, Gonesh Chandra Das.

April 11—Girendra Natth Sen, one month; Shonar Bangla Keshav printing works seized.

April 24—Barrisal, Dr. Andull Gaffoor, 18 months; Moulavi Leakayet Hossain, 1 year and 6 months; Muzzaferpur, Profulla Chandra Chaki, shot; Khudiram Bose, sentenced to death. Alipur Calcutta; Barindra Kumar Ghose and Ullaskar Dutta, first sentenced to death, later, transportation for life; Upendra Nath Bannerjee, Bibhuti Bhushan Sarkar Roy, Birendra Chandra Sen, Sudhir Kumar Sarkar, Indra Nath Nandi, Abinash Chandra Bhattacharji, Sailendra Nath Bose, Hem Chandra Das, Rishi Kesh Kanjilal and Indu Bhushan Roy, all sentenced to transportation for life; Paresh Chandra Mullick, Shishir Kumar Ghose, Nirapado Roy, 10 years each; Asoke Chandra Nandi, Balkrishna Harikane and Shishir Kumar Sen, 7 years each; Krishna Jiban Sanyal, 1 year, after one year's confinement the following were acquitted: Aryvina Ghose, Naliny Kanta Sarkar, Kanji Lal Shaha, Bejoy Kumar Nag, Narendra Nath Bagchi, Purna Chandra Sen, Hemendra Nath Ghose, Din Dayal Bose, Birendra Nath Ghose, Dharanî Nath Sen Gupta, Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta, Hem Chandra Sen, Birendra Kumar Sen, Nihileswar Roy Mullick, Bejoy Chandra Bhattacharya and Prakash Chandra Dey. Narendra Nath paid the penalty of a traitor. Satyendra Nath Bose and Kanai Lal Dutt were hanged. Charu Chandra Roy and Debi Brata Bose released.

May 10 - Lala Rajput Rai and Ajit Singh deported.

May 18 - Bombay, Chagan Lal Lalu Bhai Thanawala, editor of *Hind Sharaj*, 4 years; Allahabad Ram Hari, editor of *Sharaj*, 7 years.

May 1 - Rawalpindi, Gopichand, 7 years and Rs. 200; Kishan Singh and Mongul Singh, 7 years each; Gashi Ram, 3 years; Nanda Lal, 6 months and Rs. 200. And there was varying punishment for the rest of 87 accused, and among whom the following were important members: Munsa Ram, Moti Ram, Amrita Ram, Sira Nanda, Amir Chand, Daulat Ram, Shanker Das, Dina Nath, Ghulam Mahamed, Thakur Das, Moti Lal, Chet Ram, Sunder Singh, Bhagat, Latka Singh, Lala Hans Raj, Lala Amiokram, Lala Gurudas Ram, Roy Maya Das, Sardar Khazan Singh, Lala Jhanki Nath Kaul, M. Mausram, Mangal Singh, Gopi Chand, Kishen Singh, Nanda Ram, Jaget Singh, Uttam Chand Abbot, Bod Raj, Danlar Ram, Premsha, Hirananda, Haram Singh, Amir Chand, Fakir Singh, Hukum Chand, Gopal Das, Ammal Ram, Mathur Das Dharan, Nanak Singh, Kripa Ram, Khazan Singh, Narsing Das, Fakira Singh, Lala Govind Ram.

July 20 - Poona, Abba Saheb Ram Chandra, director, Industrial School of Art.

July 30 - Lahore, Lal Chand, 9 months, Sivan Singh, Kartar Singh, Bhalia Ram, Rusingh, Ghasit Ram and Ghoberdas D.S., 18 months each; Gandersein, 15 months and 3 stripes; Ram Chand and Nanda Singh, Aswani Kumar Dutta, Shatish Chandra Chatterjee, Monoranjan Guha, Pulin Behari Das, Bhupesh Chandra Nag, Subodh Chandra Mallick, Sachindra Parasad Bose, Krishna Kumar Mitra and Syam Sunder Chakraberty deported.

March 17 - Chandpur, Darada Kanta Roy, Umesh Chandra Sarkar and Sashi Choudhary.

June 30 - Agra, Pandit Bhoja Dutta, editor, *Mussafir*, 1 month.

July 1 - Beni Bhushan Roy, lecturer of Khulna. Commila, Keshav Chandra Bannerjee and Shashi Bhattacharjee inspectors, suspended from the service for not giving evidence as desired by the officiating magistrate.

May 12 - Chandpur, Niberan Chandra Bagchi. *Sharaj*; Mayvaram Mathura Das, lecturer, Bombay; Bashkar Balwant Bhopatkar, editor of *Bhala*; Midnapur, Dev Das Karan, Gnendra Nath Bose, Rash Behari Bose, Upendra Nath Maiti, Abinash Ch. Mittra, Khagendra Nath Banerjee, Jaminy Nath Mallick, Gopal Chandra Banerjee, Manmatha Nath Kar, Sontosh Chandra Bose, Raja Narendra Lal Khan Bahadur, Joga Jiban Bose, Santosh Das, 17 years transportation; Surendra Mukherjee, 7 years; Jog Jiban Ghose, 10 years; Prof. Bijapurkar and Joshi, editors, *Vishavarta*, 2 years; Dina Nath, editor, *Hindustan*, 5 years; Pindi Das, editor, *India*, 5 years; Hindustan Press confiscated.

May 23 - Bombay, Ram Chandra Narayan Mandake, editor, *Vihar*; Tara Nath Choudhary, Guna Nath Sarkar, Kartic Chandra Dutta, 6 years; Satish Chandra Bagchi, Mukhada Charan Samadhaya, Panna Lal Chakraverty, 3 years and 6 months; Suresh Chandra Mitra, 5 years; Birendra Kumar Mullick, Bhirendra Nath Ghose, Monmath Nath Roy. Suresh Chandra Mozumdar, 5 years; Khulna, Hira Lal Sen Gupta, 15 months.

June 19- Coimtore, Krishna Swami Sarma, transportation for 5 years.

This is England's record of good administration for twelve months, and it should have made any nation blush to accuse others of tyranny. Yet England accuses German administration in Belgium. As one of her greatest poets has said: Shame is ashamed to sit on her brow.

Thus England stands not only everywhere in the way of India's progress, even in the direction of social reforms, but she is the greatest reactionary force in the East today. She seeks to ally herself with the superstition and religious prejudices of the Orient. Those who are for social progress and for educational advance are often persecuted on trumped-up sedition charges. Arya Samaj, a great social reform movement in India, is under the ban of the British Government. Physical Culture Societies like Annushilan, Mutual Help Societies like Brati, Shadhana and Abhinab Bharata have been suppressed by relentless persecution. Even those who favour the industrial development of the country incur the displeasure of the authorities. The moneyed and rich classes are warned not to associate with such movements, and active workers are sent to prison on the slightest pretext. The officials of the districts use their influence and authority to push the British goods in the market. Spies infest every place. Even the seclusion of the home, private correspondence and the sanctity of the temples are not respected.

Bal Gangadhar spoke the truth when he said: "England's policy was to ruin our trade and - war disguised as commerce came. The government was always mixing politics with commerce."

The *Bengalee* in its issue of June, 27, 1905, says: "Mr. Lyal, the District Magistrate of Bhagalpur, sent for Sir Mohan Thakur and severely took him to task for accepting the chairmanship of a swadeshi (industrial development of the country) meeting. Baby Surja Prasad, who had accepted the honorary secretaryship, was similarly subpoenaed and warned not to join the swadeshi movement under any circumstances. Baby Giridhari Sahai, an honorary magistrate and merchant, was not only rebuked and warned against the consequences, but the despotic magistrate would not let him off until he had extracted from Baby Giridhari a sort of pledge not to allow his son Basant Lal to have anything with the swadeshi. Mr. Lyal, not content with intimidating the leading Bcharis with this or that or other thing, has actually gone to the length of preaching against swadeshi in the course of his official tour.

If this were all we would not have much reason to complain. But this is the least part of what the British authorities are doing. They often make false charges against those who will not handle British goods or try to foster the industry of the country, and harass them in every possible way. What the high governmental officials do not like to do themselves, for fear of publicity, their police agents accomplish to their masters' entire satisfaction. And nowhere else is the police system so corrupt as in India. It is the very backbone of a bureaucracy. The British people who profess to be free traders at home stop at nothing to secure preference for their merchandise in India. On China they made war to thrust opium upon an unwilling people - in India they carry

on a constant commercial war for the purpose of forcing the sale of their goods, almost at the point of the bayonet. What England lacks in modern methods of efficient management, cheap production and good salesmanship, she wants to make up with the help of tyranny and monopoly. Let us take the year 1906-07, far removed from the turmoil of political agitation, an uneventful year from the administration's point of view, and see how England helps India in her industrial growth.

April 26 - Mohorummulla of Rajbarighat, fined Rs. 50 for not selling Liverpool Salt by Sub-divisional Magistrate Holmwood.

April 26 - Silchar, 39 students of Silchar School have been suspended for joining a swadeshi meeting, by the instruction of Mr. Risley, Director of Public Instruction.

April 29 - Sylhet, 24 merchants at Sunnangunj for interfering with foreign (British) trade.

May 2 - Madras, 20 students expelled from the University for joining a swadeshi meeting; J. Ram Chandra and Hari Sarustham Ram discharged from the educational services for their sympathy with the cause.

May 4 - Bramanbaria, Gopi Mohon Roy Choudhary, Jamindar (landholder) of Haripur, and Chandra Kumar Roy Choudhary, Jamindar of Adir, sentenced to 14 days imprisonment and fined Rs. 15 each for soliciting swadeshi.

May 7 - Coomilla, Usha Ranjan Mozumdar, hospital assistant, transferred for his sympathy; Nanda Kumar Sarkar and Bharat Kobra for soliciting swadeshi; Madaripur Mohendra Chandra Makhuti.

May 12 - Coomilla, Abani Kumar Ganguli 16 merchants at Sonamgung; Calcutta, Rash Behari Das, Nilmani Chatterjee, Bepin Chandra Das, 2 months each; Devi Pande, Sita Ram, Sukunda Parsi, 1 month each.

May 16 - Manikgung, Rajani Mohon Basak, Gobinda Chandra Neogi, Tajendra Baluri, Chandra Kishore Roy, Jogendra Nath Neogi, Ramesh Chandra Sen, Sarat Chandra Neogi, Sashi Kumar Guha, Rajani Gosain, Shudhir Kumar Guha, Nanda Mohon Chatterjee, Pulin Behari Das, Shamananda, Kedar Nath Bhattacharya, Khetramohon Basuk, Abinash Chandra Sarkar, Benode Behari Gangopadhyay.

April 25 - Madras, Harisarothan Rio, dismissed from Art College and 200 students for joining a swadeshi meeting.

May 17 - Amoaa, Sarat Chandra Bose, Triguna Kanta Das, Upendra Nath Dey, Rati Kanta Das, Basanta Kumar Nandi, Sona Nath Dey and Lalit Mohon Das, 3 months each.

May 19 - Madras, Bodhi Narain Row, 9 months; Harsar Nath Row, 6 months.

May 21 - Coomilla, Dr. Mohin Chandra Bhanduk and Bharat Chandra Chakrabe.

May 18 - Mymensing, Shanknai Bhattacharjee.

May 21 - Bombay, Joshi Bhagochi and Gopal Hari Das, fined Rs. 300 each.

May 24 - Serampur, Madhusudan Chakraberty, Gopal Chakraberty and 10 others.

May 25 - Coomilla, Surendra Kumar Guha, Bhagavan Chakraberty, Shatish Chandra Choudhary, Bejoh Kumar Gupta, Basanta Kumar Sen, Upendra Chandra Dey.

June 2 - Thakur Das and Moti Lal of Lahore.

June 3 - Serampur, Modhusudan Chakraberty and Gopal Chandra Singha, 10 days and Rs. 30 each.

June 11 - Kishergunj, Krishna Chandra Goswami and three others, Rs. 5,000 securities each.

June 12 - Silchar, Uli Mia, 9 months and 3 others 6 months each; Calcutta, Suruth Kumar Bose, Surendra Nath Sen and Subodh Chandra Gosh, fined Rs. 100 each and securities of Rs. 200 each.

July 8 - Barrisal, Rajani Kanta Das, Pramatha Nath Mukerjee and Debendra Nath Mukerjee.

July 28 - Barrisal, Krishna Kumar Dutta, 2 months.

August 8 - Madaripur, Ambika Chandra Mitra and Shashi Bhusan Guha.

August 10 - Dhani Ram, President Arya Samaj, deported from Abbot-tabad.

August 11 - Bagherhat, Mukunda Das, for singing national songs, 14 days.

August 12 - Lahorc, Lal Chand, poet, Bharatmata; Ram Singh, engineer, and Nand Singh.

August 14 - Layalpur, Guisewalla, for national song.

August 16 - Serajgunj, Banwarilal School and Victoria Memorial School, disaffiliated by Sir Bampfyide Fuller; Brajendra Lal Ganguli and Kedar Nath Chakraborty, fined Rs. 30 each for shouting Bande Mataram (Hail Motherland).

September 12 - Calcutta, Sachindra Nath Mukerjee, Manik Lal Dey and Pramotha Nath Chatterjee, Jatindra Nath Bannerjee and Suresh Chandra Roy.

September 7 - Madaripur, Chandra Mohon Mozumdar and 5 others.

September 7 - Dacca, Khagendra Chandra Gosh, Bcpin Chandra Pal.

September 10 - Kishergunj, Peari Mohon Roy, Kumud Bandu Roy and Ananda Kumar Patranavis, Calcutta; Jatindra Nath Bonnerjee, 15 days and Rs. 50.

September 17 - Sachindra Nath Mukerjee, Manik Lal Dey, Promotha Nath Chatterjee and Provash Chandra Dey, 14 days and Rs. 50 each.

October 3 - Barrisal, 13 boys, 2 months each.

October 5 - Calcutta Abhani (15 years old), Sour Das (14 years old), Upendra (15 years old), Battakrishna (15 years old), and Fanindra (13 years old).

October 24 - Tarak Nath Shah, Amulla Charan Roy and Rajani Kanta Kar.

October 8 - Barrabazar, Abani Mohon Sen, Suridas Munshi, Upendra Nath Bannerjee, Battakrishna Bhattacharjee and Phanindra Nath Bhattacharjee, Rs. 100 each and a security of Rs. 250.

October 8 - Noakhali, a boy of 14 was flogged with 20 stripes by Mr. Dunlop, the Magistrate, for shouting Bande-Mataram (Hail Motherland).

October 12 - Calcutta, Jatindra Nath Singh, with 17 others; Bhuta Nath Bhattacharjee, 10 days for shouting Bande-Mataram.

October 31 - Calcutta, Tarak Nath Shah, Amulla Chandra Roy and Rajani Kanta Kar, 3 months each; Hira Pada Dey (18 years old), Ashu (9 years old), Bonamali (15 years old), whipped 12 stripes each, Sarat and Panchu. 1 month and Rs. 100; Devendra Nath Ghosh.

October 31 - Raj Kumar Sanyal of Mymensingh, Jaminy Kanta Padder, with 19 others, 6 months and Rs. 100 each.

November 10 - Kishergunj, Peary Mohon Basak, Kumud Bondu Roy and Ananda Mohon Patranavis; Rangpur, Joy Chandra Sarkar.

November 12 - Barrisal, Ganga Charan Dutt of Baluganj, 3 months and Rs. 10; three others, 1 month each.

November 30 - Calcutta, Russik Chandra Das, Mohendra Nath Ghosh, Ganesh Chandra Das, Hari Das Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Nanda Lal Mukerjee, Amalya Chander Chatterjee, Gangadhar Shaw, Hari Prasad Sarkar, Woomesh Chandra Chatterjee, Juba Narain Bhattacharjee, Kanji Lal Chatterjee, Johor Lal Rana, Saral Chandra Chatterjee, Narain Chandra Mundak, Rs. 50 each.

December 7 - Delhi, Mohan Das with 5 others.

December 13 - Shantipur, Kartic Chandra Dutt and 3 others, 6 months and Rs. 100 each, for releasing girl from the hands of Hewitt.

October 17 - Pherojpur, Basanta Kumar Gupta and Basanta Seal for Rakhi.

December 14 - Barrisal, Bepin Guha and eight others; Mymensingh, Hem Chandra Dey.

November 27 - Madaripur, Rasik Chandra Bagchi, 3 months and Rs. 100; Trailaksha, 2 months and Rs. 75; Suresh, 2 months and Rs. 5, Satish, 1 month and Rs. 50.

December 18 - Behari Lal Roy, Head Master, Bagerhat H.E. School, suspended for his sympathy with swadeshi.

January 14 - Chandpur, Har Dayal Nag, Radha Mahab Singh, Dr. Mohendra Chandra Karmaker with 30 volunteers.

January 3 - Govinda Chandra Shaha, Revoti Mohon Dey and Jaminy Mohon Dey.

January 26 - Brahmanbaria Roy, Gopi Mohon Choudhery.

December 7 - Calcutta, Buku Behri Chatterjee and Badre Das Khatre, 10 days for shouting Bande Mataram.

October 25 - Rangpur, Umesh Chandra Gupta, Lawyer, made special constable and put to indignities by Dt. Magistrate Emerson.

November 17 - Barrisal Priya Nath Guha, editor to *Bikash*, and Aswani Kumar Dutta, lecturer Braja Mohon College made special constables and put to indignities by the District Magistrate Jack.

January 8 - Mymensingh, Mehandra Nath Bose, Kishore, Mohon Neogi, Nibaran Chandra Gope, Srish Chandra Dey with 45 others for soliciting swadeshi.

January 9 - Dinajpur, Durga Charan Sanyal, 2 years.

January 24 - Muzzafarpur, Jugal Narain and 6 others, 9 to 6 months and Rs. 200 each.

January 25 - Chingripota, Narendra Nath Bhattacharjee and Sailendra Nath Bose.

January 26 - Polong, Jadu Nath Pal, Kali Prassana Mozumder, Munshi Muzzafferali, Jadu Nath Pal and Mohendra Nath Mukhuti, Madaripur; Kailash Mozumder, Benode Chandra Mozumder, Upendra Nath Ganguli with 2 others.

January 28 - Coomilla, Aboni Mohan Ganguli, Lalit Chandra Das with 40 students of the Technical School.

January 28 - Calcutta, Surath Kumar Bose, Surendra Nath Sen, Subodh Chandra Ghosh, Rs. 100 each and security of Rs. 200; Surendra Nath Bannerjee, editor *the Bengalee* and twice the president of the Indian National Congress, fined Rs. 400 for leading a procession and shouting Bande Mataram.

January 29 - Barrisal, Bepin Behari Sen, Tashilder, dismissed for his swadeshi sympathy.

Though India is poverty-stricken and hard-oppressed, but very few betray the country for the sake of money, though alluring temptations are put before them. Every now and then the government offers big rewards to get the political suspects. Yet they succeed very seldom. Just for an example, on one day alone, March 17, 1916, the following rewards were offered: Rash Behari Bose of Chand Nagar, Rs. 7,500; Gurudutta Kumar, Rs. 2,000; G.D. Kumar Singh, Rs. 2,000; Jeward Singh of Nangal Kelat, Rs. 2,000; Jaswant Singh of Bulacher, Rs. 2,000; Ram Chandra of Hushiarpur, Rs. 2000; Harman Singh of Kaita, Rs. 2,000; Arjun Singh of Rawalpindi, Rs. 2,000; Dr. Muthra Singh of Chakwan, Rs. 2,000; Sardar Singh of Hushiarpur, Rs. 2,000; Sunder Singh of Jhellum, Rs. 2,000; Ram Rath of Shava, Rs. 1,000; Gurudet Singh of Shivali, Rs. 1,000; Daljit Singh of Muktsar, Rs. 500; Akur Singh of Sangour, Rs. 500; Pur Singh of Jullundur, Rs. 500; Arjun Singh of Amritsar, Rs. 500; Hardet Singh of Dhaewal, Rs. 200; Arjun Singh of Pahat Bari, Rs. 200; Sher Singh of Naba State, Rs. 100; Kishen Singh of Shawndal, Rs. 100; Kimel Singh of Akhern, Rs. 100; Sur Singh of Fate Garh, Rs. 100.

And though the political prisoners are counted with the criminal and treated worst, yet the criminal record is the lowest in India.

Country	Population 1911	Criminals convicted 1911	Percentage
Austria.....	28,324,940	592,192	2.09
Belgium.....	7,423,784	46,625	.63
England and Wales	36,070,492	570,723	1.58
France.....	39,601,509	701,744	1.77
Germany	64,925,993 (10)	546,418 (10)	.84
Italy	35,238,997 (13)	556,787 (13)	1.61
India (British)	244,267,542	391,238	.16

Dada bhai Naoroji, formerly a member of the British Parliament, said in his presidential address of the Indian National Congress, 1906:

"If good government could never be a substitute for self-government by the people themselves, how much less was an economically evil government and a constitutionally unconstitutional government a substitute for self-government? Are the descendants of the earliest civilizers to remain in the present time of spreading emancipation—under the barbarous system of despotism—unworthy of British instincts, principles and civilization?"

Yet there are many who excuse the British government on the ground that Britain is bearing the white man's burden in the East. They admit the injustice and inhuman oppression of the British authorities. They are frank enough to acknowledge that on no principle, ethical, political, moral or international, the British course of action can be defended or sanctioned. But Britain is the guardian of the East and she should not be too harshly criticised or the power, prestige, influence and commercial privileges of the white man would disappear like a doom in the Orient. The Occident is over populated. Her industries have surplus production and must have markets. The Orient has teeming millions and vast natural resources undeveloped. She should be held in common as a monopoly for all the white races. Of course England has gone there first and she must have her lion's share and the rest we take as best we can. Thus think many English, Russian, Dutch, French, and Americans. How deluded? Gita says : "When a man is near his destruction, he loses first his right-thinking powers." They forget the lessons of history. Greece fell : her civilization was based on slave labour, and she lacked the dignity of manual work. Fell Cathage for her commercial greed. Rome fell, whose proud legions knew no more worlds to conquer—fell when her hour of trial came, as she had no men of her own, but hired mercenary soldiers her battles to fight. The Empire of Napoleon disappeared in a night—as it came in a day for his vain desire to dominate the whole of Europe, leaving nothing behind but dreamful, vivid and inspiring recollections of history. And the passing of the Anglo-Saxon is being written in the history of today, with blood and iron.

One half of humanity can not remain to be slaves and the rest free. Slavery debases both. The master loses the dignity of work, power of endurance and hardship and an ideal by dint of which he secured his domination. Easy earned money softens, like a subtle poison, the manly and moral vigour and debauches body and mind in luxury and corruption—in outward crystallized conventionalities and bravadoes. The slave loses a good deal, but no so much. As a means of self-preservation, he learns to like and to cheat to escape the wrath and tyranny of his master. But the master loses much more by losing the very qualities by which he attained his mastery.

This is the very spectacle England is presenting before the world today. She has light-heartedly entered into this worldwar to capture the German trade. Her great Statesman, Lord Curzon, whose only qualification of being great that as Viceroy of India, he ruled the country with blood and sword, assured England that it would be an easy job. Russia and France would fight, and the only thing necessary would be to send a few Gurkhas to dictate peace at Potsdam. Colonel Churchill told them he would dig out the German Navy like rats and, who

can say, he may not be dug out himself some day out of a London hole by German officers. Of course Kitchener would make a spring-dive. His only qualification of a great soldier is that in cold-blood he massacred seventeen thousand Soudanese Dervishes at Ondurman, who in good faith surrendered to him and on his way to Dassa he killed many more innocent and harmless unarmed Lamas, and for which he is known all over Asia as Butcher-Kitchener. And this 18 months of war have proven the Britainia is only a giantess with wooden legs. She has not won single battle either on land or on sea. On land she has been disastrously beaten everywhere, and on sea Britannia no longer rules the waves. Yet though England is passing through her death-pangs of disintegration, her constant appeals for men have been futile and unresponsive. Why should the men go and fight? They have nothing to gain, but everything to lose. Tyrants are tyrants everywhere. They can not change their former mode of habits. Their souls become callous and inconsiderate of other peoples' feelings and comforts. Kitchener who killed in cold-blood Fellahs of Egypt and Lamas of Tibet, sent his own countrymen in thousands to their inevitable doom without a thought. These men can not rouse national patriotism. Accustomed to everwaiting luxury of easy earned money, their soul becomes degenerate. Each officer goes to the battlefield with two servants and a groom as it to a marriage ceremony. No wonder the British labouring class has not responded to their calls. They have suffered enough from their ruthless hands. British defeat would be their true emancipation. In Imperial Britain they have not an inch of ground to claim as their home an hearth—though millions of acres are preserved as game for the privileged: the land they till belongs to the absent landlords who swell from the sweat on their brow. They have only the empty talks of their easy-chair corrupt politicians to feed on, that the Empire belongs to them and they must bear all its burdens and sufferings and enjoy few of its privileges. Such an ethereal food is not sufficient to make a man sacrifice his everything for the pleasures, treachery and intrigues of his tyrannical over-lords.

As to dominance of the Orient by concerted or a single power—it is a vain delusion. It will be much easier to check the ideas of the ocean with porous sands. It is impossible and suicidal even to attempt to keep three-quarter of the human race in bondage when they have been once awakened to their consciousness. You can fool some of the people all the time—you can fool all the people part of the time, but you can not fool all the people all the time. The Orient has been awakened from the slumber and lethargy of centuries, and any attempt to enslave her liberated soul would simply create race-antagonism and hatred and prolong the war—and then it can not be done. The dismemberment of the British Empire means a new epoch of World-civilization, Federation of World-Republics and Brotherhood of man.

Of course they are blaming Germany for betraying European hegemony and interests. The allied powers feel that Germany has ended their happy dreams and their imperial existence is at stake. There is an old saying that when two thieves quarrel—Truth comes out. But in all justice and fairness it must be admitted that Germany owes her first duty to her own interest—not the interest of these international political thieves, cut-throats and rogues. Self-preservation is the first law of nature. And why should she give precedence to British interests? Is she physically, morally, intellectually inferior to any? Why should she subordinate her own interest to those of others—because it ends their happy schemes and dreams?

Mohammedans are praying, Allah is great; and the Gita says; "When Injustice prevails and Earth is oppressed, I come again and again to redeem Humanity." Let therefore all lovers of humanity rejoice at British defeat and German victory. Earth has suffered enough from British oppression. What we have cited has been taken from the official records and can be corroborated in any important library. Yet it is but an insignificant part of the whole story of British despotic oppression. Such a government has no right to exist. It is a mockery, even to call it a government. It is simply legalized piracy. Against such an inhuman tyranny Indian Revolutionary Forces have declared war. India knows she has to fight her own battles and make her own destiny. She has to fight against a remorseless, unscrupulous and cruel foe, who keeps no word of honour and for whom no pledge

has any sanctified inviolability. Against so means and treacherous an enemy, hatred has almost become religious passion. Mob-violence can not always be prevented in such a state of affairs, as guerrilla warfare is the only thing possible in a disarmed country. Though India abhors bloodshed—it is the only way to her emancipation. However, it is believed the country that in ancient days—in the time of Asoka—established hospitals for animals and today millions would rather die of starvation than rob living creatures of their lives for their food, would not be blood-thirsty, even in retaliation. But as accidents are unavoidable in a war, we advise those who have relatives or friends in India to warn them, not to associate too closely with the English, to avoid being mistaken for them and to put on a small flag or identification badge on their dress as a preventive measure, so that no mistake will be possible. India only hates England and she cherishes no other feeling but friendly respect for other nationalities. Of course it all depends on how England behaves. If she realizes that nothing can now prevent India becoming free, then the world might be spared another prolonged and sanguine war in the East. It might also be good to England to purge her soul of impurities as in a fiery furnace. India is determined to fight as long as her Flag of Independence does not float proudly from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. As victim of British despotism and economic brigandage, India loses more men every year, in peace time under British rule, than would she lose in a war with England in ten years.

Let therefore all lovers of humanity rejoice at the defeat of British arms—and disintegration of the British Empire, based on relentless persecution and oppression, would liberate the arch of the iron shackles that have bound her for centuries. Let all lovers of Justice, Freedom and Humanity rejoice at the birth of a New Nation and Free India extends for mutual cooperation her cordial greetings to all.

INDIA AGAINST BRITAIN

MANY IN INDIA REVOLT AGAINST ENGLAND

Says Ram Chandra in Reply to Government's Report

Hindus Not Living; Dying of starvation

Declares Founders of U.S. Accomplished What Natives Seek To-day

—*The New York Sun, May 14, 1916*

The *Sun* printed last Sunday a despatch from London giving an interview with Austin Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, who declared that the people of India "have never been more loyal than today". This is the Government viewpoint. The viewpoint of the revolutionists is given in the following article by Ram Chandra, editor of the revolutionist organ, the "Hindustan Gadar", published at San Francisco.

Ram Chandra is the head of the radical party in India, whose watchword is "India for the Indians". The *Hindustan Gadar* is widely read in the Far East, but its circulation in India is forbidden by the British Government.

By RAM CHANDRA

Momentarily the situation in India becomes more clouded. The political horizon has never been darker since 1857 and the whole country is seething with incipient revolution. This is the real fact of the situation.

From day to day revolutionary happenings, assassinations, dacoities and riots occur on the one hand and arrests, executions, transportations, internments on the other; all are hushed up by the British censor, and when they cannot be hushed up they are explained away.

Does anybody doubt this? Let him examine the official documents issued by the British Government itself. Sometimes, months afterward, the chronicle happenings which at the time of their occurrence the world was told never took place!

The Government put all India under martial law by legislative enactment on March 18, 1915. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, gave the following reasons for this drastic step:

"The Government was in possession of information which proved conclusively that a precautionary measure was absolutely essential to meet the emergencies that might arise. Some deluded men had during the last few months committed acts of violence. In Bengal seditious activities, though not new, had become more daring. In the western Punjab there had also been looting and incendiarism and radical conflict."

"The Government had placed a number of the leaders under restraint, but further powers were necessary. The danger could only become serious if not checked promptly."

Revolutionists Active

Also: "The powers asked for (under the bill) were necessary for the public safety. There existed on the Pacific Coast of America a revolutionary organization which had endeavoured to create trouble in India by agency of private communication. In Bengal seditious activities, though not new, had become more daring and the movements were not unconnected." (Speech by Lord Hardinge quoted in "India," London, March 25.)

Austin Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State for India, says in his special lengthy statement that "A very active revolutionary paper has been established in San Francisco, or some point near to that city. It was called the "Ghadr."

1. The pamphlet was published in 1916 by Pandit Ram Chandra. It consists of excerpts from the articles and letters published earlier refuting statements and allegation made by the loyalists to British Raj especially it was a reply to Austin Chamberlain, Lord Hardinge, Lord Islington and others. It also published photographs of ten Ghadrites who were hanged by the British in India. The pamphlet was dedicated to the Martyrs who had given their lives for the freedom of India.

"At the outbreak of the war this paper exhorted all Indians in the State or elsewhere to return to India and take up arms against British rule. German money may have backed it before the war. After the war began Germany surely backed it. The four thousand or five thousand returning Indians formed a secret revolutionary party, and in the towns and villages taught sedition and attempted to seduce Indian soldiers.

"This revolutionary party was financed by violent robbery, its bandits raiding wealthy persons, sometimes holding them for ransom and committing several cruel murders. In the course of a month or two this organization was fully dealt with by the police and the Government. A special tribunal heard their cases. The proceedings in connection with this were extraordinary, being long and sensational, for there were over eighty defendants. Of these twenty-six were condemned to death and rather more than that to transportation and minor punishment."

Mr. Chamberlain's surmise that German money may have backed our paper before the war is an echo of the British prosecuting attorney Petman's assertion at the Lahore revolutionary trial that the "Hindustan Gadar knew three years ago about the coming war." We wish we had known it. It is a regular mania with the British Government nowadays that wherever there is found hatred or revolt against the British they attribute it to the Germans. By asserting the implication of Germans in the revolts in India the British hope to persuade Japan to send her troops to India to help quell the outbreak. The facts about ourseives are well known, we are not plotters and have no secrets. All that we do is to educate our people regarding the blessings of national independence, political freedom and liberty.

British Fear Paper

What Lord Hardinge calls our "private communications" are none other than the issue of the Hindustan Gadar. In other words the British Government was more afraid of our educative and ethical propaganda than of all the "plots," which had been going on in India for the last ten years. The American people will recall that the founders of this great republic, who accomplished exactly what we hope to-day for India, were stigmatized by the British as "plotters and seditionists".

Mr. Chamberlain says. "As a matter of fact there is absolutely no sign of revolt in India. Reports of riots are without foundation." In answer to this I would like to know, if India is tranquil, why it is necessary to place the whole country under martial law? Why was it necessary to abolish all ordinary civil procedure and place the whole country under military authority? Why did the Government establish as early as October, 1914, a most rigid postal censorship, so that every letter going to or out of India is opened and many letters withheld? The open and delayed letters bear printed slips "Opened by censor" or "Opened under martial law".

The newspaper and Government reports show that since the war 300 newspapers have been suppressed. Five thousand men have been arrested in Multan, 4,185 in Jhang, 300 in Lahore and several thousands in Bengal. The fact is that spontaneous outbreaks of the people have occurred in spite of, and partly on account of, the severest military rule in all parts of India. A notable feature of the unrest were mutinies in several regiments, especially those stationed at Jhansi, Lahore, Ambala and Meerut. A pitched fight occurred between the Bengal revolutionists and the military in Orissa. As a consequence hundreds of revolutionists have been hanged at Jhansi, Lahore, Meerut, Ambala, Benares, Arrah and other places.

Country in Turmoil

Austin Chamberlain himself makes a guarded admission that the activities of the revolutionists threw the whole country into panic and turmoil. He says: "There was some withdrawal of money from savings banks and other evidences of an unsettled state of the public mind." He also says that the report of the "Ghadr" that 5,000 professors, students, &c., were interned in India is without foundation. (This statement originally appeared in the *New York Sun*.)

Mr. Chamberlain thinks the public will believe him on account of his high official position. We can only say that our facts have been derived from accounts published in India's papers. At the present time nothing can be published in India papers unless it is approved by the authorities. Inspite of this a Hindupaper, the A.B. Patrika, published in English at Calcutta, contains the following in its issue of February 22, 1916, which pretty well reveals the present situation:

"Not a week passes that we do not hear reports of fresh internments. This means universal unrest. The feeling of alarm and uneasiness has been heightened by the fact that any one may be spirited away. It is to be deeply deplored that the Government has not realized the amount of mischief which martial law is producing in the country. The more the list of deported is swelling the wider and more intense is the discontentment growing."

A realy important fact that the world does not know is that some of the Hindu Princes have been arrested for sedition. The brother of the reigning Prince of Daspala, Orissa, has been sentenced to transportation for life. The Rajah of Kharwa, Rao Gopal Singh of Rajputana, has been imprisoned for two years.

Mr. Chamberlain says: "Not a penny of increased taxation has been laid upon India because of the war." In answer to this I will simply say that India is already taxed to the utmost limit of endurance. A Hindu peasant is forced to pay from 60 per cent to 70 per cent of his produce to the Government as land tax. Consequently, the Hindus have become so poor that the average annual income of a Hindu is twenty-seven rupees (\$9), according to Lord Curzon, and fifteen rupees (\$5), according to Sir William Digby. A Hindu soldier, a school teacher or a policeman gets nine rupees (\$3) a month. When invidious legislation and countervailing internal duties destroyed the Hindustan home industries 40,000,000 people were thrown out of work.

Hindus are Starving

One-third of India's revenue is spent on armaments and less than one-sixteenth is spent on education and sanitation. If this is the case how can the Hindus live? The Hindus are not living—they are dying. Nineteen million died of famine and 15,000,000 died of plague and malaria, according to Sir William Digby during the ten years from 1891 to 1900. Hundreds of thousands died in Bankura, Bengal and Rajputana in the famine of 1915-16; 7,251,257 died from plague during the period of time between the years 1897 and 1913.

Sydney Brooks, an English journalist, writes in the North American Review that "The British Government neither suggested nor invited the employment of Indian troops on the battlefields of Europe. It was forced upon them by the repeated demands of the Indian people themselves."

This is as untrue a statement as has ever been published and a simple reference to facts will prove its absurdity. The news of the declaration of war did not reach the Indian press until two days after the event. Simultaneously with the declaration of hostilities the Government issued strict injunctions that nothing should be published or said regarding the movement of troops or any other subject of military significance.

The Indian troops received orders for mobilization and immediate embarkment on August 7. In other words, Indian troops had been ordered to Europe long before the people grasped the fact that war had come. When did the people have the opportunity to beseech the Government that their men should be permitted to fight?

On the contrary, as soon as the question of recruiting arose the people opposed the movement stubbornly. Not only were there serious rebellions among the troops themselves, as at Singapore, Honkong, Rangoon and Colombo, but even loyal newspapers wrote that recruiting was forced and therefore repugnant to the people. The *Amrita Bazar* of Calcutta wriote:

"If India be self-governed under British protection the door to recruiting would not be so narrow as now." On reading this article Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., exclaimed: "The clouds are all already gathering!"

What about the magnificent devotion of the "bejewelled" Hindu princes, whom Sydney Brooks calls almost independent allied of the British? Let no one be deceived. Hindu princes are not "Independent" potentates. They have less freedom even than the man in the street in India. Politically they are absolutely impotent and have to obey the British political agents and residents stationed at their courts implicitly in external and internal affairs alike. There are some 700 Hindu princes. Out of these only a half dozen went to Europe. Some of these might have visited the front. Two fell "sick" in London; all returned safely after spending six months abroad. A theatrical trick to deceive the world.

The same was published in Philadelphia North American, Detroit Free Press and New York Freeman's Journal.

DISLOYALTY IN BRITISH INDIA

Statement of conditions there during the War

By RAM CHANDRA

—*Springfield Republican, August 11, 1916*

Dear Sir: May I make use of the columns of your esteemed paper to make a short reply to Mr. Austin Chamberlain's statement, personally given by him to your London representatives, that all was well from the Indian point of view. This British statesman has "posed" several times of late, for British and American public. He cites the authority of Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy. The Secretary of State supports the Viceroy, and the Viceroy supports the Secretary of State, in their public utterances. What else do you expect? And yet from the speeches of this same Viceroy, and his most exalted colleagues, I can show that since the outbreak of the war, the British in India have been trembling with fear for their safety. To cite only one instance: A farewell dinner was given on October 8, 1915, at Simla, by British Civil and Military Officials in honour of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. In proposing the toast of the evening, Major-General Bunbury, Quarter Master General of British Forces in India, said:

Major General Bunbury's Speech

"Many decades have passed (1857) since last a Viceroy was called on to pilot the good ship of India through such troubled waters as those which have beset her course of late, when that course has been between the Sella of external and the Charbydis of internal trouble...in steering clear of the rocks of anarchy and evading the submarine attacks of sedition. The end of the voyage is not yet. There may be breakers ahead and storms to be weathered."

The reply of the Viceroy is even more significant considering his habitual diplomatic reserve and smoothness of speech.

Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy, responded and said:

"You have referred, General Bunbury, in sympathetic terms to the difficult times that have been my lot. Well, it has been very hard, very hard....I, the pilot, know that there may still be shoals to be navigated and further storms to be encountered before the good ship of State arrives safely in port."

How serious the situation was on the Northwest Frontier, where the hatred of the British inspired the courageous and freedom-loving mountaineers of the Northern Border-land of India to throw themselves repeatedly at the English, may be gathered from the following words of the Viceroy in the same speech.

Fighting on the North West

"I need hardly remind those assembled here of the succession of serious actions on our frontier since the outbreak of the war.... those who have taken part in them have been fighting the Empire's battles every whit as much as those who have laid down their lives on the bloody yields of Flanders or the Dardanelles."

Theory of German Intrigue

"Of course," says Austin Chamberlain, "there was some revolutionary activity in the country...but that was due to the machination of the Germans." If the uprising at Singapore, to suppress which, with the aid of the Japanese and the freshly imported English Territorials, it took the British at least a week; the "disturbances" in Ceylon which resulted in the courtmartial of some 500 men (according to the statement in the British Parliament made by Bonar Law and Steel-Maitland); the countless political dacoities in the towns and villages of India, for committing which some 5000 men were sent up for trial in the Punjab alone and within a few weeks; then that intricate net of conspiracy whose existence was proved by the certain developments leading to the arrest and trial by special tribunals under military law, of several hundred revolutionists at Delhi, Benares, Arah, Meerut, Lahore, Fyzabad; the courtmartials of batches after batches of Hindu soldiers for participation in the revolutionary movement; then, the stubborn fighting which lasted throughout the year on the Northwestern frontier; if all this—and the list is not exhausted—was contrived by the Germans, they must indeed feel proud of their achievement. Unwittingly, Mr. Chamberlain pays to German efficiency and diplomacy the highest possible compliment. If "the sedition shop," which Chamberlain alleges is maintained in Berlin was able from such a distance to raise in India "the rocks of anarchy" and direct "the submarine attacks of sedition;" and conjure up those revolutionary "storms," which so far as the "English pilot can see" may still "have to be weathered"—then, the Kaiser has been amply repaid for its maintenance.

Each of these lies and fairy-tales about India with which British ministers hope to mislead their own people, their allies and the neutrals, covers a wrong.

Now, what is true and right about India?

The truth is that the entire Hindu people, from their primitive human subsoil to their highest layer of aristocracy, abhor the cruel, incorrigible British Bureaucracy, which exploits and persecute India in the most relentless and inhuman fashion. Every increase in British prestige and power fills them with gloom and dismay; on the contrary, at every blow struck at British military, financial or commercial power they rejoice. Unwilling slaves, they like to see their masters humiliated.

Why don't they all rise in rebellion? Aye, why don't all the Belgian and the Serbians rise up in rebellion? The traditions of revolt are worthily maintained by the Hindu revolution with whom go the good wishes of the entire nation and whose influence is ever on the increase, in spite of the swaggering optimism of Austin Chamberlain and Augustine Birrel.

Loyal Hindu Scores Chamberlain

The Honourable C.T. Chintamani, a noted "loyalist" and a member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of the United Provinces, make the following comment on Austin Chamberlain's recent outpourings:

"Has Mr. Austin Chamberlain ever erred on the side of liberality?"

Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons of the conclusive evidence of the unshakable solidarity of the princes and people of Indian in defence of the Empire.... that they have ranged themselves on the side of justice and liberty as opposed to the German theory of Government. The English—since August, 1914, have indeed dined it into us that while the Germans dearly love a perfected bureaucracy, Britons repose their faith in justice and liberality and nationalism. Mr. Chamberlain testified to the "determination of all classes and creeds in India to fulfil all possible duties of citizenship." Wherefore let our countrymen be recognized in fact as citizens, and not merely as subjects. The duties of the latter we have in full.....the subjection was there unquestionably...where was the citizenship?

Hindus in Subjection

The loyal paper Leader in its issue of September 26, 1915, says: The Government has armed itself with extraordinary powers of executive action against free speaking and writing....persons may be deported without

trial and without their offence being made known to them, and their property confiscated.....meetings may only be held with the permission of the magistrate (which is only granted for a loyal "demonstration"). There is the law of 1908 which empowers the Government to suppress association; there is the crowning blessing of the Press Act, there is the Conspiracy Act, and.....there is the (newly-made) all embracing Defence of India Act....The plain and simple truth of the present day in India is that candid Indian publicists exercise their vocation by the mere sufferance of executive authority and at their peril. The Indian press lives under a reign of discretion." (Terrors is the word).

The tale of British repression is long and cannot all be told here. Attention must, however, be drawn to the extremely rigorous Arms Act, which has been in vogue since 1857. The entire population has been disarmed, so that it is as difficult for a Hindu to obtain a revolver or even a dagger, as it would be for an English suffragette to obtain Krupp canons. The Irish volunteers have arms. If the Hindus had arms, or even sharp forks and knives, Austin Chamberlain would have been telling this time a different tale. The mountaineers of the Northwestern corner of India did have a few old-fashioned rifles; and they did not fail to give the British a taste of "the bloody fields of Flanders or the Dardanelles," to use Viceregal language.

Hindu Sinn Feiners

In its history of the war, glowing eloquent over India's "loyalty," the "Times" of London says:

"Just as Ireland still has her Sinn Fein extremists, so has India still her anarchists and her fanatical bomb-throwers."

The truth in this statement is that India has her Sinn Feiners. The falsehood of it lies in the implication that the Hindu revolutionists are a forlorn hope of intransigents. They are not "anarchists;" they are nationalists; and hence the whole nation is and is growing to be, with them. Whether the Irish Sinn Feiners command any influence in Ireland to-day is not for us to say. But we do insist that the Hindu Sinn Feiners today are as influential as the Irish were in the days of Robert Emmett, and at the time of the American Civil War. Ireland has about 100 representatives in the British Parliament today, and the promise of Home Rule for tomorrow. India has not a single vote in the British Parliament, and no sanguine outlook for tomorrow; not the Promise even of a Duma.

Hindu Soldiers

India takes no pleasure in the fact that her sons have been sent to be butchered abroad. The Hindu soldiers did not go willingly; they simply had to. Yesterday, they had to go to the Transval, China, Soudan, Tibet, Egypt; today they have to fight against the Turks and the Teutons; tomorrow they may have to fight against the French or the Japanese. Mercenary troops have no choice. They, like the other Hindus, are a brave people. Extreme poverty, thanks to British administration, has compelled them to sell their manly virtues—in order to earn \$3.00 a month for wife and children. They are giving their lives, not for the British Empire, not out of loyalty to an alien oppressor; but for the sake of their starving women and children. They are perverted martyrs to domestic virtue.

Hindu Princes

Austin Chamberlain calls Hindu Princes "Independent Rulers." Shades of Dalhousie and Lord Curzon! And the rest of them! To call them 'loyal' and 'independent' in the same breath is jugglery. Princes enjoy less "independence" than to the English peers. Never forget, that when a Hindu Prince makes a donation to the Government, it is really the British Political Agent or Resident at "his court" who makes the donation to the Imperial Chest. In all such matters, it is the English Resident who rules from behind the scenes. The war contributions made by these Princes are in the nature of forced levies and have ruined the states. The Minister of Travancore (South India State) complains of a "heavy financial deficit" on account of the contributions made to the English war chest. The same is true of all other states.

New Taxation for War

"We have never asked India for any monetary contributions to the war," says Austin Chamberlain. This statement is a downright lie. Apart from the fact that India was taxed beyond the limit of recovery before fresh taxes have been levied specifically for this war. Forced loans have been raised, and in fact, no device has been left untried to squeeze out of the juiceless lemon any moisture left.

Sir William Myer in his speech introducing the measure for new taxation in the Imperial Legislature Council, on March 1, 1916, said:

"We renewed temporary borrowings to the extent of seven million pounds (\$35,000,000) from the Gold Standard Reserve, and the Secretary of State did the same in regard to short term India bills to a like amount. It was also proposed that the Secretary of State should raise about six and one-half million pounds (\$33,000,000) by fresh borrowing at home, while we were to issue a rupee loan of three million pounds (\$15,000,000) in 'this country.' But all this did not suffice, so fresh taxes must be levied. Sir William continues, "We intend to get an additional revenue of (a) two million one hundred and fifty thousand pounds (\$10,750,000) from customs, (b) six hundred thousand pounds (\$3,000,000) from an enhancement of the duty on salt, (c) nine hundred thousand pounds (\$4,500,000) from an increase under income tax; or in all over three million, six hundred thousand pounds (\$18,000,000).... Our present measures arise only through the participation of India in the 'War'.

The total revenue last year was eighty-two million, five hundred thousand pounds. This year it will be eighty-six million, one hundred thousand pounds. Is this a small increase in taxation for a single year?

The same was published in *Boston Daily Advertiser* and *New York Freeman's Journal*.

WHAT YOUNG INDIA HAS IN MIND

Rumblings of Dissatisfaction the First Warning that the
People have a Vision of a Republican Government

By RAM CHANDRA

—*New York Times*, July 8, 1916

I have seen a report of a statement on the political situation in India given by the ex-Viceroy, Hardinge of Penhurst, to your London correspondent. The English people themselves do not accept this pronouncement, at its face value. The comment of the London Daily News was:

"Lord Hardinge, speaking to a foreign audience, naturally does not dwell upon the details of the great problem which the Government of India in the future presents. * * * Any one acquainted with the startling development of political consciousness in India during these few months * * * will assuredly testify to the gravity of the task before us."

"Speaking to a foreign audience"—which contains a strong infusion too, of the descendants of England's enemies—the Viceroy was naturally anxious to magnify the significance, though there was hardly any, of the artificial "loyalty demonstrations," and to minimize the importance, the wide-spread nature and the potency of the revolutionary movement. Lord Hardinge, indeed, stooped to grossest misrepresentation and perversion of well-known facts.

For instance, he said:

"Of course there is a certain amount, though small comparatively, of dissatisfaction and disloyalty in India. * * *

But even so, this discontent is anarchistic rather than revolutionary. It has no constructive programme. It represents a desire to tear down authority, not a plan to set up a new authority. * * * The Gadar Party, so called because of the paper of that name, which is printed abroad and introduced secretly, is frankly anarchistic."

Now, as the editor of the Gadar newspaper, I repudiate in the most emphatic terms that the "Young India" party, whose organ Hardinge says our paper is, can in any sense be called "anarchistic." We are not anarchists, but republicans. That is why the British Government is in such fear of our purely ethical and educational work. Had we been "anarchists" we would have openly said so. We, who have made great sacrifices for what we consider to be the social truth, would not make any secret of our principles. Our plan is constructive, first and last. We aim at nothing less than the establishment in India of a republic, a government of the people by the people, for the people in India.

Residence in the United States has not made the Hindu labourers who returned home "imbued with revolutionary ideas" (Hardinge) anarchists, but it has made them republicans. The whole country has been profoundly stirred by their vision of a United States of India. Following the example of the Italian patriots of the last century, our party calls itself the "Young India" party. In support of my contention that the Gadar party is not anarchical, I submit a quotation from the opening speech of Bevan Petman, the Crown Prosecutor at the trial of some men of the "Young India" (Gadar) party before the Lahore Special Tribunal, (April 26, 1915):

"The aim and object of this formidable conspiracy was to wage war on his Majesty, the King-Emperor, to overthrow by force the Government as by law established in India, to expel the British and to establish "Swadeshi" or independent national government in the country."

Lord Hardinge says, however, that he "succeeded" in India because of his "policy of mutual trust." But his deeds belie his words. Who does not know, by this time, that under no previous Viceroy was so much official repression and coercion practised in India as during Hardinge's viceroyalty, especially since the outbreak of the war?

Reviewing the five years' reign of Lord Hardinge, the well-known loyal paper, *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, says:

"When Lord Minto left these shores he, too, was lauded up to the skies by a few flunkies. * * * In his farewell speech at the Council he (Lord Hardinge) did not conceal his contempt for those who have raised the cry of 'Home Rule for India!' within a reasonable period. * * * Have not new fetters been forged during the viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge? What about the Conspiracy Act and the Public Safety Act, which have spread alarm and consternation throughout the length and breadth of the country? What about the police and C.I.D. rule, which sits like a dread nightmare on the breasts of the people? * * * What ghastly work has the Press act done during the Government of the Lord Hardinge? What about the suppression of the *Comrade* and *Zamindar* newspapers and the internment of their worthy editors? What about the arrest of men and their conviction without a regular trial? Was the liberty of the subject ever placed under a greater danger than it has been during the administration of the present Viceroy (Hardinge)?"

Thus writes one of the foremost and recognized Hindu leaders whom Hardinge says he had taken into confidence.

Lord Hardinge lets the cat out of the bag himself when he says: "Since the outbreak of the war all political controversies concerning India have been suspended by the educated and political classes, with the object of not increasing the difficulties of the Government's task." This is a diplomatic way of saying that the Government had compelled the "educated and political classes" to suspend all "controversies" in order to save themselves from any "difficulties". The educated classes, thus gagged, turned to secret propaganda and conspiracy, as evidenced by the formidable Benares conspiracy trial, in which the conspirators were all highly educated men, college professors, school teachers, &c., who had seen the "hopelessness of accomplishing anything by constitutional methods".

India Against Britain

Regarding the fighting on the mountain slopes of the northwestern border of India, Lord Hardinge says: "It is true that during the last year we have had no less than seven very severe attacks from tribesmen just outside of our frontier."

Lord Hardinge was the British Ambassador at Petrograd during the momentous days of the Russo-Japanese war when the Russian revolution suddenly broke out, and he has evidently not failed to learn the methods of autocracy.

The same was published in *Boston Daily Advertiser*.

ENGLAND CALLED AMERICAN REVOLUTIONISTS, "ANARCHISTS"

When the American colonists dumped the British tea overboard in Boston harbour rather than pay an unjust tax thereon, King George III wrathfully exclaimed that such anarchy in America must be suppressed.

The arrogance and intolerance which marked the British officials of that period has not materially diminished, which may explain the state of mind which prompted Lord Hardinge, former Viceroy of India, to declare in a recent-published interview given to American newspapers that the present discontent in India is "anarchistic rather than revolutionary".

The yearnings of the oppressed for a measure of political freedom always appears "anarchistic" to the oppressor.

RAM CHANDRA.

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IS INDIA LOYAL TO HER MASTERS?

By RAM CHANDRA

—*North American Review, New York, June, 1916*

Sir—There is published an article by the pen of Mr. Sydney Brooks in the valuable columns of *The North American Review* for the month of April.

Mr. Brooks writes that "since the war, India has given us not one hour of real anxiety. She has been admirably tranquil, resolute and faithful. Some disquieting incidents, mainly fomented by professional revolutionaries who make their headquarters in California, have occurred, but there has been absolutely nothing to justify the alarmist rumours which occasionally find their way into the American press."

This is absolutely false. The New Defence of India Act, which was passed into law by the Viceroy's Legislative Council on March 18, 1915, was put into operation before the Lahore conspiracy case began. A notification of the Gazette Extraordinary of March 24th directed that section 3 of the act shall come into force in the states of the Punjab, North western Frontier Province, and Bengal, including more than one hundred million of the inhabitants of India, and gradually the operation of the act was extended until now it includes the whole of India. Prior to the arrest of a few immigrants returned from Canada and America, 4,185 men had been arrested in the district of Jhung, and since the Lahore conspiracy the arrest, imprisonment and execution of revolutionists have been numerous throughout the whole of India.

Mr. Brooks writes that the trouble is fomented by "professional revolutionists who make their headquarters in California." The object of Mr. Brooks in spreading such misinformation seems to be two-fold: First: To bring us, if possible, into conflict with the authorities of this country. Second: To persuade the civilized world to believe that the political unrest in India has been manufactured artificially by the enemies of England or by a few Hindus who have lived abroad, and that it is not a natural reaction on the part of the people of India as a whole against the unbearable tyranny of the British Government.

The truth of the matter is quite the reverse. The British in India are in peril. A correspondent of *India*, a paper published in London, writes from Bombay that "no Englishman is safe in India, and on this account English women are preparing to leave India." In the Lahore revolutionary case, which is being tried within the confines of the central jail, Lahore, before the special Military Commission appointed by the New Defence of India Act (which in effect establishes martial law) the Government prosecutor, Mr. B. Petman, says: "In spite of the arrest of the majority of the leaders, the conspiracy continued, and further acts in pursuance of the conspiracy were committed. The police arrested 300, but nobody was willing to testify against them on account of fear of the revolutionists."

Mr. Brooks states that the princes and the masses are fighting for their King. True it is that some Indians are fighting in the British Army, and a few have volunteered their services. But who are they? They are the Indian soldiers who are part of the British-Indian army in India, whom poverty has driven to enlist under the British Flag. As professional soldiers, whose interest lies in pay only, they are required to fight whenever wanted. Hence, when this great European war broke out, a large number of the Indian soldiers were shipped to Europe who were completely unaware of their proper destination. Some of them thought they were to be shipped from one Indian port to another, while others surmised that they were sailing for Africa.

As regards the rest—who are, by the way, few in number—they are the adventurers and place-seekers. Those few Indian princes who are hanging around the British camp in France, those "bejewelled" rajahs who are subscribing to the British war-relief fund and aiding in other ways: who are they and what are they? Always lying in the clutches of the tyrannical British, always compelled by brute force to follow at the back and call of the British, and as such always subservient to the British caprice without any will of their own, and practically prisoners in their own palaces, these Indian princes have been compelled to unloosen the strings of their purses to help—as the Imperial mandate has said—a "holy cause for humanity". Being always watched and suspected and never trusted by the British Government, and politically being absolutely impotent to extant any independent will of their own, these maharajas are doing what they are ordered to do directly or indirectly.

The sentiments and feelings of the masses on whom the crushing weight of British rule falls heavily are not reflected in the actions of these hypocritical opportunists. The masses of the Indian people, hitherto inarticulate, are giving vent to their expression by other means, and gradually are making their voices heard, though hardly an echo of that voice reaches the outside on account of the British "love of Justice and fair-play!" At present their voice is entombed by the British censorship established to prosecute a war for "humanity."

Everyone should bear in mind that out of a total of 700 Hindu princes, only five went to Europe. Only three of these went to the front; two fell sick in London, and after six months they all returned to India. On the other hand, two Hindu princes, the brother of the reigning prince of Daspala, and the Raja of Kharwa, one of Rajput States, have been arrested for sedition. The first was sentenced to transportation for life, and the other to two years' imprisonment. Two hundred interned Hindus have been hanged and shot at Lahore, Ambala, Delhi, Meerut, Calcutta, Orissa, Jhansi, etc. Five hundred have been transported for life, and 5,000 interned without trial, including professors, students, physicians, priests, editors, peasants, social reformers, and soldiers, during the year 1915.

The same was published in *New York Times* in answer to Sydney Brooks and in *San Francisco Examiner* in Answer to Justice Spencer of Madras High Court.

A REPLY TO LORD ISLINGTON

By RAM CHANDRA

It would seem as though British Statesmen are vying with each other in perpetration of falsehood about India. One of the latest to "pose" for the American public is Lord Islington, the Under Secretary for India.

In his report of a special interview with this statesman, the *Times* correspondent says:

"Lord Islington did not suggest that any such measure of autonomy as obtained in Canada and South Africa could be granted to India."

That must be presumably because the Hindus are incapable of carrying the administration of the country. Strangely enough, however, Lord Islington claims that the entire subordinate staff of the administration is composed of Hindus and that some very high posts, i.e., Judgeships of the provincial Supreme Courts, have been bestowed on the Hindus and the results of the policy are exceedingly satisfactory. This certainly does not prove that the Hindus are incapable of managing their own affairs. It proves, on the contrary, that while the routine drudgery as well as most of the intellectual work of the administration, is performed by the Hindu subordinates, the entire credit and the fabulous emoluments of rulership go to the British Civil Service. The raw English Magistrate drops in the Court for a couple of hours, most times soaked in whiskey and soda, signs his name to a heap of papers, calls everybody around a few foul names, swears a whole lot and goes away. He gets for the repetition of this performance from four Hundred to Two Thousand Dollars a month. His Hindu clerk, however, who works day and night, prepares all the papers for him to the last minute detail, gets from Twenty to Fifty Dollars a month. A Hindu getting One Hundred Dollars (\$100) a month is considered as ranking very high, indeed. Such fat jobs are rewards of extraordinary cleverness, devotion to the British Sirkar, a great deal of direct and indirect bribing to the English officials.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the majority of these Hindus, impecunious, but highly intelligent, should protest against the present arrangement. Why should they do all the work and the "Sahibs" get all the credit and the higher rewards. Who does not know in India, for instance, that while all the credit for the success of the Scistan Mission was given to the Commanding English Officer, Col. McMohan, the whole arduous work was performed by such Hindu subordinates as Thakur Dass (of Delhi).

Now, the legerde main performance of Lord Islington consists in this, that he honours this system of exploiting the Hindu subordinates with the designation of "Hindu Self-Government". Why not say as well that Russia enjoys a democratic constitutional form of government, because the Cossacks with whose help the Czar rule, are Russians themselves by nationality?

The Hindu Princes

"Indeed," says Lord Islington, "it is not always realised how far self-Government has already been carried. . . In the first place about one-third of the total area of our Indian Empire is under direct administration of the ruling Princes and Chiefs." Never was a more misleading statement made. The casual reader would obtain from it the impression that the Hindu Princes have been gradually created by the British, since their occupation of India. The truth is the reverse. The Hindu Princes of the present day are mere shadows of their powerful ancestors. The Nizam of Hyderabad was once the most powerful Mohammedan Sovereign, whose alliance the British deemed it good luck to have secured against the French. What is he to-day? A puppet in the hands of the English. The rulers of Udaipur (Hindu State) have been the proudest kings in India for twelve centuries. Their pride was humbled to the dust when at the coronation Durbar of 1911, the present ruler of Udaipur was dragged, in spite of protests, to Delhi and forced to touch the feet of King George. What little semblance of self-rule the Hindu State still retains goes only to show that the British Conquest of India is still incomplete. The fangs of the oppressor are gradually tightening and not loosening on the Hindu Chiefs. Forty years ago the British officer who represents the English power at Hindu Courts was merely a sort of Minister or Ambassador. To-day, he is the real ruler of the State, the prince being merely a figurehead. Who does not know that when Lord Kitchener was in Egypt, it was he and not the Khedive who ruled over the country? The same is true of the smaller Kitchens, called: "British Residents at the Hindu Courts." How the existence of partial autonomy in Hindu States could be cited in proof of Britain's anxiety to give self-rule to the Hindus, passeth comprehension. The

Hindu princes have maintained what little autonomy they have against the British by their own astuteness and frequent show of insubordination. It proves that the Hindus still have plenty of political ability left in them. It does not prove that the British are gradually giving away their political control in India to the Hindus. Neither princes nor the common people in India are under any illusions on the point. They know well that the price of Liberty is continual Vigilance and that the more trouble they create for the British, the greater chance they have of maintaining what freedom they still enjoy and of obtaining more.

Rajah Mehandra Pratab Singh, who is reported to have joined the German army against the British, according to Anglo-Indian papers of India, was not granted a passport to leave India. This is an indication of the degree of independence native princes possess.

The readers of the Times will remember that in my letter of May 22nd, 1916, I referred to the imprisonment of Rajah Gopal Singh Rao of Kharwa, Rajputana. The following letter, showing how he had been treated prior to his imprisonment, was published June 3rd, 1916, in the *Bombay Patriot* and the "*Rajput Gazette*" of Lahore:

"In the Fort of Tadgah while I was interned without trial I heard that the police had besieged my Palace and searched it; that my estate had been confiscated by the Government; that my son had been sent away to some distant place, and the ladies of my family had been placed under a rigid surveillance. I also heard that the Government was going to inflict on me the death sentence. * * *

"My Palace was searched in the same way that a house is searched when it is about to be confiscated. The police destroyed all my correspondence. My son was permitted to just write a note under the supervision of Mr. Phakey, an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department. Even then the Inspector of police and his force would not desist from trying to enter the Zenana [the women's apartments]. When my folks remonstrated the Police officer abused them grossly."

"All our arms, cartridges, bullets, swords, even knives, were taken away. All our cattle and horses (I had some forty horses of the finest breed) were sold by auction. All my silver and gold ware were confiscated by the Government. All our jewellery, even the last ring on my Ranee's (Princess) finger was taken away. There was a chapel dedicated to Krishna in our Palace, in which my folk worshipped daily. The British Commissioner forbade them to worship there and the chapel was closed."

All this was done merely in suspicion. Later, the Rajah was brought to trial in the Benares conspiracy case and acquitted. However, he was again charged with having broken the rule of internment by having on one occasion left the Palace where he was interned without giving notice to the Commissioner, and for this offence he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

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HINDU PRINCES

By RAM CHANDRA

—*Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 15, 1916

Articles have appeared recently in the public press, conveying the idea that to give self-government and parliamentary rule to British India would produce disturbance in those states which are under native rulers, and that these rulers are really independent sovereigns, vassals to the British Crown only in the sense that they cannot wage war, contract alliances or carry on relations with foreign governments, save through the suzerain power, Great Britain.

The only disturbance it could create in these native states if universal suffrage were granted to Colonial India would be an agitation for the establishment of democratic rule in the native states. As the people in this country believe in democratic rule, they could not look upon such agitation otherwise than with approval. As to the native rulers being independent sovereigns, as described above, I will give the following facts:-

In the first place there are only two independent states, Nepal and Bhutan, which are located in the foothills of the Himalayan Mountains. The population of Nepal is 2,000,000, that of Bhutan 35,000. These two small states have defeated the English three times and still maintain their independence. The writers of the articles to which I refer, evidently had in mind what are called feudatory states. These states are semi-independent, but their rulers must do nothing contrary to the wishes of the British Government. There is a British official called Resident or Agent located at court who has supervision of everything that is done by the Maharajas. As illustrations of the so-called independence of these Rajas and Nawabs, I will relate the following:

Zafar Ali Khan, editor of a magazine in Hyderabad, the largest state in India, who was receiving a monthly stipend of 200 rupees from the Nizam, the native ruler, was thought to be a member of the Nationalist Party by the local English agent. Consequently, the Agent notified the Nizam that Zafar must be deported from the state. The Nizam could not do otherwise than obey. However, he continued the monthly stipend. Later the exile attempted to establish a paper at Lahore in the Punjab province. After a few months publication the paper was confiscated and the editor interned without trial. He remains interned at the present time, unable to write anything for publication; the monthly stipend, however, still continues.

Another interesting story illustrating the independence of the native rulers concerns the Maharaja of Kashmire, the second largest state in India. The infant son of the Maharaja, heir to the throne and the only son, fell sick. The British resident notified the Viceroy, and a physician was sent from Lahore to take charge of the case. The child grew worse and when it was evidently about to die, the Maharaja wanted to call another doctor, but was not permitted to do so. Finally the Maharanee refused to allow the Government doctor to treat the child any longer. This was regarded as an affront to the British Government. The Resident summoned the Maharaja to appear before him where he was condemned to pay a fine and to apologize to the physician. Moreover, he was ordered to discharge the Royal Chamberlain, the oldest and most trusted of the Maharaja's staff, but suspected of having nationalistic ideas.

The minor Nawab of Bahawalpore was ordered by the Viceroy to be sent to England for "education". It is well-known in India what is the result of this "education"; how the young princes educated in England become saturated with British ideas and prejudices and only too often become corrupted by European vices, losing all feeling of loyalty to India. For these reasons and also because the young Nawab was not in good health, his old mother desired to keep him in India. Nevertheless the British official came and in spite of every protest carried him off. An appeal was made to the Viceroy who did not even send a reply. The mother sent several telegrams to King George, who finally replied that he could do nothing. So much for the boasted independence of India's rulers. As to the lesser Rajas and Princes, I will simply mention the fact that Raja Mahendra Partap Singh of Brindaban, who is reported to have joined the German Army against the British in Europe, could not secure a passport to leave India (according to M. Munshi Ram, Governor of Gurukala, Hardwar, and Anglo-Indian Press of Calcutta).

The Raja was the founder and president of Brindaban National University (Prem Mahavidhyala). His paper, "Narmalsewak," has been confiscated, and his property has been taken over by the Government.

The following notification is issued in the *Gazette of India*, Home Department:

"Whereas, the Governor-General-in-Council, for reasons of State, within the Preamble to Bengal regulation III of 1818, judges it necessary to attach the estates or lands of Raja Mahendra Partap Singh, and being the son of the last Raja Jhan Sain Singh Bahadur, and adopted son of the late Raja Har Narayan Singh Bahadur, now therefore, under section 9 of the aforesaid Regulation, the Governor-General-in-Council is pleased to declare that the estates or lands described in the schedule hereto annexed have been so attached, and to direct that the same shall be held and managed as provided by section 10 of the said Regulation."

In spite of the restraining hand of England, which interferes with every effort the Hindus make towards progress, more headway has been made in the feudal states than in the British India provinces. So far from fearing that to establish parliamentary rule in the provinces would create trouble in the feudatory states, the situation is exactly the reverse. The first concession of this kind has been made in the state of Bikaner, where a parliament has been established. The Gaekwar of Baroda and the Maharaja of Mysore have already passed laws to establish free compulsory education. These are the things which are creating trouble in the British India provinces. The General feeling in India as to the difference between native rule and British rule can be seen in the following statement taken from an address of ex-Judge Chandavarkar of Bombay High Court, who has served as Prime Minister in two different states. The Justice says:

"When I was Prime Minister of the Indore State I was struck by an extraordinary incident. There were villages, side by side, some belonging to the Indian State and others to the British Government. The people in the State preferred to remain where they were. I inquired into the reason of this strange phenomenon and I was told: 'We are largely left to ourselves; we are not bothered with the round of visits from the police, now from the excise department, now from the revenue department, and now from the Deputy Commissioner.'

The *Modern Review* of Calcutta writes:

"The people like to remain under their Indian rulers, because they are not over-governed, not interfered with too often and thus have greater opportunities of managing their affairs themselves. In British India no sphere of human life and activity is proof against or free from the inquisitiveness, meddlesomeness and vigilant watch of some official or other. They directly or indirectly meddle in all affairs—religious, social, educational, moral, political, or industrial. Such is not the case perhaps in Indian India."

In a lecture delivered at York by Dr. H.A.L. Fisher, Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, on January 31, the speaker states: "These states furnish one of the finest instances in history of the blending of western and eastern methods. Where they are well-governed there was found an air of happiness and ease, and he ventured to think that the population, on the whole, was happier and more comfort. Such is not the case perhaps in India."

In one respect similar testimony is born by Wilfred Blunt in his work on India under Lord Ripon when he says that "the subjects of the Native States are materially better off than the people of British India. * * * Education is more widespread in a few Indian states than in British India."

A REPLY TO SIR FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND

Who Says the writer has always tried to stir trouble against British Rule in India

By RAM CHANDRA

—*Boston Daily Advertiser, October 10, 1916*

Sir Francis Younghusband in an interview with the New York Times' London correspondent, published August 8th, 1916, criticises my letter published in the *Times* of May 22nd, 1916. Referring to my statement that two Hindu princes had been arrested for sedition during the war, Sir Francis objects that these persons are not ruling princes, but merely landowners with the title of "Rajah," and accuses me with trying to convey the impression that they are to be classed as princes with power over states.

I would like to say that in this respect I am in the same position as the British Government. The Prince who has been mentioned most conspicuously by the Government to illustrate the loyalty of the ruling princes in India is Raja Partap Singh of Idar who is reported to be at the head of the Hindu troops in France, is likewise only a landowner, with the title of Rajah. While there are of course only about forty reigning princes in India, there are in all some 700 with the title of Rajah. The 670 have had the title bestowed on them by the British Government because of their conspicuous wealth and influence, and further as a means of securing their loyalty. If the British Government is entitled to call attention to special instances of conspicuous loyalty on the part of any of these, I also am entitled to show evidences of disloyalty among them. The evidence is conclusive as to the two cases

which I mentioned, seeing that one, the brother of the reigning prince of Daspala, has been imprisoned for life, and the Raja of Kharwa has been condemned to two years' imprisonment. I may also mention the case of Rajah Pratap Singh of Hathras, who is reported to have joined the German Army against the British in France (according to the Anglo-Indian papers of Calcutta). Sir Francis also claims that the leaders of the educated classes are substantially loyal to the Government. In answer to this, I will say that the loyalty of India as a whole is the loyalty of a prison. As to the educated classes, the leaders of thought, it is sufficient to mention the suppression of nearly 350 newspapers and the confiscation of their press and property. Since the war began the Government began a campaign of house searches. No home, no matter how influential its owner, escaped the attention of the police. The residence of Hans Raj, the principal; and president of the Dayanand Arya University of Lahore, was overhauled by the police in the most thorough-going fashion. His entire library—one of the most noted collections in the Province—was ransacked. Numerous literary and scientific volumes were taken away by the "search party". The motor car of the Hon. Nawab Shams Ul Hudda was searched as he was going to pay a visit to the Viceroy at the latter's request. The office safe of the Hon. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Editor of the "*Bengalee*," principal of Ripon College, the greatest Swadeshi orator, and strangest of all a member of the Viceroy's Supreme Legislative Council, could not remain immune from the police scrutiny. How the common people fare at the high hands of the police when "big men" were thus treated, may be better imagined than described.

Sir Francis denies my claims that four hundred Hindus have been executed, eight hundred transported for life and ten thousand interned without trial, and asserts that only forty-six have been executed, forty-two transported for life and three thousand five hundred and ninety-six interned. This is quite an admission. Prior to my charge not a single telegram came from England or India admitting officially that any one had been executed. Now that there has been an accusation made by my statements, they admit a fraction of the truth. Today they admit forty-six executed; tomorrow they will admit more and eventually my assertion will be found to be true.

Sir Francis says that only forty-two were transported for life. The official report of the trials at Lahore shows that sixty were transported for life in the first Lahore conspiracy case and two hundred transported in the second Lahore conspiracy case. This makes two hundred and sixty, without mentioning trials at Calcutta, Ambala, Meerut, Jhung, Multan and Ceylon, when hundreds more were hanged, shot or transported for life. In Ceylon, four hundred and twelve were tried before court martial, and eighty-three had been sentenced to death, according to Bonar Law and Steel Maitland in the British House of Commons. If the disparity between the figures of Sir Francis and the other officials is so great in regard to those executed and transported for life, it is evident that my estimate of those interned is conservative. I am reminded of the fact that the mutiny in Daspala State was not allowed to be reported in the newspapers of India until after four months elapsed. Not only is it a fact that news of England's entrance in to the war was withheld (Sir Francis to the contrary, notwithstanding), but the death of Lord Kitchener was held back for two days and news of the naval battle in the North Sea for six days. The Indian papers such as *Bengalee* and *Patrika* vigorously complain of all these delays.

In referring to my letter, Sir Francis says it was "Written by one of a group of revolutionary inciters, who always have tried to stir trouble against British rule in India" and he also says "what the revolutionists' leaders failed to do at the outbreak of the war they are still trying to do now—from a safe distance." This is an echo of the statement of Mr. Bevan Petman, Crown Prosecutor at Lahore revolutionary trial that: "This conspiracy could not be separated from the 'Gadar', ***"

"The idea of a rising in India had come into existence before 1913. In fact, it had originated in 1907, and the conspirators included Har Dayal, Ram Chandra, Barkat Ullah and Bhagwan Singh. *** Seditious literature published in and outside India."

We very cheerfully admit all this, but we wish to emphasize the fact that all we are doing is to preach Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, the birthright of every human being, and to awaken the world to a realization of the enslaved condition of India, where these great principles are denied to all.

The same was published in *Issue and Events*.

BLIND LOYALTY IS MYTH

By RAM CHANDRA

Declares people are starving and progress repressed by British Rule

—*The Spokesman-Review, July 16, 1916*

I have noticed the report in the *Spokesman-Review* Spokane, Wash., of an interview of the *Sun's* London correspondent with Sirdar Daljit Singh of the "India Office" (London).

Mr. Austin Chamberlain has evidently tried of the unholy work of misrepresenting India and has turned it over to one of his Hindu grooms.

Like 98 per cent, and more, of my fellow countrymen I hold the Sirdar in too much contempt to relish the idea of making a reply to him. But silence on my part may be misconstrued in the United States, where "India is still a land of mystery".

Sirdar Daljit asserts:

1. That 98 per cent of the Hindus are "loyal" to the British.
2. That they are becoming more and more prosperous under British rule.
3. That the "oriental" has a peculiar penchant of personal loyalty to the "sovereign".
4. That only "46" men out of three hundred million have been executed for political crimes in 1915; and only 300 interned.
5. Lastly, the Sirdar asserts that he knows his country-men well, having held various government posts.

Says Statements False

Now each of these statements is either utterly false or is, strangely enough, most damaging to the Sirdar's argument. The Sirdar says the agrarian population is growing more prosperous. If this be true, then there is a great hope for the success of the coming revolution. Extreme poverty militates against progress. If it be true that education is spreading fast among the masses, then there is still more hope for the success of the coming revolution. Extreme ignorance has been the cause of India's enslavement.

Peasants not Growing Prosperous

Unfortunately it is not true that the peasants of India are growing more prosperous, in spite of the "irrigation works" of which Daljit Singh speaks. The Sirdar himself is innocent of any knowledge of economics or sociology, and has conned by heart a few sentences prepared for him by the British consulting economist of the India Office.

The "irrigation system" is far too inadequate for the needs of the country. The land is becoming more and more impoverished through intensive cultivation, and the entire economic rent, that is, from 60 to 70 per cent of the net land produce, is taken by the government as land revenue. Then this "land revenue" is subject to periodical revisions (settlements) which always result in an increased land tax.

The British Government in India is a "single taxer." "The land belongs to the government," hence the cultivation must give up the entire net produce. In governmental theory and practice, land revenue in India is not an income-tax, but economic rent. (Ricardo, it will be remembered, defined "rent" as that portion of the produce of the earth which is paid to the landlord for the use of the original and indestructible powers of the soil.)

Population gets steadily Larger

Again, by a simple biological process, population increase but land does not increase in size. India is an old country where every inch of soil has been under intensive cultivation for centuries. An acre which yesterday barely supported four persons is required today to support six persons. It can't be done.

The only solution can be industrial development. But Lancashire and Manchester manufacturers are dead against the growth of Indian industries. There are in India, according to the last census, over 40,000,000 agrarian proletariat who are nearly always unemployed. They die like flies every week of each passing year, of famine and pestilence. The war has greatly increased the economic misery. Fresh and heavy taxes have been levied. Forced loans have been raised. Vast sums of money have been extorted from poor Hindu states. Hindu princes who have given fabulous sums to British war chest have after all obtained their wealth from their over-taxed suffering subjects. O, the horror of it all!

Daljit Singh refers to the innate "loyalty to the sovereign" of orientals. I repudiate emphatically this ugly charge. Daljit Singh's slave psychology makes him think that we are all like him. No, we are not. The people of India hate tyranny and oppression exercised by monarchs, landed aristocrats and British bureaucrats as much as any other unsophisticated honest people, accustomed from time immemorial to democratic communal life in their village republics. If there is any sentimental loyalty, it affords another proof of the evil nature of British rule. Loyalty to the war-lord, king, viceroy, or raja is medieval and babaric. Now, of course, the whole story of British rule in India is this: About 200 years ago the powerful British medievalism succeeded in conquering the additional Indian medievalism. British medievalism, then, and the remnants of Indian medievalism (representing Daljit Singh), are the great adversaries against which the people of India have to wage a fierce strife.

TRANQUILLITY OF INDIA THE TRANQUILLITY OF A PRISON

By RAM CHANDRA

—*San Francisco Examiner, June 13, 1916*

E. F. Shewring, prominent banker of India, at the Palace with Mrs. Shewring, is quoted in the *Examiner* of June 3rd as saying:

"That the unrest in India was mainly caused by students who have been studying in foreign countries and returned to preach sedition."

"These men are all under lock and key or have been executed," he says, "the unrest has died down and India is tranquil."

Permit me to present, in contradiction to this denial of the revolt which is seething through all India, official statements from British sources, concerning outbreaks about which not a line has thus far appeared in public print. I refer to a recent mutiny in the island of Ceylon.

The following is taken from the proceedings in the British House of Commons:

Mr. McCullom Scott (M.P.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the colonies "how many cases arising out of the recent riots in Ceylon were tried before court-martial."

Mr. Steel-Maitland, the Under Secretary: "The number of persons who were tried before court-martials was 412."

How many of these were condemned and executed is not known, for the British censor has not permitted a line of this revolt to become known, although Bonar Law recently informed Parliament that eighty-three persons had been sentenced to death by the court-martials which were still sitting.

I quote again from the proceedings before the House of Commons:

Colonel Yates: "As for Ceylon, the ghastly and terrible mutiny there was the result of sending out as Colonial Secretary a young clerk from the Colonial Office with only ten years of service."

Sir J. D. Rees, asked whether there was any further information regarding the suggestion that he had made that the recent riots in Ceylon, which had been of a rather serious character, had their origin in German intrigue.

Mr. Steel-Maitland replied: "It is quite possible that German intrigue, was at the bottom of the rising in Ceylon. As far as could be seen, whatever might have been the effect of German intrigue that rising was a matter

of plotting. It might have started on the anniversary of Budha's Day. The rising took place amongst the Cingalese, who constituted two-thirds of the population."

Mr. Bonar Law, British Secretary for State for the Colonies made the following statement in "The House of Commons" on the Ceylon situation:

"Martial law was proclaimed in the Western Province and the Province of Sabragama on June 2 and in the Central, Southern and Northwestern provinces on June 3. As far as I am aware these proclamations are still in force."

Does this outbreak appear to have been only the work of "students who had been studying in foreign countries and had returned to preach sedition?"

Martial law exists over all India. The press is muzzled. The censor rules supreme. The real facts of conditions are concealed as long as possible, and even when they cannot be longer concealed from the members of Parliament themselves, they are minimized in every possible way. Thus, in his farewell address, the retiring Viceroy of India, Lord Hardinge, said:

"In Bengal and Punjab there has been a regret-table number of political murders and dacoities which dim the fair fame of these provinces."

"It is very well known that murders and dacoities were much more rise in the Punjab than in Bengal," writes the *Patrika*, a loyal daily in Calcutta. "It is also a well known fact that the revolution is of a graver character in the former than in the latter. Nay, if the official acts are to be believed, something like a second Sepoy Mutiny was contemplated in the Punjab."

Again, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, when he could not hide the facts, said: "I would be idle to disguise the fact that for several months we have had to deal with certain abnormal, but I hope transitory, features that occasioned serious anxiety to the government. We have been confronted with a conspiracy organized to subvert the authority of the Government of India, and especially in this province, and to pursue that nefarious scheme by murder and rapine, by use of the bomb, the dagger and the revolver. The prompters of the movement appear to have been inspired by the German policy of "frightfulness". Their professed object was to terrorize the administration, but their main line of action has hitherto been to rob, and in some cases to murder, to provide funds for their war chest.

"But while we are busily employed in checking this dangerous movement in the central Punjab, another storm burst in an unexpected quarter. In the districts of the Southwestern Punjab a section of the Mohammedan rural population, agriculturists and menials, took advantage of the panic to begin a campaign of lawlessness and looting combined with arson. The dacoities, while they lasted, were very serious.

*** The spirit of disorder spread with amazing rapidity over the south of Jhang within a few weeks, before the police force on these remote and hitherto orderly tracts could be strengthened sufficiently to cope with all the dacoit bands. Over 1000 arrests have been made in the three districts (Jhang, Mazaffergarh and Multan) alone."

No seditious students or America returned labourers but India's rural population revolted in "this unexpected quarter".

In Singapore, where the outbreak was more serious than elsewhere, the Hindu soldiers revolted. One regiment that mutinied was the Fifth Light Infantry, a regiment recruited mainly in districts not far from Delhi. The regiment attacked its commanding officers, and fighting continued three days. Fifty of the rioters were killed. The soldiers fired upon every Englishman they saw, as revealed in a discussion of the outbreak by Mr. Gersham Stewart in the House of Commons recently. He says:

"Five mutineers walking a road said to a colonist: 'Are you English?' and he said, 'No, I am Irish,' and they said, 'O' let him pass'. The mutineers were not out to loot, because they left in tenanted houses alone and they shot Englishmen in houses where Dutchmen were close by. Their attack, therefore, was certainly levelled against British power and British people. It was worthy of notice that the mutineers went to the internment camp and after shooting down the guards, broke open the gates and flung in rifles to Germans, calling out: 'German! German! Islam! Islam!'"

Ceylon, the Punjab, Singapore! These places are far apart. Cingalese, Hindu agriculturists, soldiers from Delhi! Can it be true, in the face of these admissions by the British officials, and members of the House of Commons that the unrest in India was due to a few students or labourers who had returned from foreign countries to preach sedition, and has not been quieted?

The *New York Sun* quotes Lord Hardinge as saying that political controversies concerning India have been suspended by the educated class. In regard to this it must not be forgotten that martial law prevails in India and that more than 350 newspapers have been confiscated and their leaders interned. "Tranquillity" of this sort is not good evidence of loyalty. Lord Hardinge's statement is quoted that "no fewer than 300,000 men were sent out of the country to Imperial battlefields." He does not state, however, how many English and colonial troops have been sent to India in their place. We know it to be a fact that several Canadian officers have been killed in the conflict on the Northwestern Frontier. The tranquillity of India is the tranquillity of a prison.

RAM CHANDRA

The same was published in *Issue and Events*.

HINDUS HANGED

History of Hindustan Gadar Political Parties in India

By RAM CHANDRA

The India described in the British official dispatches is not the real India. She is neither "loyal" nor "tranquil". India is seeking its way to complete independence, even though that way lies through bloodshed and insurrection. The agitation against the British Government has grown tremendously since the outbreak of the European war. Neither did the Government begin in a conciliatory mood. The authorities took steps, immediately the war began, which resulted in the suppression of nearly 350 newspapers and the confiscation of their presses and property. The people took to publishing newspapers secretly and to organizing conspiracies. The Government began a campaign of house to house searches. No home, no matter how influential its owner, escaped the attention of the police. The residence of Hans Raj, the saintly principal and president of the Dayanand Arya University of Lahore, was overhauled by the police in the most thoroughgoing fashion. His entire library—one of the most noted collections in the Province—was ransacked. Numerous literary and scientific volumes were taken away by the "search party". The motor car of the Hon. Nawab Shams ul Hauda was searched as he was going to pay a visit to the Viceroy at the latter's request. The office safe of the Hon. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Editor of the "*Bengalee*," principal of Ripon College, the greatest Swadeshi orator, and strangest of all, a member of the Viceroy's Supreme Legislative Council, could not remain immune from police scrutiny. How the common people fared at the high hands of the police when "big men" were thus treated, may be better imagined than described. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, writes the following in a recent issue:

"We have been crying and crying till our voice has become hoarse for putting a check to the indiscriminate search of houses by the police. But they come, they come, still they come."

The people in their rising wrath soon began a "reign of terror," to correspond with that of the Government. In rapid succession followed wholesale looting, dacoities, riots, mutinies (in the native Army) murders of police and officers, of English civilians and military, and particularly of "loyal" Hindus. The Government began a policy of wholesale arrests. The regular judicial procedure was suspended (as early as March, 1915). Anyone towards whom the Government entertained the slightest suspicion was "interned" by executive mandate. Special tribunals, consisting of three military officers in most cases, were instituted for the trial of "political offences". No appeal was possible from the decisions of these courts which held their proceedings *in camera*. That these special tribunals were kept busy may be understood from the fact that in less than a year some 400 men were sent to the gallows, about 800 imprisoned for life with hard labour, and some ten thousand "interned" by direct executive order, i. e., without any judicial procedure whatever.

American Returned Revolutionists

Some of the Hindus who had been residents in the United States returned to India at the beginning of the war. They were arrested and hanged or imprisoned for life. The prominent among them were the following:

Kartar Singh, Hinduaviator, who learned the art of aviation in New York, hanged. According to Mr. Petman, the Crown Prosecutor, Kartar Singh was on the staff of the Hindustan Gadar of San Francisco; made bombs and explosives, organized political riots and dacoities and helped to carry them out. An active revolutionary, he designed a flag for his fellow conspirators which was to typify an India free from British rule.

Kanshi Ram, contractor in Oregon, U.S.A. According to Mr. Petman, plotted for the "removal" of several police officials in Ferozepore, gave \$1000 to the Hindustan Gadar of San Francisco, and took \$10,000 to India with him to help finance the revolution against the English rule. The money was confiscated and Kanshi Ram hanged.

Nidhan Singh lived for 20 years in China and America where he was regarded as a very influential man. According to the Crown Prosecutor, Nidhan Singh successfully got arms into India from China after the outbreak of the war; plotted several dacoities and outbreaks; organized and took part in looting the British Treasury of Moga, Punjab—sentenced to penal servitude for life.

Sohan Singh, a great religious leader. Lived five years in Oregon, U.S.A.—charged with giving support to the Hindustan Gadar—sentenced to death (commuted to life imprisonment).

Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, a student at Washington University, Seattle; according to the Prosecutor Petman, was arrested while inciting a native regiment to revolt. Had in possession several bombs. Hanged.

Sohan Lal, a student at Corvallis Agriculture College, Corvallis, Oregon, arrested with two loaded revolvers and Gadar literature. Sohan Lal was a school teacher in India before coming to the United States. Hanged.

Gurdit Singh, leader of 400 Hindus who came on the steamer Kamagata Maru to Canada. They were all refused landing and were turned back to India. At Calcutta they were fired upon by British soldiers. Several were killed. The fate of Gurdit Singh is not known, probably shot.

Kehar Singh; so severely beaten by the police that he died in Jail.

Professor Bhai Parmanand, of the University of the Punjab, Lahore, educated at Cambridge, England, student of medicine in the University of California, supposed to be a revolutionary leader. Sentenced to be hanged, but on account of his popularity which would have doubtless led to serious trouble for the Government, the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life in the Andaman Islands.

Kesar Singh, ex-British soldier, veteran of Malakand and China, well-known in Oregon, imprisoned for life.

Jawala Singh and Besakha Singh; well-known wealthy ranchmen near Stockton, lived 15 years in California, and Inder Singh, priest; penal servitude for life. (Charged with being supporters of the Hindustan Gadar.) Peyara Singh, very popular among the Hindus in Vancouver, B.C. Life imprisonment.

Jagat Ram, formerly a member of the Hindustan Gadar staff, found with several thousand dollars when arrested, for purchasing arms; sentenced to be hanged (afterwards commuted to imprisonment for life).

Having learned that a few Hindus from California were among the revolutionists who have been hanged in India, many people seem to take it for granted that the revolt in India was "hatched" in the United States. This is not true. The Hindus who returned from America were but a few out of many hundreds hanged and imprisoned. It was natural that men who came in contact with the republican institutions of America should have been readily caught up in the revolutionary malestrom. But to hold them responsible for the vast unrest in the country would be absurd. None of the leaders of the Delhi conspiracy, for instance, who suffered the extreme penalty had ever been out of India. They were.

Amir Chand, eldest son of Rai Hukum Chand, the celebrated Hindu Jurist and High Court Judge in the Hyderabad Deccan, head master of the Mission High School at Delhi, an educator and social reformer of Northern India for the last thirty years; hanged.

Abad Bihari Lal, B.A., B.T., Head Master of the Hindu High School at Delhi, a noted mathematician of the Punjab University; hanged.

Bal Mukand, B.A., the tutor of the Raja Sir Pirtap Singh of Idar's sons and head of the Famine Relief Society of the Punjab; hanged.

Basant Kumar, a prominent Lahore physician; hanged.

Hanwant Sahai, banker and proprietor of the Lakshami cotton and silk handloom factory, Delhi; imprisonment for life.

Bal Raj (M.A.) eldest son of Hans Raj, president of Dyanand Anglo-Vedic University. Imprisonment for life.

The sensational and epoch making conflict between the active revolutionists and the British Government is going on with sustained intensity. It has come to light in one of the latest conspiracy trials that some of the wounded Hindu soldiers joined the rebels on their return from the European battle fields. The revolt has spread among the highest nobility and aristocracy of the land. Among those who have been declared rebels by the Government are the three Hindu princes:

(1) The brother of ruling Prince of Despala, (Orissa); imprisoned for life, his numerous followers hanged.

(2) Raja Gopal Singh of Kharwa, Rajputana, arrested in the Benares conspiracy case, charged with giving arms and money to conspirators. Sentenced to two years imprisonment. (His ancient lineage and powerful connections account for a comparatively light sentence.)

(3) Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, of Brundaban, Hathrus, is reported to have joined the German Army to fight against the British.

A number of misleading reports have been circulated in this country by the British official news agencies, which have a direct bearing on the work of our paper, the "Hindustan Gadar". Newspapers have published here that the uprising which have thrown India into turmoil were "hatched and plotted" by the staff of our paper.

The object of the British Government in spreading such misinformation is two-fold:

First—To bring us, if possible, into trouble with the authorities of this country.

Second—To persuade the civilized world to believe that the political unrest in India has been manufactured artificially by a few Hindus who have lived abroad, and is not a natural reaction on the part of the people of India as a whole against the unbearable tyranny of the British Government.

The truth of the matter is quite the reverse. British rule in India is in grave peril. The revolt in India is as widespread as it is indigenous. It has not been artificially hatched by the handful of Hindus who have come out of their country in search of a meagre living or of education.

Hindustan Gadar

As regards the work of The Hindustan Gadar, there has never been any secret. It is published by the Hindu residents of the United States and of other countries outside India, and is an uncompromising advocate of complete political independence and liberty for India.

It was established in November, 1913, its first editor being the famous Har Dayal, former Stanford professor, who is generally regarded as the leader of Young India. Har Dayal worked so zealously and effectively that the British Ambassador appealed to the United States Government to have him arrested. Accordingly, he was arrested in March, 1914, but the action was never brought to trial. Strong public protests were made in the newspapers against this action of the Government. In April, 1914, Har Dayal left this country and went to Europe. Since then I have acted as editor. Suddenly the war broke out in Europe. Soon Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, and Austin Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, began to mention our paper in their speeches and then the American Government, which had already from the beginning barred our paper from being mailed to India, still further restricted our activities by refusing to forward it to any of the British Colonies. The Post Office likewise refused to forward to India or the Colonies copies of William Jennings Bryan's pamphlet on India which we had republished, and in which he says British rule in India is worse than Russian rule in Russia. We, of course, are obliged to conform to the orders of the Government. Nevertheless there are nearly one million readers of the "Gadar" outside of India and the British Colonies and through their efforts many copies penetrate into India, thence to Afghanistan, where, according to Manila P.I., newspapers, they were distributed among the Afghan soldiers fighting against the British on the frontier. The "Gadar" has penetrated also to Persia, Turkey and even to the ranks of the British Hindu Army in France, as the following quotation from the "London Times History of the War" will show:

"Another hail of sheets marked the descent from heaven of the Gadar, an inflammatory journal published by an Indian revolutionary society in San Francisco. The authors of this poisonous leaflet have long been trying to sow the seeds of sedition in the army of the Punjab. 'Gadar' in Urdu means 'Rebellion.' The copies that were rained upon our troops urged them to raise the standard of revolt in Hindustan."

Our readers are so loyal and enthusiastic to the cause of Indian freedom that they have succeeded in making the Gadar well nigh omnipresent.

Causes of the Revolution

The civilized world would never believe when I say that the British Government draws 500,000,000 rupees annually from India and the Hindus have become so poor that the average annual income of a Hindu is only 27 rupees (\$9.00) according to Lord Curzon and but 15 rupees (\$5.00), according to Sir Willaim Digby. A Hindu soldier, school teacher or a policeman gets 9 rupees (\$3.00) a month. Now the question will arise, if this is the case, how can the Hindus live. The answer is, the Hindus are not living, they are dying, owing to the British rule. Nineteen millions died of famine and fifteen millions died of plague and malaria, according to Sir William Digby 'from 1891 to 1900 when invidious legislation and countervailing internal duties destroyed the home industry of Hindustan, 40 million people were thrown out of work and forced into agriculture. A Hindu agriculturist is forced to pay from 60 to 70 per cent as land tax; being unable to pay the taxes, and to avoid untimely death, a few who have had the necessary means have left their children and wives and have gone out to Canada, Africa and Australia. But the British Government could not bear to see these few a little prosperous in these colonies. New laws were enacted to exclude the Hindus from Canada, Australia and Africa. Hindus protested. In the Fiji Island and British Guinea Hindus were shot dead like dogs. Hindu women and children were sent to jail in South Africa, and a shipload of Hindu men and women were kept for weeks in Canadian waters and after all sent back to India.

Now every Hindu, rich and poor, educated and peasants alike, have become well aware of the fact that there is only one cause for India's degradation and humiliation in the world and that is the British rule. The Hindus, an ancient civilized race, who used to feed ants, monkeys and birds, who on account of their kindly nature do not kill animals, have been transformed into the fierce revolutionists of to-day, killing as many Englishmen as they can, so unbearable has British tyranny become.

What the Hindus Want

There are three chief political parties in India: First—The Moderate Party which seeks for colonial self-government, like Canada and Australia, which is denied by the British Government in their repeated parliamentary reports. Lord Morley, when Secretary of State for India, said that India's desire for self-government is like a child reaching for the moon; and Lord Hardinge, former Viceroy, on leaving India, said that self-government for India is impossible. Statements like these coming to the knowledge of the Moderate party has caused even that party to lose confidence in British Government, but through fear they have hitherto hesitated to take openly a bolder position. This party includes Rajas, Princes and other Hindu British officials. Second—The Nationalist Party, which seeks for independence and separation from the British Government through passive resistance; they don't believe in promises of the Government. They want their own Government regardless of what kind it may be; whether Monarchical or Democartic. Third—The most formidable and powerful party, the Gadar party, which seeks total autonomy and absolute freedom through revolution. They have no hope that anything can be achieved by begging from the Government, or passive resistance. They seek to establish the free Republic of the United States of India. The Important fact of the present days is that these three parties are rapidly consolidating into one with the single purpose of breaking away from British rule.

British reports say that the Hindus prefer English rule to the German rule and they hate the Germans. This is absolutely false. The Hindus do not hate the Germans; the Germans have not done any wrong to the Hindus. On the contrary, they would welcome the Germans if they came as liberators. One thing should be kept in mind—that the Hindus detest the British rule and will never be satisfied until British rule is destroyed and India is free forever.

For Publication in *Cartoon's Magazine*, Chicago.

The same was published in part in the *New York Times* and *New York Sun*.

LOOTING BY THE BRITISH IN INDIA

By RAM CHANDRA

—*Boston Daily Advertiser, September 12, 1916*

A letter from George L. Fox, published in the *Springfield Republican*, in praise of England's rule of India and Egypt is being used as propaganda material in support of English rule in India. There are some statements in this article that should not go unchallenged. Mr. Fox in this article calls attention to a statement by Mr. Charles H. Barrows that "Brute force seated England in India and brute force, step by step, extended her power over that country until India has become her great \$150,000,000 cow for yearly milking;" * * *

The latter part of this statement implies that this amount is drawn by taxation from India to England, and Mr. Fox challenges anyone to furnish reliable authority for such a statement. The statement of Mr. Barrows was not made in this sense but rather means the sum total of revenue extracted from India by England every year not only by taxation but in all ways and his figure has been certainly so estimated by competent authorities, such as Sir William Digby C.I.E.; Mr Hyndman and Mr. Alfred Deble. Let me quote from Adam Brooks (*Laws of Civilization and Decay*, page 239-246): "Very soon after the battle of Plassey (fought in 1757) the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London and the effect appears to have been almost instantaneous. Probably since the world began no investment has yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder. The amount of treasure wrung from

the conquered people and transferred from India to English banks between Plassey and Waterloo (fifty-seven years) has been variously estimated at from \$2,500,000,000 to \$5,000,000,000. The methods of plunder and embezzlement by which every Briton in India enriched himself during the earlier history of the East India Company gradually passed away, but the drain did not pass away. The difference between the earlier day and the present is that India's tribute to England is obtained by 'indirect methods' under forms of law. It was estimated by Mr. Hyndman some years ago that at least \$175,000,000 is drained away every year from India without a cent's return."

Mr. Alfred Web (late M.P.), who has studied the subject with care says: "In charges for the India office (in London); for recruiting (in Great Britain, for soldiers to serve in India); for civil and military pensions (to men now living in England, who were formerly in the Indian service); for pay and allowances on furloughs (to men on visits to England); for private remittances and consignments (from India to England), there is annually drawn from India, and spent in the United Kingdom, a sum calculated at from 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 pounds. (Between \$125,000,000 and \$150,000,000.)

The significance of the drain from India by taxation does not lie alone in the greatness of the total sum, it must be considered in the light of the financial condition of those who have to pay the tax. The tax is severe in proportion to the poverty of the people. In India not only are the masses of the people in extreme poverty, but the greatest authorities inscribe the intensity of this poverty to taxation itself.

Rev. J.T. Sunderland, in his work, : "The Causes of Famines in India," like all impartial writers, has proved conclusively that neither "failure of rains," nor "over-population," is the cause of famines in India. He has stated that the real cause of famines is the extreme, the abject, the awful poverty of the Indian people caused by the "ENORMOUS FOREIGN TRIBUTE," "British Indian Imperialism," and "the destruction of Indian industries."

Sir William Hunter, K.C.S.I., in the Viceroy's Council, 1883, says:

"The government assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year."

Hindustan is an extensive agricultural country, the average land produces two crops a year, and in Bengal there are lands which produce thrice a year. Bengal alone produces such large crops that they are quite sufficient to provide ALL THE POPULATION OF HINDUSTAN FOR TWO YEARS, and yet Mr. Herbert Compton in "Indian Life," 1904, says: "There is no more pathetic figure in the British Empire than the Indian peasant. His masters have been unjust ever to him. He is ground until everything has been expressed, except the marrow of his bones."

Mr. Fox denies also the statement that England holds India by brute force. His argument is that an army of 75,000 men, only one-sixth of whom are Englishmen, could not hold in subjection 300,000,000. As a matter of fact the army before the war numbered 300,000, of which more than 75,000 were English. Mr. Fox seems to forget that India has been disarmed, and the English have posted powerful batteries overlooking all the large cities.

Sir James Bryce, ex-Ambassador at Washington in his book "The Roman and the British Empire," writes:

"(English) society is not in India as it is in England, an ordinary civil society. It is a military society, military first and foremost..... The traveller from peaceful England feels himself, except perhaps in Bombay, surrounded by an atmosphere of gunpowder all the time he stays in India." Not only the Hindus are not permitted to possess fire arms of any description, they are not even permitted to possess long knives that could be used as daggers. During the unrest of 1907 there was police restriction in Bengal by which anybody found having in his possession a stick large enough to be used as a club should be arrested and fined. This was directed especially against young students. In cases where persons are found possessed even with small daggers, a punishment ranging from seven

years to life imprisonment is inflicted. Even knowledge of fire arms must be kept from the people. Consider the following taken from the *Bengalee*, Calcutta, quoted in *India*, London, September 17, 1915:

Child Sentenced for Playing With Toy Pistol

"A five year-old boy of Munshiganj Road, Kidderpore (Bengal), had a toy pistol purchased for him for one anna (2 cents). On August 8th last, a child was playing with it, but could not explode the paper cap. A twelve year-old lad showed him to do it. The boy was at once arrested by a constable and marched off to the Walgani Thana (Police Station) with the toy firearm. The boy was eventually sent up for trial at Alipur and the Court (English Judge) fined him three rupees (one dollar)."

RELIABILITY OF ENGLISH REPORTS

How England Deceives even her own People

BY RAM CHANDRA

—*Boston Daily Advertiser, July 17, 1916*

The British Government has tried hard to conceal the truth from the English people as well as the neutrals. Such have always been their tactics. The most notable instance, I remember was of the days of 1857. That great Hindu Rebellion broke out, as is well-known, on May 10, 1857. On the 11th June of that year, the president of the Board of Trade said, in reply to a question in the British Parliament that "there was no reason for anxiety as regards the late unrest in Bengal. By the dexterity, firmness and quickness of my noble friend, Lord Canning (Governor-General of India), the seeds of unrest have been completely rooted out."

Now, on the very date that the Parliament heard, those optimistic words, in India, 11 cavalry regiments, five field batteries of artillery, at least 50 regiments of infantry, etc., had arisen in revolt; the Province of Oudh had fallen in their hands. Some news of these happenings had found their way to the English public. Another question was asked in the Parliament, with special reference to the massacre of the English at Cawnpur on the 14th of August, 1857—that is, one month after the Cawnpur episode—and this was the reply made by the Earl of Granville:-

"I have received a personal letter from Gen. Sir Patrick Grant that the rumour about Cawnpur is altogether untrue, and is a vile fabrication."

The Hon. Austin Chamberlain and Lord Hardinge are doing exactly what their "distinguished ancestors" did. It is true that the British are still in India, but this does not prove that India is "loyal" to them. On the contrary, the movement to oust them is gaining strength daily. Of course there is a small—insignificantly small—number of "loyal Hindus" whom the Government has pampered with gold and titles. Pratap Singh, an ignorant Rajput soldier of fortune, has been made a ruling prince by the British; a new state, that of Idar, was created for him. He is an "Hon. Major General" of British Army and has a long row of titles before and after his name. He has received his guerdon for following the British flag in all its murderous career of aggression and exploitation. The Government uses him now as a procurer to decoy young Rajput chiefs. Out of three hundred million starving people of India the British can always get a few police gendarmes and mercenary troops to watch and murder their own brethren; just as the Belgians did in Congo when Mark Twain wrote his satire on King Leopold.

Mr. Austin Chamberlain, in one of his recent pronouncements to the American people, quoted a Hindu gentleman named Sinha as pledging his loyalty, and that of his fellow countrymen, to the English cause. Who is this man, Sinha? He is a Government prosecutor and a knight of the realm. Sir S.P. Sinha is a "smoked" Englishman. So, apart from these traitors to their race, who obtain "high positions" through sacrifice of the most elementary principles of self-respect, honesty and social sense, India is becoming more and more rebellious. Surely, though against great odds, she is preparing to overthrow the hated yoke of foreign tyranny.

Ram Chandra

The same was published in part in the *San Francisco Examiner*.

INDIA'S LOYALTY TO ENGLAND

Men from England's vast dependency in India are fighting for her in Europe, and it is said that the Indians are helping England in every way which she interprets to the world as a proof of devotion and staunch loyalty on the part of India to the English rule. The action of these Indians have been heralded to the world by the British as the unswerving loyalty of the Indians to the Union lack due to her beneficent rule. She flouts these proofs as incontentable facts at the face of those who say that India is hostile to the British rule whose sons will revolt at the first chance.

The Adventures and Place-Seekers are Aiding England

True it is that some Indians are fighting in the British army and a few have volunteered their services. But who are they? They are the Indian soldiers who are part of the British-Indian army in India whom poverty has driven to enlist under the British flag. And as professional soldiers whose interest lies in pay only they are required to go and fight whenever wanted. Hence when this great European war broke out a large number of the Indian soldiers were shipped to Europe who were completely unaware of their proper destination. Some of them thought that they were to be shipped from one Indian port to another. While others surmised that they were sailing for Africa (the verity France and in Egypt and from those who have been made prisoners by the Germans).

As regards the rest, who are by the way a few in numbers, they are the adventurers and place-seekers. Those few Indian princes who are hanging around the British camp in France, those "Bejewelled" rajahs who are subscribing to the British war-relief fund and aiding in other ways, who are they and what are they? Always lying in the clutches of the tyrannical British, always compelled by brute force to follow at the back and call of the British, and as such always subservient to and call the British caprice without any will of their own and practically prisoners in their own places, these Indian princes have been compelled to unloosen the strings of their purses to help what the Imperial mandate has said a holy cause for the humanity. Being always watched and suspected and never trusted by the British government, and politically being absolutely important to have any independent will of their own, these maharajas are doing what they are ordered to do directly or indirectly. If the sons of a few of these bejewelled farical "chiefs" are hanging around the British army as "aides-de-camp", it is because once their ancestors were warriors to whom fighting was a profession, and whose degenerate descendants want to satisfy the hereditary instincts by hearing the trampling of a cavalcade or the roars of cannons. To these princes loyalty means self-preservation, and that loyalty is extracted through fear. It is only through this cloak of hypocrisy that these pampered rajahs can retain the luxury of a throne however small and important it may be, and all the paraphernalia that emanate from it. As for the rest who are the less favoured ones—they are aiming at higher titles and more orders of distinction, and some are mere place-seekers.

The Indian Nation is not Represented By Them

But these self-advertising busy-bodies and importunate princes are not the representatives of the whole Indian people. The sentiments and feelings of the masses on whom the crushing weight of the British rule fails heavily are not reflected in the actions of these hypocritical opportunists. The masses of the Indian people hitherto inarticulate are giving vent their expression by other means and gradually are making their voices,

This pamphlet was published by the Indian National Party in 1915, and was very widely circulated all over Europe and tried to explode the myth of loyalty of the Indian people to the British Raj. The British claim was that the Indians were satisfied with their rule and there was hardly any opposition.

heard, though not an echo of that voice reaches outside on account of the British "love of the love justice and fair play". At present their voice is entombed by the British censorship established to prosecute a war for "Humanity".

Neither this outward sign of apparent loyalty is a manifestation of real loyalty is. All these hurras and enthusiasm never come out of the lips of the people who pray everyday that the British rule in India may come to an end. All this noise which the British are advertising so much is emanating from the opportunists and the henchmen. The patriot and the public are untouched by these demonstrations. Moreover the trick of fighting for "Humanity", for the "Liberation of Belgium" to check the aggression of the "Barbarous Huns who spare neither the solemn international pledges, nor universities, Churches, works of arts" have been played on the Indians to tickle their fancy of helping a glorious and laudable war for "humanity". Thus some have been duped to say like to see a little "bloodletting", while the rest are place-seekers.

The Psychology of the Oriental Mind is Incomprehensible to the West

This phenomenon seems to be an anomaly to the accidental mind to whom the external demonstration is always the gauge of the expression of the popular mind. But the oriental mind is always a sealed book to the outsider and it is always elusive. The oriental mind can never be measured by external demonstration. One has to go deep into the recesses of the oriental mind, one has to identify himself completely with the orient before the reserves are taken away. The oriental mind must be measured and evaluated by its own merits, then the reserves can not penetrated. Hence this forced loyalty through fear, this hypocritical harrasing, this adventurous spirit seeking some experience on the battlefield, this fighting of the professional paid mercenaries do not express the mind of the multitude who are not perturbed by English coddling in vogue now. They stand aloof and are untouched by the deception.

The Indian masses are inimical to British rule. The Indian people have never been reconciled to the British rule which always has hung heavily on them as the hated rule of the "feringees". The Indian have never taken kindly to the English who are aliens to them in colour, speech, manners and religion. The English rule in India founded by treachery, forgery, perjury and kept by brute force has always been despised. Whenever, any opportunity has arisen, the Indians individually and collectively have been shown their hostility to the alien rule. They have not forgotten the revolution of 1857 nor will they be slow intaking advantage of any opportunity as soon as it presents itself. This dumb multitude is gradually giving expression to its feelings by diverse channels. They are boycotting British-made goods and patronising the home-article, upholding their own institutions and are trying to built up the national solidarity by various patriotic ways. This strong determination to make India a country for the Indians gives rise to the nationalistic movement which has the sole aim of the liberation justice and fair play and a deep love of liberty, call this nationalistic movement of "India for the Indians" as an anarchistic movement. And they do not leave a stone unturned to crush any desire to cherish any patriotic aspiration. They hunt down the patriots, they hang and transport them, they sentence them to hard labour, they flog the boys, from time to time they start "pogrom" on the defenceless people, they gag the press and enact various restrictive laws, from time to time they proclaim martial law and they terrorise the people by every means. But what has been the effect? These persecutions have spread the revolutionary propaganda. The fierce desire for emancipation which has struck deep roots in the hearts of the people, not finding any external outlet is running underground. All signs of external manifestations have been withdrawn, and the people costenably inarticulate are working secretly and conserving their energies for a greater work. The people have thrown their gauntlet of challenge to the British Government, and are counteracting attempt of denationalization and perversion in any way. The race-consciousness has been awakened and various methods of revolutionary propaganda are afoot to bring about the national regeneration.

To the globe trotter and to the casual visitor, this part of the Indian national life is a sealed book. India seems to him to gloat over the chain forged for her. But far away from the glamour of viceregal court life, far away from the official sunshine, far away from anglostan, far away from the contact of the gaudy, bejewelled, imbecile, maharajas and the henchmen of the British, only in the heat of Hindusthan you will find the true feeling. The sullen discontent that always, existed, the fierce hatred against the firangees and his ways and the stern determination for emancipation are coming to ahead. Hence in India, we see the phenomenon of the rapid rise and growth of the revolutionary movement. The dumb multitude is speaking through this medium. It is not the noisy damagogous quoting Burke and Queen Victoria's prolate councils that are the spokesmen of the dumb millions. But the Martyrs that are dying by the hangman's noose, the men transported for life, sentenced to jail, that are the exponents of the new creed of nationalism. It is the silent men of action that are mouthpieces of the popular mind. These active workers may be in minority to-day, but they are the popular national party in the country and the future of the land lies in their hand. But the wrath of the British Lion falls heavily on them, and what unheard of cruelties and sufferings have not been inflicted on them.

History Repeats Itself

Thus the nationalists who tried peaceful method of passive resistance at first, have been driven to the method of active resistance by this persecution. Now publicly and privately they are advocating the doctrine of armed resistance. And the British terrorism is met with terrorism by the revolutionists of India. Blow for blow is their slogan. The British oppression must be met by its own weapons. The hitherto peaceful nationalist of changed into a "Ghazi", with scripture in the one hand and weapons in their hand, he is meeting the organs of British oppression. So from an open passive resistance the movement has deflected into the propaganda of an armed resistance which wants to free India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

According to the English politicians it is an exotic European method which cannot strike roots in the soil of India. But history repeats itself, repression always gives rise to resistance, terrorism begets terrorism, so a movement like that of the Italian "carbonari" and "young Italy" movement is at work in India and the seed sown by the blood of the martyrs have fructified its roots. The world is kept unawares of this movement by the British who call it down as an "anarchistic movement".

This nationalistic movement in India though comparatively unknown to the outside world, is hallowed by the suffering of its martyrs, and by its work has opened a new chapter of the History of India. The nationalists are not anarchists seeking to upset the Indian society but patriots who are trying to emancipate three hundred millions of people from an oppressive foreign rule and to bring a nation into existence. They are suffering in silence for their noble cause, and presenting them in the eyes of the outside world who are kept ignorance of the soul-stirring movement in India.

A little list though insufficient and incomplete that is available at hand, is published here to give an idea of this movement to the world which will show them the sufferings of the Indian patriots. A dismal record of their, of the Indian is quoted here from the British Parliamentary Return of prosecutions for seditious speeches and writings under section 108 of Indian Criminal Procedure Code which have been instituted since January 1907, to December 31, 1908.

From parliamentary paper No.50 at Session 1909.

There had been 81 cases of prosecutions under section 108, ending in sentences of rigorous imprisonment ranging from transportation for life in the Andamans to shorter term of a year.

Parliamentary Return for 1909-1910.

There had been 101 cases of prosecution with the same results.

Parliamentary Return No.349.

Prosecution under the Indian Press Act (1 of 1910).

- I. Number of Presses from whom security had been demanded under section 3 (2).
- II. Number of newspapers from the publishers of which security was demanded under section 8 (2) 1910-1913 total 20 cases.
- III. Actions taken by Government under sections 4,5,6, of the Act. There are no entries under the years 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913—4 cases.
- IV. Actions taken against newspapers under sections 9, 10, 11, of the Press Act.
There is no entry under the years 1910, 1911, 1914—5 cases.

Besides these cases, there are innumerable prosecutions of so-called "terrorism" and "conspiracy" cases in which gangs of people have been tried and sentenced to be hung, transported for life or rigorous imprisonments. And their numbers are legions.

As for the extent of the revolutionary terrorism an example from one province will suffice to give an idea. An official committee appointed by the governor of Bengal in October 1913, reports on "an excuse on anarchistic crimes" in Bengal only since 1910, 1913 "26 murders committed during perpetration of dacoities, 9 political assassinations in which cases the culprits have escaped."

Vox Populi Vox Dei

What do these signify? This long list of sufferers which instead of diminishing is swelling in numbers all the time, this so called "anarchistic attempts" which never show any intention of dying out or abatement, and the continual escapes of the culprits whom the vigilant and lux-eyed British-Indian police can never seize and who are always at large and whom the people never betray what do all these mean? Do they not signify the sympathy of the people for the revolutionaries and their cause? Is it not a sign that the masses have their hearts in the national cause for freedom and the revolutionaries, the silent men of actions are their spokesmen? Is not the persistent revolutionary propaganda and the frequent outburst of terrorism, which is always gaining momentum and increasing in volume show that the Indian nation is backing it?

The dumb Indian masses are speaking and expressing their feelings through the nationalistic movement. It is the voice of the people and not of the self-interested opportunists and place-seekers. Hence it is the voice of God. This voice of the people declares that India is determined to be free of the tyrannical British rule. It declares it is getting to meet British rule, it is getting to meet British brute force with brute force, it translates its intentions by actions which will not stop till the goal is reached. And it is the voice of the people which is transmuted to the voice of God which says that India is determined to be free. Thus the nationalists by whatever names anarchists, extremists or seditionists those may be called who are taking part in the movement for independence, whatever efforts may be made by the British government to humiliate and to crush them, however, many patriots may be sent to jail, gallows or exile, yet the spirit pervading the whole atmosphere will never be checked, for the spirit is so strong and spontaneous and universal, that is must clearly be directed by divine providence who is speaking through the people.

England's Position in India

From the foregoing it can clearly be seen that the position of the British government is precarious. The Indian "unrest" has become a bugbear to the British politician, like Banquo's ghost it haunts the British government at every turn. Because they know the hypnotism by which they held the country is broken. The people have been disillusioned of the myth of the "Benevolence of the British rule". Thus a nationalistic organ said: "if the whole nation is inspired to throw off its yoke and become independent, then in the name of God and the name of justice whose claim is more reasonable the Indian's or the Englishmen's. The Indian has come to see that independence is the panacea for all his evils. He will therefore even swim in a sea of blood to reach

his goal. The British dominion over India is a gross myth. And this foreign rule based on injustice is a gross falsehood it must be subverted and the national rule established".

That India has slipped morally from the hands of Great Britain is well-known to the British themselves. They know very well that the Indian is no longer under the hypnotic spell of "Pax Britannica", they themselves admit ("Indian Unrest" by Valentine Chirol) that "disaffection in varying forms and degrees of intensity has existed at all times in India and at present it is in serious proportions". And they erroneously attribute it to the deep rooted, antagonism to all the principles upon which western society, especially in a democratic country like England, has been built up. There is no denying that there is a violent antagonism against the presence of the British in India, but that antagonism is only and solely directed against the British rule. The race consciousness of the people is gradually awakened and they violently objects to the presence of perfidious Albion in India. The common nexus and a very vital one is the intense desire to see "India for the Indians". British rule in India, a domination of a race over a race alien in speech, manners, traditions, religion and colour, has no meaning, and only brute force keeps up this "Pax Britannica", but how long can it keep it?

The British know very well that their position in India is untenable and a dubious one, and are always taking extraordinary care to safeguard their interests and do not stop short to take any means for it; but can this rule over an alien people last long by any sociological or psychological principle.

The Present Day

At present the world is passing through a momentous and critical period. The great nations of the world are fighting as they say for a "principle" the principle of nationality. England loudly proclaimed that she has entered the list for the sake of "Humanity", for the principle of "upholding solemn pledges and treaties" and what about the principle of nationality in India. If the Triple Ententes have taken up arms to uphold the principle of nationality for Servia and that of solemn pledges to Belgium, why England and France disregard these vaunted principles in the case of India. Why England always has ignored and broken all the solemn pledges she had made with the Indian states? Why England has blackened the pages of the Indian history by systematic violations of treaties and pledges? Why is it that the full meaning of "perfidious Alnion" is so well understood in India? Have the British ever kept promise in India from the fateful day of Plassey up to this day? Where was the spirit of solemn pledge to keep the integrity of other states in the minds of the British people at the time of Dalhousie's "annexation policy" in India gone? Where was this British spirit when the state of Nagpur was annexed inspite of the treaty of 1826 - "Treaty perpetual friendship between the Honourable East India Company and His Highness the Maharaja Raghoji Bhonsla, his heirs and successors". What about the broken pledges with Nana Sahib the son of ex-Peshwa and the princess Laskhmi Bai of Jhansi, with the Nawab of Oudh and hosts of other states gone when Sindh, Satara and Punjab were annexed by brute force? Where was the British spirit of keeping solemn pledge gone when late Marquis of Salisbury said that Queen Victoria's "Proclamation to the Indian people in 1858," is nothing but "piece of political hypocrisy which was never intended to be fulfilled"? Where is the British sympathy for "Humanity and civilization" to-day when the Indian patriots are sent to jail, gallows and in exile by scores?

The truth is that the vauntings of perfidious Alnion are nothing but pure hypocrisy-systematic lies. And the Indian people are tired of these lies. The Indians, except those whose minds are befogged with the mazes of interests, clearly see through it and are preparing themselves for the final eventualities. The British rule in India today is shaky than ever, the present world war and England's troubles with Turkey has made it worse. India is now like a volcano which may burst out any moment at the first opportunity and the British rule founded by blood will die in blood.

HINDU FROM AMERICA EXCLUSION

PREFATORY NOTE

This pamphlet contains some extracts from leading American newspapers concerning the problems of Hindu immigration. As this problem is one of recent origin, many Americans are not yet informed as to the various questions involved. The points considered in the following pages include: The character of Hindu immigrants as compared with that of European immigrants; the right of the Hindus to entry and citizenship, based on their Aryan origin; how exclusion would work to retard the growth of liberty in India; what should be done to prevent immigration from causing a lowered standard of living for American labourers; the desire of the British Government to prevent immigration from India into the United States.

November 1, 1916.

A PROTEST AGAINST THE PROPOSED RESTRICTIONS

N.Y. Times, August 13, 1916

Congress is planning to pass a new Oriental exclusion law in which the Hindus are included. The Japanese Ambassador protested vigorously against the terms of the act concerning Japan and secured important changes, satisfactory to the Japanese Government. There is no hope that the British Ambassador will make any protest on behalf of the Hindus, because the British Government itself does not wish the Hindus to come here. They might become imbued with pestiferous ideas of political freedom! Therefore the only course left to us is to make our appeal through the public press.

It is claimed that the Hindu is an undesirable immigrant. I would like to ask what kind of an immigrant American legislators would consider to be desirable? The Hindus who have come to this country have certainly proved themselves to be law-abiding and faithful workers. We have never heard of one of them in connection with a hold-up or burglary. They are never drunk in the street; they do not insult the women of the country, and there never yet has been a Hindu who has become a public charge—they never beg in the streets. In all respects they are certainly to be preferred to a large number of immigrants who come here from Europe, often desperate criminals, who fill prisons, saloons, and low quarters. All this is true even of the most favoured European nations, including England. Evidently the objection to the Hindus cannot be based on lack of moral character. What then can it be?

Is it on account of colour? I would reply that the Hindus have the same colour as the Spaniards, Mexicans, or Southern Italians. Their features are not inferior to high-class Europeans. So far as colour is concerned all physicians who have dissected the human body agree that under the skin all look alike.

Is it because they think that there is not sufficient opportunity here for Hindu immigrants? In that event the objection would be equally valid against European immigrants, and suitable restrictions should be arranged affecting all alike, an arrangement to which even Japan would not object. This objection also ought to be offset by a proper regulation of industry in this country that would open to development the vast resources that are now lying dormant.

Is it because they fear that a Hindu population cannot be assimilated by this country; in other words, Americanized? Any one who has seen the effect of American education upon the few Hindus who have been fortunate enough to be educated here will certainly realize that, apart from the colour, it will be impossible to distinguish the Hindu who has been educated here from the educated American. Education is the solution of the problem of assimilation.

Is it because they fear the country will be overwhelmed by the arrival of Hindus in vast numbers, thus interfering with the employment of American labourers? The answer to this is that the Hindus are too poor to come here in vast numbers unless they are brought by American capitalists, in which event it would be the duty of wise statesmanship to restrict the activities of such capitalists. The comparatively few Hindus who have been able to come here have come to escape the unspeakable poverty under British rule and in the hope of bettering their condition in this land of freedom and opportunity. To exclude them would be unjust. A few thousand labourers and students are not enough to make an immigration problem.

To show how impossible it is for the Hindus to come in large numbers, it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that the average income of a Hindu, according to Lord Curzon, is \$9, and according to Sir William Digby, \$5, per annum. How then can they come?

RAM CHANDRA,
"Hindustan Ghadr."

The same was published in *Immigration Journal*, Washington, D.C.;
Bulletin, San Francisco; *Pajaronian*, Watsonville, Cal. and Astorian, Astoria, Ore.

EXCLUSION OF HINDU IMMIGRANTS

"In a letter from San Francisco which readers of *The Times* found on this page last Sunday, Ram Chandra, editor of the *Hindustan Gadar*, protests against that part of the pending immigration bill which, if enacted, would exclude Hindus. Denying that they are "undesirable immigrants" he asserts that those who have come are law-abiding and faithful workers, are "never heard of in connection with a burglary," and are never drunk in the street. Not one of them, he says, has become a public charge. For these reasons he thinks they are to be preferred to many of our immigrants from Europe. Their colour should not be objectionable, he adds, for it is the same as the colour of Spaniards, Mexicans, and Southern Italians. And they can easily be assimilated here and Americanized by education.

Our national legislators should not fear, he continues, that Hindus, if the doors are open, will come in great numbers, "thus interfering with the employment of American labourers." As a rule they are too poor to pay for the ocean passage. And here he speaks of conditions which are, in the minds of many Americans, the chief cause of objection to the admission of Hindus. He "calls attention to the fact that the average income of a Hindu, according to Lord Curzon, is \$9, and according to Sir William Digby, \$5 per annum.

American workingmen, those who have not unions as well as those who are members of labour organizations—there are a great many of them, and their influence is exerted in politics and the shaping of legislation—desire to avoid competition here with the labour of men who have been accustomed to live on \$9 or \$5 a year. They believe that such men, if freely admitted in considerable numbers, would surely underbid them in the labour market; that the presence and employment of such immigrants would tend to reduce wages and lower the prevailing standard of living. This belief accounts for the attitude of our workingmen, and especially of those in the Pacific Coast States, toward the immigration of Hindus. It may be unwarranted, and free admission of Hindus might prove it to be so, but it must be taken into account by those who ask why exclusion is sought and proposed.

We notice that Ram Chandra makes the following allusion to Great Britain: "There is no hope that the British Ambassador will make any protest on behalf of the Hindus, because the British Government itself does not wish the Hindus to come here. They might become imbued with pestiferous ideas of political freedom!

Is it for such a reason that British Columbia, the Pacific Coast province of Canada, has sought by legislation to exclude Hindu immigrants?"

New York Times
August 16, 1916.

HINDU IMMIGRANTS

They Do Not Expect To Live On \$5 To \$9 a Year

Sir:- In *The Times* of August 16, 1916, there appeared an Editorial not on my letter regarding the proposed immigration act. Among other things you say that American workingmen desire to avoid competition here with labour of men who have been accustomed to live on \$5 to \$9 a year. They believe that such men, if freely admitted in considerable numbers, would surely underbid them in the labour market; that the employment of such immigrants would tend to reduce wages and lower the prevailing standard of living.

I would say that we do not ask for an unrestricted privilege of immigration into this country, but I do feel that we are right in asking for the same privileges that are granted to immigrants from Europe. As to fear of organized labour that Hindu immigration will tend to lower the standard of living here, I would say that this is a matter that can easily be controlled. Up to this time, the Hindus in this country do not content themselves with such low wages, but demand and receive the same wages that are paid to American labourers in the same line of work. The danger of bringing about a lowering of the standard of living could only arise in case the Hindus came in great numbers and nothing were done to prevent their being exploited by unscrupulous capitalists, as were the Chinese in earlier days. Organized labour is alive to this situation, as is shown by the recent activity of the American Federation of Labour designed to secure the organization of the Japanese and their affiliation with the Federation. The Federation will undoubtedly carry out this policy and extend it to include all immigrants coming from the Orient. We, ourselves, do not wish to have the Hindus that come here exploited and made to work for less than the standard American wage. All immigrants coming to this country should be put on the same basis: A restriction as to numbers that would enable the Department of Labour to see to their proper distribution over the country. In this way they would only serve to expand industry, and increase the wealth of the country, without disturbing the solidarity and well-being of the labouring class as a whole.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Hindus are able to live on an income of only \$5 to \$9 a year. They are not living they are dying. As a proof of this, I give the following facts: 19,000,000 died in famine and 15,000,000 died in plague from 1885 to 1900, according to Sir William Digby, and 7,251,257 died in famine in the last nine years, according to the official reports. Famine in India is due to poverty. Failure in crops is never universal, and there are small sections in India that always produce more than enough for the entire population, and they would not need to starve if they only had the money with which to buy food. Even funds that are raised by the Government for the purpose of relieving famine are sometimes directed to other purposes. The large amount that was collected for the famine relief in 1876-77 was actually spent by the British Government in the Burmese war and has not been repaid up to this date. They are doing the same thing even now. At the present time there is very serious famine going on in Bankura, Bengal, and Rajputana. Hundreds of thousands have perished. The money that is now being drawn from India to support the war should be used to feed these starving people. Their need is far greater than that of the Belgians. Charity begins at home. It is intimated by some writers that Hindu exclusion in Canada may be due to local cause only, uninfluenced by any imperial policy to keep the Hindus at home in order to prevent them from being contaminated with ideas of political liberty which they would be sure to acquire in the United States and self-governing colonies of Great Britain. The Hindus believe that the agitation for their exclusion from the United States and the British colonies is largely due to the influence of the imperial government in England; that it is the imperial policy to keep the Hindus at home in order to prevent them from acquiring ideas of political liberty. The treatment of the Hindus in the British colonies differs from the treatment accorded to other Orientals. This can only be accounted for by the influence of the imperial government. In Canada restricted immigration of labourers from China and Japan is allowed. The law concerning the Hindus is peculiar, not permitting them to enter except when coming direct from India. There is no line of steamers direct from India. Hence the law amounts to complete exclusion. Sardar Gurdit Singh, in order to test the law, chartered

a steamer and took some 350 Hindus direct to Canada; they were not allowed to land, nor to dispose of their cargo, coal, etc., and were forced to turn back. This conclusively shows that the intent of the law was complete exclusion. There is no possible social or economic reason to exclude Hindus, any more than the Chinese and Japanese, hence we must infer an imperial policy based on political reasons.

The attitude of the Canadian authorities is extremely severe towards the Hindus. A good illustration is found in the case of two brothers who had come to Canada prior to the exclusion law. After some years, during which they had prospered they desired to bring to Canada the other members of the family, consisting of another brother and his wife, four children and their grandmother. The two brothers returned to India and brought back the family, only to find them refused admittance. They were returned to Hong Kong. Three times during three years they made the effort to enter. In the meantime the cost of maintaining the family at Hong Kong, together with costs of transportation, ate up the resources of the two brothers. Eventually, after three years of struggle, they were allowed to enter. There were many harrowing features connected with all this; illness, deprivation, childbirth at sea, anxiety overimpending calamity, separation of husband from wife and children. Where is the kindness of the imperial government? And yet England boasts of her watchful care for India, the chief jewel in her crown!

I will further illustrate this by an account of my own experience with the Canadian Government which doubtless will be interesting.

It was about three years ago, when I left Japan with my wife for the United States. The Japanese steamer bound for Seattle, an American port, touched even route the Canadian port of Victoria, B.C.

After the long and rough voyage across the Pacific came and gladdening chance of going on land. My wife had been very sick on the sea. As soon as the steamer came into port all passengers went ashore, but we were detained. I was an East Indian, they could not permit me "to set foot on Canadian soil." The captain of the steamer wrote out for us a special permit. It was not sufficient. The next in command to the captain went to plead for us personally. He said we were first-class passengers, the captain and his staff would hold themselves personally responsible for our behaviour when on land, etc. The immigration officer curtly said, "No Hindu (East Indian) can step out on the soil of British Columbia." My cabin boy (the attending servant) had also gone to spend a few hours on land after that sickening voyage of fourteen days and nights.

We were left along to brood over our dismay. No, we were not alone. They had appointed a negro over us, and he kept a close watch. My wife took it very badly. Some of my countrymen had come to see us; they were refused permission to come aboard our ship. Out fit of blues was nearly dispelled by an event which happened in the evening. Next to our cabin was a Filipino. He had, of course, permission to go about as he pleased. My negro guard mistook him in the dubious glow of the twilight for me. The victim protested that he was a pure-blooded Filipino, a citizen of the United States. But my guard would not let go his hold on him. He was quite sure it was a ruse I had put up. Finally I called out from inside the cabin that the Filipino was a Filipino and not a Hindustanee. He was the one person who thanked us that night."

The moral of the story is this: All welcome to Canada - Japanese, Chinese, Negroes, Filipinos - all, but not the people of India.

R.C.

This letter was published in part in New York Times September 14, 1916, and immigrant, Madras, India.

HINDU IMMIGRATION

East Indians In California Address Secretary Lansing

To the Editor of The Sun

Sir: The following is a copy of a telegram sent to the Secretary of State:

"The Hindu residents of California hope that some way may be found to prevent passage of pending legislation to exclude Hindus from entry into this country. The legislative enactment contemplated is unnecessary and unworthy of the traditions of this great republic. Hindu immigration has ceased to be a problem since 1910, without any prospect of revival in future."

The few Hindus that now come are only in search of better conditions and to learn the way of western civilization. To exclude them would be unjust. People of India entertain feelings of warmest friendship for this country.

"For the sake of cultural, commercial and trading ties which bind them to the people of the United States we request that steps be taken to prevent the exclusion of Hindus by legislation."

R.C. *New York Sun*. May 1, 1916.

HINDUS VOICE PROTEST OVER EXCLUSION LAW

(By International News Service)

Ryde, Cal., June 25- Hindus in a mass meeting at Ryde yesterday protested against the Burnett Immigration Bill now before Congress, and wired their protest to Secretary of State Robert Lansing.

The protest sent to Lansing is as follows:

"The Hindus of California beg to record their protest against the proposed legislation to exclude Hindus from this country. Comparatively few Hindus are able to come here. There will be some students a few political refugees who will seek asylum in this country, and some labourers."

"Those who have already come there have proven themselves peaceful, industrious and law-abiding. They came to escape the unspeakable poverty under British rule and in the hope of bettering their condition in this land of freedom and opportunity. To exclude them would be unjust. A few thousand labourers and students are not enough to make an immigration problem, and as for the future, Hindus labourers are in such poverty that it is impossible for them to come here in great numbers. The average income of a Hindu is \$9 a year. How can they come here? It is not worthy of the traditions of this great country to exclude the few who may be able to get here."

The meeting was addressed by Ram Chandra, editor of the "Ghadir" and other prominent Hindus.

San Francisco Examiner, June 26, 1916. *The same was published by the*

San Francisco Call and Sacramento Union.

UNITED STATES HOME FOR POLITICAL REFUGEES

The following telegram in protest was also sent to the Secretary of State on August 12, 1916.

"The United States is looked to by the oppressed, the poor, the suffering throughout the world as a heaven of refuge, the land of freedom and opportunity. On behalf of our brothers in India, millions of whom are now suffering from famine and plague, under a foreign tyranny, we again beg of you to use your influence to prevent closing the door to Hindu immigration, as is proposed under the pending Burnett Immigration Bill. At the present time there is great political persecution in India, hundreds have been executed and thousands interned for activity in behalf of Indian independence; the voice of Freedom is being silence. Do not close your doors to any that may be able to escape to this country."

The Secretary of State was kind enough to reply to us that our protest "will be brought to the attention of the Senate Committee on Immigration".

FIVE THOUSAND HINDUS WIN RIGHT TO CITIZENSHIP IN COURT

S.F. Call and Post, October 16, 1916.

"Five thousand Hindus, residing now in California, and as many more in other Pacific Coast States, are eligible to American citizenship, according to a ruling made today by Superior Judge Franklin J. Cole of E 1 Centro, Imperial County.

Judge Cole's decision in effect declares that if the Hindu applicant for citizenship can prove that he belongs to a certain caste recognized as "white" he is eligible to become an American.

This decision was in part based upon decisions already made in the United States District Court of Washington and by Federal Judge M. T. Dooling of San Francisco.

Better Class Eligible

Judge Dooling and the Washington judge both held that a Hindu of the better class, who can prove that he is a member of the Aryan race, is eligible to American citizenship, and so ruled in the particular cases before them.

"We accept a Hindu application for citizenship precisely as we would that of any other white foreigner," the naturalization bureausaid. "Each application is them submitted to the court, and the question of admissibility there determined."

Ethnologically, all the upper classes of India are Aryan and therefore eligible to American citizenship. All the Hindus who are now here are Aryan. They are white people in the same sense as are the Greeks, Italians and Spaniards, according to Ram Chandra, a prominent San Francisco Hindu. He also says the Hindus of Kashmere and of several other parts of India, are as white as the fairest brunette type of any Caucasian native."

Same was published in Journal, Portland, Oregon

Aryan Origin Of Hindus

Dr. W.Z. Ripley, the hihgest American authority on Anthropological question says in his "Races of Europe," that there could be no doubt of the Hindus belonging to the same racial type as the Mediterranean European group - Greeks, Spanish, etc.

From Professor Max Muller's "Lecture on the Science of Language, "First series, pp.211-12 :

"There was a time when the first ancestors of the Indians (Hindus), the persians, the Greeks , the Romans, the Slaves, the Celts, and the Germans were living together within the same enclosure, may, under the same roof."

From Prof. Max Muller's "Survey of Languages," p.29:

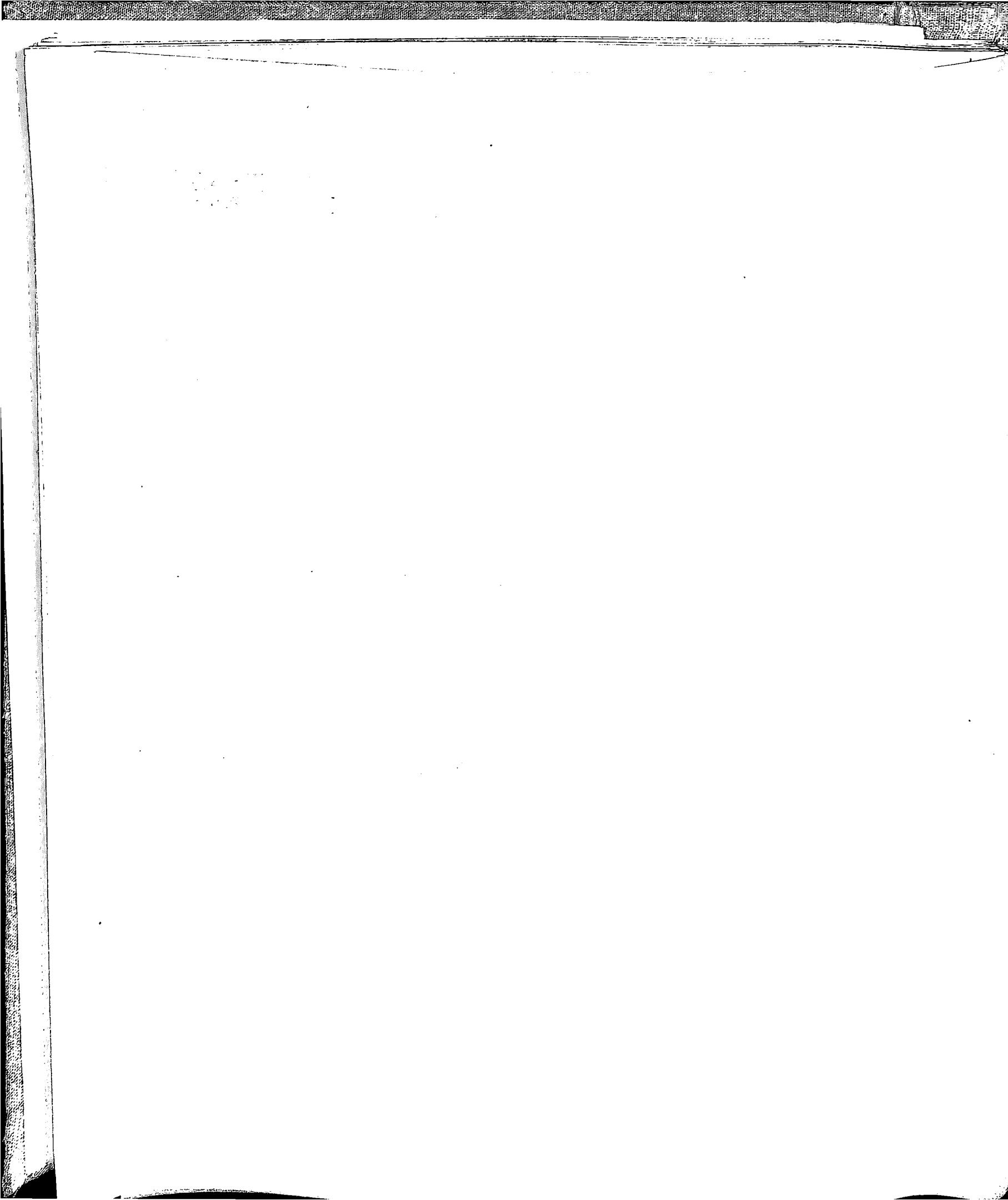
"There is not an English Jury now-a-days which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton."

Prof. Huxley, the famous British Scientist, writes:

"So far as India is concerned, the internal evidence of the old literature prove that the Aryan invaders were "White Men," and that the High Caste Hindus are what they are in virtue of Aryan blood which they have inherited. I am unable to discover good grounds for the severity of criticism, in the name of the Anthropologists, with which Professor Max Muller's assertion that "the same blood runs in the veins of the English soldiers as in the veins of the dark Bengalees," and that there is a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton, has been visited. So far as I know anything of Anthropology, I should say that these statements may be correct literally, and probably are so substantially. I do not know of any good reason for the physical differences between a high caste Hindu and a Dravidian, except the Aryan blood in the veins of the former; and the strength of the infusion is probably quite as great in some Hindus as in some Englishsoldier." - ("Man's Place in Nature," pp.281-282.)

Friedrich Schlegal in "Ueber die Sprache and Weisheit der Indier" (On the Language and Wisdom of the Hindus), speaking of the Indo-European Language, pronounce the Latin, Greek, Teutonic, and Persian on the one hand, and the American, Slavonic and Celtic languauges, on the other, to be, the former more nearly, the latter more remotely, related to Sanskrit. The relation of Sanskrit to the other cognate dialects he conceives as that of a mother-tongue of its offsprings. Nay, taking his stands on the great agreement he also found in the sphere of ideas and legends of India and those of Europe, he declare the populations of Europe to be actual "Indian Colonies" and holds those colonies to have been more important and efficacious than, though not essentially different from, the later Greek settlements.

LEAFLETS



LEAFLET APPEALING TO HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

Bande Mataram

The man whose eyes are dry, is (as worthless as) dust. They (such people) are not sorry at the sight of the slaughter of their brothers.

O good sons of Bharat, O braves of India— you are two drops of one (and the same blood); you are two sons of one mother ; you are two plants in the same garden; you are two fruits of one tree; you are two parrots of one garden, that have surpassed the world by your melodious voice and fragrance. Hindus and Musalmans are both two drops of one (and the same blood); Hindus and Musalmans both are the darlings of Bharat; both Hindus and Musalmans are sweet-tongues and of high destiny. Both Hindus and Musalmans have no peer. Both Hindus and Musalmans are the sons of the same mother. Alas!

* * * i.e. They have been become devoid of good sense.

Why do not the Hindus and Musalmans unite? Alas*** stones are lying on their wisdom*; both Hindus and Musalmans are ever losing their property and wealth.

It is a pity that people of such high destiny who were matchless are now ruined and are regarded as dust under the feet—brother is the enemy of brother, and relations behave (towards one another) like highwaymen. These (things) are due to the tricks of these treacherous, malicious, faithless and mean English people. O great men, O brethren, for the sake of God, put faith in my words and do away with the bandage of treachery tied round your eyes and put on the garment of liberty. Raise yourselves to honour and dignity and restore your mother Bharat to her former grandeur and dignity. So that your children may enjoy calm and liberty. My dear friends, open the ears of your intelligence; distinguish the right from the wrong by the touch-stone of your wisdom and you will clearly perceive how these mean and treacherous people have alienated brothers from one another. In the camps and the cities they have converted your temples and mosques, places for worship and prayer, into slaughter-houses for the killing of cows and swine. Do they not devout both these kinds of animals? Do they not look upon us as wild and mad people? Have they not deprived us of our wealth to add to their pomp and glory? Have they not turned us into beggars? Alas! that you should have become so negligent and selfish? Awake and enroll yourselves in the ranks of the martyrs. This is the time (for it), otherwise, you will have to repent in the end and you will see Indians being sold as slaves for a kowry in the streets, just as other things are sold in a tray. There are only three letters in the words 'ghadr' (mutiny). Afterwards, Oh Indians, you will be sold at the rate of three a kowry. My dear brethren, if your senses are gone and you think yourselves unable to walk and move, and if you have become so very lean, think of the following proverb and convert your weakness into bravery:-

"What is there that cannot be done by one who is determined to die?

Act according to the dictates of those your benefactors who have felt compassion for you and have taken a share in your misfortunes. Accepting your calamity, as if it were their own, they have made up their

minds to retaliate on your behalf on these treacherous people. Now gird up your loins to work side by side with those who (wish to) arouse you from your apathy, and thereby regain your liberty and participate in their (ultimate) rejoicings. See how these foreigners have been fighting in all directions and have grasped the banner of valour in their hands ! They are seen to destroy the trenches; and why all this? It is all in the name of truth and justice, which, by the mercy of God, is the right path leading to heaven. My brave fellows, take care lest the British Sarkar should try to tempt you in different ways. She will give you medals, etc., but you must stand firm on your legs and cling to the cause of truth and, like swords, turn yourselves into iron—thirsting for their blood. Your swords have been rusting for a long time; now make them flash by tempering them with the blood of these treacherous Englishmen, so that no one else may dare to oppose you. Wake up, Oh ye youths, be ye kissed his sword and has declared that so, long as he has not released his children from their afflictions and restored them to happiness, he will not sheath his sword. He has published his orders everywhere, on every road and lane : "Awake, raise high the cry of mutiny; all should help me, Hindus as well as Muhammadans, and be martyrs in the cause of regaining liberty, for your sacred books order you to obey the commands of the emperor." My friends, such in fact are the actions of just persons who cannot permit it that their children and subjects should have to face calamity. This is the proper time for you to obey their orders. You must kiss their feet and look upon the dust under their feet as (something) holy. It is not a great thing to sacrifice one's wealth, property and life for such a just Government. On the other hand our British Sarkar has looted our wealth like dacoits, thieves, and freebooters, we being in her clutches. This is the proper time for obedience and for sacrificing one's life. We must lay down at their feet all that we may get even by selling ourselves, so that we may be able to enjoy quiet and liberty afterwards. Wake up and try to avenge yourselves and at once raise the cry of mutiny.. There is nothing to wait for. Avail yourselves of this opportunity that has been granted to you by the mercy of God. Only this much now more later on.

Zamana Bhagwat Hindustan

Leaflet in Urdu entitled *Zamana Bhagwat Hindustan* (Time for Rebellion in India): calls upon the people to unite and drive the English from India and free the country from their tyranny.

Extract, United Provinces Abstract, dated 26-12-1914, para.2146. C.I.D., United Provinces, 22-12-1914.

The Superintendent of Police, Lucknow, reports that a large number of seditious leaflets lithographed in Urdu on white paper were found near the Deputy Commissioner's house and also in the Aminabad Park. A copy of the leaflet was forwarded to this office. It is entitled *Zemena Bhagwat Hindustan, 1st Edition*, and is an incitement to rebellion. It misrepresents the state of affairs in Europe, and, reminding the people of various grievances, it calls on them to unite and drive the English from India and free the country from tyranny. In the event of internal disturbances the people are told to destroy every kind of government property, railways, telegraph, public offices, banks and magazines, and so do their part in the rebellion.

The leaflet is headed as follows:—

"The time has come to free India from the tyrannous and treacherous English Government."

"The need for a united effort."

"Be alert, awake, be careful."

A sharp lookout should be kept for the circulation in other places of these leaflets, and every endeavour should be made to trace their origin. The following is a translation of the leaflet.

GUIDE FOR

An (adjunct to) the rebellion of India.

"The time has come to free India from the tyrannous and treacherous English Government."

"The need of a united effort."

"Be alert, awake, be careful."

German swords are doing good work these days. The best troops of France, Belgium, Servia, Russia and England have been cut up. Servia and Belgium have been desolated. Russia is half dead, France has been trampled underfoot. More than a million English, Indian and African troops have been slain. The Turkish Government has also declared war on England. Italy will also shortly join Germany against England. The strong neighbouring Afghan Government is fully prepared and eager to attack the English as soon as troubles begin in India.

When such is the state of things, O young men who desire self-government, will you not serve the country. Awake young men, awake. Lay aside your neglect and laziness, do the work of men, make yourselves famous by turning the English out of India, and acquiring freedom. It is only due to ignorance that we thirty-three crores of Indians are living in subjection to a handful of English. If we unite we could sweep them out of India as easily as we can blow flour from the palms of our hands. Our Temples, our Gurdwaras, our Masjids are knocked down

1. The translation was prepared by the Director Criminal Intelligence, who considered it as direct incitement to rebellion. In the event of internal disturbances, people are told to destroy every kind of government property, railways, telegraphs, public office, banks and magazines and do their part in the rebellion. Police Abstract of Intelligence, January, 1915.

without compunction to make way for wretched little roads. Day by day they are lessening education so that we may remain ignorant, and be unable to discriminate between good and bad. They are trampling on our national movements. Muslim and Hindu Universities are not even allowed to be associated with the words "Muslim" and "Hindu." Our national newspapers which voice our opinions, are being closed. We are subject to various kinds of oppression, but can do nothing. New taxes are daily imposed on and nearly all our produce is taken when these are collected. Justice is such that person who wins his case is loser in the end. Thousands of our brothers receive kicks from white men, and if the latter kill an Indian they do not even get a year or two's imprisonment, but are let off with small fine. High appointments are given only to Europeans. No country is fertile as India and yet lakhs of our brothers have died of starvation. Crores of them are half starved and lakhs have become the victims of poverty. An enormous amount of grain is produced, but they send it to their own country. Those who till and sow die of hunger and others reap the profit. Tyranny has overstepped its bounds. Arise, brothers, God is on your side, revenge yourselves on the tyrants. Turn the tyrannous English out of your country. You will never get such a chance as this again. A lost opportunity never recurs.

We appeal to the thirty-three crores of Indians whose objects and wishes are same to forget their different and unite in the common cause of freeing the country. We appeal to them to spread the spirit of rebellion not only where they live but in villages round about, tahsils, towns, districts and provinces, to wake up the sleepers, hearten the waverers, and give courage to the timorous, and when the time comes and the present Government is in confusion, it will be the duty of every man to join the rebellion. Then, destroy railways, cut the telegraph wires, set fire to offices and record rooms, blow up the magazines, take possession of arms, loot the treasuries, refuse to pay taxes, knock down their churches, and courts. Do not attack each other.

Those who are in the police and the army will join you. Brothers, this is the time for freedom. If you do not now remove the yoke of slavery from your shoulders, the opportunity will never again recur. The well-wishers of the country are working for freedom, to the danger of their lives and are willing to undergo any trouble for the benefit of their country. May God preserve them from every calamity. Be assured that by looting in the manner described above you will be helping them. It is the duty of every lover of his country to print copies of this leaflet and secretly distribute them in the country without the officers knowing anything about it. God will help us and will free us from these tyrants.

GHADR-DI- GUNJ No. 2

In one poem which is entitled "*The Cry of Bharat Matta*," the writer refers to 1857 and 1907, and says that in no case should Indians loose 1917, which he declares will be their last opportunity. He urges the Rajputs, the Sikh and the Muhammedans to unite for the motherland.

The writer urges Indians to organize an army of their own for driving out the English.

One poem is meant specially for the Sikhs. The writer says that the Sikh nation was created to rescue their country from oppressors. The Sikhs should rise up and liberate their land.

The Indian army is urged to rise in rebellion.

The writer has summed up the whole subject in the last poem which briefly gives the policy of the Ghadr Party and indicates the manner in which the scheme is to be carried out.

Below is a set of abstract translation of some of the verses :-

"When you recall the brave deeds of Gobind Singh, does not your blood run warm?

"Hari Singh Nalwa is well-known to the world. Did he not set an example to the world?

"Did not Sham Singh of Atari slay lakhs of men in days gone by?

"Why go so far? Hear an account of the present day. Are not lakhs or our jewels being wasted uncared for?

"O friends ! have not Mr. Tilak, Ajit Singh and Bhagwan Singh worked wonders?

"Also Ghose, Ram Chandar, Barkat Ullah, Hasrat Mohani and Har Dayal?

"Are not the heroes Savarkar, Hoti Lal, Goddess Madame Cama, Krishna Varma, Pindi Das and Nand Gopal rotting in jails or swinging from the gallows?

"Did not Hasrat, Sufi, Brinder Mohan Ghose and Liakat Husain work wonders?

"Also Bhag Singh, who at last suffered martyrdom and Badan Singh who accompanied him?

"What fault, O mother ! have these heroic sons of thine committed that they are not now living happily?

"Look to China and Japan. Are they not strutting happily in the world?

"No one treats us lawfully. Why does no one care for us ?

"Men have swung from the gallows for the sake of their motherland, Why do not faces redden with anger?

"We gave up the sovereignty of the Punjab in this very way. Why do we not understand the trick of the deceiver?

The English translation was prepared by the Director of Criminal Intelligence when it was first issued by the Hindustan Ghadr Party, in 1915. The original in Gurmukhi and Urdu is available in the National Archives of India. The Booklet like the Ghadr -di-Gunj No.1 contains many poems under different headings and were composed by different persons. While commenting on the situation the authors appealed to the Indians to liberate their motherland as the present moment created by the War was most suitable for a rising in India. These booklets were widely circulated by Sardar Ajit Singh and Iqbal Shedai during the Second World War to inspire the Indian soldiers in Tripoli to rise against the British. Police Abstract of Intelligence, 1915.

"This is the repeated prayer for mutiny. Why do you not recover your country?
 "Turkey, China, Egypt and Kabul are on our side; as also Germany;
 "Come ! Let us unite and fight. This is the hour for union.
 "Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs are monkeys with tails.
 "They who are our protectors secretly betray us. Try to escape from these sinners.
 "Come O lions ! Let us cause a mutiny. This chance is not to be lost.
 "Those who thirst for honour, never serve their nation.
 "O friends, protect yourself against these ; they are the dogs of the Government.
 "The monied man in slavery is like a worm in the gutter.
 "He gives nothing for the service (of the country) but has closed his money bags.
 "The Ghadr Party has to recover its dues. This is no theft.
 "Let all unite to extripate the nation of white *Feranghis*.
 "Our enemy is involved in Europe in a strong noose.
 "He is surrounded by the German lion. It is we who are delaying.
 "The Ghadr Party should first preach in the country,
 "And openly warn the people against thieves.
 "Stop the export of grain to England.
 "Set fire to the wheat heaped at (Railway) Stations.
 "Cut off railway line and telegraphic wires and pull down bridges.
 "Do this in day time or at night, whenever you get an opportunity.
 "Seduce the police and army that cross your way.
 "Come O lions ! let us cause a mutiny. This chance is not to be lost.
 "A great war will soon spread in the world.
 "He who will not be ready will be ruined and miserably pass his whole life in slavery.
 "Before securing freedom we should expel the monkeys.
 "There are many dogs in the employment of Government. They kill us by causing us to fight with one another.
 "You should first divide them between yourselves.
 "The *Feranghis* have plundered and devastated our country.
 "Indians ! 33 crores of you are living (in India) ; but there are only 4 crores *Feranghis* to be seen.
 "Every (group of) eight of you should appropriate to yourself on *Feranghi*.
 "The *Feranghis* have plundered and devastated our country.
 "There are only one lakh of *Feranghis* in India. If you make an attack on them, they will leave the spot.
 "Domestic troubles will be then removed.
 "The *Feranghis* have plundered and devastated our country.
 "Blow them with the big Bhangis guns. They have plundered and devastated our country.

URDU APPEALING

Indian Soldiers ! Do not fight with Germany

O Indian brave soldiers! Do not remain loyal to the rascal Englishmen! These tyrant English have been sucking the blood of our nation. These wretched Englishmen have been getting our throats cut by giving a monthly pay of Rs. 10 or 15. The white soldiers do not do the hardest work of war, but we are made to do that. Therefore, O Indian soldiers! Do not do slavery of the English. The English have been giving great affliction to our country. They have spread plague in our country and have spread fever, famine, cholera and all kinds of hardships. They have caused the Indian brethren to fight with one another. Recently they have shot down Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammedans in Egypt, Canada, Calcutta and Delhi; have hanged them and have transported them. They fixed a very heavy duty on land. They have imprisoned Indian patriots, have practised great tyranny upon them. Now take revenge upon them. Raise a mutiny and kill them. Strike them and turn them out of India. Liberate India. Rule yourselves in India. Raise a mutiny and kill all the rascal English and those Rajas and Nawabs who are their friends and who oppress the Indians. The Germans are not our enemies. They are our friends. The English are our enemies. Now do open your eyes. Do not be misguided by the English. Do not fight for them. If you are our true brothers, raise a mutiny and kill them. At least we have been going to sacrifice our lives for India. You also join with the Germans, and fight against the English and get India liberated. At present, besides the Germans, the Turks, Persians, Egyptians, Afghans, Chinese, all these are fighting against the English. In short this is the time for raising a mutiny in India—Bande Mataram.

Dear Indian heroes ! we would have been obliged to make great preparation for obtaining freedom from the claws of the tyrannical Englishmen. We would have been obliged to fight Russia, France and Japan also. But now the bad charactered Englishmen, Russians, Japanese and French are all engaged in war with the brave Germans. Now alone is the time of driving out Englishmen from India, of establishing independent rule in India and bringing the Indians into the rank of the living nations. All the Indian soldiers, Rajputs, Sikhs, Pathans, Dogras, Gurkhas and Muhammedans, should throw down their weapons before the brave Germans and then uniting with the Germans should fight against the English so that India, Egypt, Persia, Malaya, Kandar, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and China be altogether freed from the oppression and slavery of the *Feringhees*, and Turkey, Kabul, Nepal, etc., become also liberated from the pressure and high handedness of the English and the Russians, and everywhere Swadeshi, i.e. Self-Government, may be established and all males and females may live in happiness and peace.

What is the pay of an Indian military man? Ten or fifteen rupees! It is surprising that brave Indians should sell their heads of the *Feringhis* only for ten or fifteen rupees, while the whites get twice or thrice as much more pay together with rations, etc. Over and above this, these brave Indians are making their country a slave of the *Feringhis* for ten or fifteen rupees: while the English are taking away every year crores of rupees from our India to England. Besides they are carrying away all sorts of grains and fruits from India to England and crores of Indians have already died of hunger and thirst, famine, plague and malaria. Patriotic Indians are rotting in prisons. There they are given rough coarse, clothes, they are being caned and whipped, are being yoked like oxen to the sugarcane pressing wheel and are obliged to turn grinding mills. Brave Sikhs, Hindus and Mussalmans are rotting in the prisons of Canada and Africa and everywhere the English practise different sorts of oppressions

upon them, and the immoral whites also always outrage the modesty of Indian women. Quite recently brothers Bhagsingh, Badansingh and several other Indians were murdered in Canada. The English turned out four hundred Sikh, Hindus and Muhammedans passengers of the Komagata Maru from Canada and even the Indian women were turned out. All these were kept without food on the ship and then the English army fired shots at these Sikhs, Hindus and Muhammedans when they reached India. They killed twenty Sikhs. Hindus and Muhammedans and injured one hundred and then imprisoned all. In Delhi the innocent Indians were hanged. Temples, Gurdwaras and Mosques were demolished; that in the English commit all these oppressions on the strength of the Indian soldiers. In other words these dear simple Indian sepoys have not only made their own country a slave but they have fought in Afghanistan, Nepal, Persia, Baluchistan, China and Africa and have shed their blood. But for whom? For the dacoit *Feringhis*, for the oppressive Englishmen and for the enemies of our country. We, the Indian soldiers, are making India and the whole world slaves and the English carry away crores of rupees from everywhere and spread famine, plague, malaria and other various kinds of diseases in the country and we suffer the evil reward for these malpractices in the form of slavery. Now what should be done? Now we all the Indians, Rajputs, Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas, Dogras and brave soldiers should not thrust daggers into our own belly and leaving the company of the tyrannical Englishmen should throw down our arms before the brave Germans, the friends of the Indians and other nations and then united with them should take notice of the bad charactered Englishmen and turn them out of India. We should beat them out from Persia, China, Burma, Malaya, Baluchistan, Egypt and Africa, free the whole world from the claws of the tyrannical and immoral Englishmen, establish in India, Nepal, Persia, Malaya, Burma, Egypt, Afghanistan, Kilt and Baluchistan our own rule, become the Lord, King and Emperor of our own country, eat our own bread with satisfaction and establish the honour and rights of our sisters and brothers in our own and foreign countries. O diamond-like Indian youths! O powerful persons, tall, broad-chested and powerful like tigers! Take away and throw off the black veil of dishonour, slavery and service of ten or fifteen rupees from your face! Come out of the palace of sorcery! This is a good opportunity. Now united with the Germans extricate our country and all the countries reduced to slavery from the slavery of the English. Be courageous. Make your mind firm and once take the vow of freedom. When you have to die, die for the sake of the freedom of your country and your countrymen and make fruitful

THE BALANCE SHEET OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

(Translated from the "Hindustan-Gadar")

Translated from the "Hindustan-Gadar". The above handbill was circulated widely to show how the British exploit India.

Some main Items

(1) Englishmen drain from India and take to England every year 50 crores of rupees (167 million dollars); consequently the Hindus have become so poor that the daily average income per capita is only 5 paise (2- 1/2 cents).

(2) The land tax is more than 65 per cent of the net produce.

(3) The expenditure on the education of

240 millions persons is.....	$7\frac{3}{4}$	crores of rupees	(\$25,000,000)
on Sanitation.....	2	" "	(\$6,000,000)
but on the army	$29\frac{1}{2}$	" "	(\$97,000,000)

(4) Under British rule, the famines are ever on the increase, and in the last ten years twenty million men, women, and children have died of starvation.

(5) From the plague have occurred, during the sixteen years past, eight million deaths, and the death rate during the last thirty years has steadily increased from 24 per mile up to 34 per mile.

(6) Means are employed to spread disunion and disorder in the native states and to increase British influence there.

(7) Englishmen are not punished for murdering Hindus and for insulting Hindu women.

(8) From money taken from the Hindus aid is given to English Christian priests.

(9) Attempt is always made to create enmity between people of different religious denominations.

(10) The arts and crafts (industries) of India have been destroyed for England's benefit.

(11) Employing India's money, and sacrificing the lives of the Hindus (as soldiers) China, Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt and Persia have been conquered.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE AT LARGE

DEAR FRIENDS:

Due to modern inventions, our world today is functioning like an organism. What was true of one country yesterday is true of the whole world today.

President Lincoln once said: "A country cannot live half slave and half free." Today our world can not live in peace, half slave and half free.

Just as a group of people cannot be healthy and thriving whenever several of its members adopt an "I don't care about others" attitude, so a society of nations cannot feel safe when some of its members attempt to isolate themselves. John Stuart Mill in his essay "On Liberty" says: "A person may cause evil to others not only by his actions but by his inactions, and in either case he is justly accountable to them for the injury."

Those who love democracy for themselves must be ready to defend democracy for others; otherwise, they themselves will lose their right to democracy.

Autocracy and democracy cannot very long live side by side in our world of today; one must give way to the other.

In a country either every one has democracy or no one has it long. The world is like one country today, so either every one in the world has democracy, or no one has it long. Fascism is spreading in Europe like wildfire. Liberty loving people must help check it or they will lose their own liberty.

Today gangsterism is loosing in the world. A gangster with a gang of fifty men robs a small number of people. An Imperialist with a strong military force robs and enslaves a large weak nation. The poor and the weak have called for justice in vain.

Tolerance of aggression and injustice in one part of the world breeds aggression and injustice in all other parts of the world. German and Italian Imperialists are following the example of the British Imperialists.

"Be Consistent"

Imperialism is gangsterism on a large scale. When a man overlooks aggression of his friends or countrymen and condemns the aggressions of others, he is not doing justice. He is not consistent. Such an attitude intensifies injustice in the world, Past and present social chaos such an attitude.

Freedom to all Colonies not Re-Division of Preloot

"All men are created equal." All men love freedom. Colonial people love and cherish freedom, just as any other people do. Why not give them freedom? Why re-divide them among the imperialistic gangsters?

The imperialists lie when they say that they rule the colonies with "the consent of the people."

All those who really love, justice, freedom, democracy and peace, must be consistent. They must condemn aggression from all sources. They must ask for freedom and democracy for all. They must fight against injustice and autocracy wherever it raises its head. They must educate and organize the masses of the world to fight against injustice. Their slogans must be :

Justice for All! Freedom for All!
Is true Freedom but to break
And, with leathern heart, forget
No ! true Freedom is to share
And, with heart and hand, to be
They are slaves who fear to speak
They are slaves who will not choose
Rather than in silence shrink
They are slaves who dare not be

Democracy for All! Self-determination for All!
Fetters for our own dear sake,
That we owe mankind a debt?
All the chains our brothers wear.
Earnest to make others free.
For the fallen and the weak;
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse.
From the truth they need must think;
In the right with two or three!

-James Russell Lowell

Yours for the Justice, Freedom, Democracy and Peace,
HINDUSTAN GADAR PARTY, San Francisco, California, U.S.A.

**TRANSLATION OF AN URDU LEAFLET:
AILAN-I-JUNG**

"DEAR INDIANS".

Just think a little, you and your country's state, what is happening to them. This country, which of all countries was considered the greatest, today is being destroyed under the feet of foreigners. Which country is the most fruitful in the world? This country's children today are dying of starvation. What is the reason for this? Why are you in this state? Does grain in your country become less? Certainly not. Much more grain is being produced now than used to be produced, but this is all going to foreign lands. The grain produced in your country you are not allowed to eat. Have your tongues been tied? You are not allowed even to speak in your defence. Your riches have been stolen by the *Firanghis* who are now tasting them. What is the reason for this? Enough, this is it. You are a slave bound and bearing foreign shackles. Your brothers in arms have been sent to the war in Europe. What sort of astuteness is this that in battle the whitemen remain behind and in order to have them killed, place the Indians in front?

Dear brothers - what has happened to those who thought of the welfare of their country. *Maharaj Tilak, Arbnindo Babu, Amir Chand, Awadh Bihari and Balraj*? without any fault, that a heavy punishment they got.

Dear Muhammedan brothers - Today the English tyrants, and Russia and France, are fighting your Sultan of Turkey. Staring you in the face in the papers is an advertising announcing that the Turkish Empire will be wiped out. Now they have made a new Sultan of Egypt. Do you find this palatable that in front of your eyes the Muhammedan religion is being destroyed and you remain silent? No, certainly not. Dear brothers, now is the time; arise, these immoral, devilish human beings, *Firanghis*, tyrant English being killed, with the sword, turn them out of your dear country.

Dear Indian brothers - Your days of pains are over. For the sake of Indians I am announcing to you that the war is commencing. In the whole of Hindustan war has begun; you too arise and deliver Hindustan from the bondage of slavery. Think! Hazrat Muhammad, Akbar Shah Bahadur, Guru Gobind Singh, Rana Pratap and those Shivaji's followers. Brave Pathans, Turks, Moghals, Kshatriyas, their blood is in your veins. Is it possible that the war is going to liberate India, and you like brave men are sitting quiet in your houses looking on? No, this could never be. You will certainly be in the war and will deliver India from the tormentors.

Rise and kill these *Firangi* tyrants and deliver India from under their feet. Oh, dear brothers! Are you afraid to strike those cow-eating, pig-eating English? Rise! in the whole country the mutiny has commenced; the *Firangis* are being murdered. You too be in this and reap your reward.

In this rising Hindus and Muhammedans both take part because, over both equally tyrant has been practised and both of their rights and dues in the country are equal. For this reason dear Hindus and Muhammedans, join in and destroy this *raj* and make your own king. Dear brothers, by plague, cholera and sickness, the Angel of Death will arrive some day. When you have to die some day, why not act according to God's wishes? Having died in battle why not go to Paradise? By taking part in this war there will be sweets for both hands. If you win you will live at ease, if you die you will go straight to Paradise. Rise and acknowledge your faith".

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PAMPHLET: ANGAN DE GAWAHI

The Gurumukhi pamphlet is entitled Angande Gawahi. - The evidence of figures - and consists of 82 pages. It is numbered "No.3 of the Ghadr series of booklets" and purports to give an account of "the story of the suffering of subjects under British Rule" based on figures collected from various books and official reports. The first edition, consisting of 10,000 copies, is dated 1915 and it is announced that copies may be had free from the office of the *Hindustan Ghadr Yugantar Ashram*.

The object of the publication as stated in the introduction is to bring home to Indians the full extent of the oppression of British Rule. The pamphlet reviews *seriatim* the revenue figures derived from different sources, land, canals, forests, salt and railways, deducing in each case that Government is giving no return to Indians from the profits of its plunder under each head.

Turning to the conditions of the country reference is made to the prevalence of plague and famine in India, and the British Government is accused of purposely neglecting these evils and of taking no measures to check them, with the result that Indians have been reduced to such a state of poverty that they are unable to provide themselves with wholesome food or healthy swelling places and are dying of starvation and disease.

The figures of savings are given in order to support the argument that the British Government is needlessly robbing poor Indians.

In one section headed "The Robbers Cave" England is compared with the cave in the story of 'Ali Baba and the forty thieves' to which is carried all the wealth plundered from India by English capitalists, merchants, officials, lawyers, planters and prostitutes.

Reference is also made to the British Army in India, which is fed and paid by the Indian tax-payer, who in return is over-awed and held in subjection by it. Those serving in the Indian Army are reproached for aiding the British Army in its dirty work.

Throughout, the pamphlet calls upon Indians to rise in mutiny and drive the English out of India.

The Urdu edition is entitled Hindson ki gawahi, and is also said to consist of 10,000 copies. Its contents are practically identical with those of the Gurumukhi edition, though there are some slight variations in language and mode of expression. There are also a few editions, notably in regard to the Police Department. Figures are quoted relating to increased expenditure on the department which is held to be tantamount to an admission of increased police oppression and of fear on the part of the British Government of the Ghadr movement.

1. Punjab Police Abstract Intelligence. October 20th, 1915. 579.

2. The original pamphlet in Urdu, Hindi, Marathi, Gurumukhi, Pushtu and Bengali was issued by Hindustani Ghadr Press in 1915. It consists of 32 pages. The copy of the pamphlet in Urdu is available in the National Archives of India. It gave detailed statistical analysis of the economic condition of India which it was difficult for the British to refute.

PROCLAMATION OF LIBERTY

The sound of explosion of the bomb thrown by a plucky Indian youth at Lord Hardinge—the embodiment of a monstrosity called the Indian Government—at the moment of his official entry into the Imperial city of Delhi on the 23rd of December, 1912 proclaimed to the world at large the commencement of a new era of liberty for India, regeneration for Asia and salvation for the globe. It was an echo of the boom of the cannon fired by the American Patriots one hundred and thirty-six years ago on the battle field of Massachusetts at the same hated foe which, as Emerson declared, was heard by all the tribes of the earth. The influence of the latter, though considerable in developing the material resources of the new world will pale in comparison when the effect of the former will galvanize the human race with cosmic forces playing into all realms. As it announced the beginning of the end of a colossal fraud practised upon the confidence of one-fifth of the human race for over a century—started at first in the guise of friendship coupled with the sentiments of justice and fair play, but as soon as the arms were taken away from the people turned into high-way robbery pure and simple flourishing fire-arms in their faces and demanding—"Your purse or your life"—this terrible action was sanctified by the sanction of the highest ethical canons, the odium of disparaging epithets applied to it by the hypocrisy of the British nation notwithstanding.

A Roman poet, who flourished two centuries before Christian era, spoke of the Angel Saxons of his age as "Sea-wolves, whose home was the ocean, whose friend was the storm and who lived upon the pillage of the world. Two thousand years have elapsed since, and yet the predatory instinct of the race is not softened. If any thing at all has been added to it, it is the refinement of hypocrisy, which sharpens the edge of brutality.

In the medieval ages Hindustan's wisdom, culture, civilisation, wealth, prosperity, industrial development, commercial advancement were talked about in Europe as superhuman wonders which exercised a great influence on European imagination. The quest of a sea-route to Hindustan led on the one hand, to the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route, and, on the other to the discovery of the American continents, which both facts, revolutionized the human conception of the world and resulted in modern civilization. A system of organized plunder, called the British Government, has, however, transformed that paradise of nature in a century and half only into a variable hell of poverty and pestilence, where more than forty million souls live on one meal a day and where the average annual income of the population is twenty-seven rupees or nine dollars per head. The Anglo-Saxon system of rapine and plunder has become a fine art, a science, that defies detection. Ingenious ways are devised to squeeze the last drop of blood in the shape of taxation, to hamper native industries while offering every facility to the British manufacturers, to give the monopoly of import and export trade of India to the Europeans, to make all high Government posts as a close preserve for the Britishers, and to drain annually thirty million pounds sterling, called the "Home charges," for which India receives no return in any shape or form, and then, curious to say they are given the honourable name of "the Laws of the land". The history of mankind presents, no parallel to this gigantic swindle carried on in the name of civilization and humanitarianism. A glance at the following figures of Indian famines during the last few centuries, and the havoc wrought by famines in the latter part of the 19th century, will make it clear that the British rule in India is an unqualified evil.

Century.	Number of famines.	Statistics or morality.
11th	2	
13th	1	
14th	3	
15th	2	
16th	3	
17th	3	
18th	4	
	to 1745	
	to 1769	
19th	31	
	to 1825	More than 1,000,0000.
	to 1850	Half a million.
	to 1875	Five millions.
	to 1900	Twenty-six millions.

The undisputed control over and the irresponsible possession of inexhaustible resources Hindustan has not only enabled England to treat three hundred and fifteen millions of Indians as slaves—strangers at home and of no status abroad,—but it has also placed in her hand power to do mischief everywhere in the world. It is a matter of common knowledge that England gave Morocco to France. Tripoli to Italy and divided Persia between herself and Russia. The Balkan war has also been the outcome of the Anglo-Russian intrigue. These are however, preliminary steps only to her cherished designs for destroying all Islamic kingdoms in the world and subjugating the Asiatic Continent with the co-operation of Russia and France. Lord Morley speaking in the House of Lords in the summer of 1912, before the present Balkan war broke out, thus gave the eat out of the bag:-

“A year ago many of us who knew the east thought that we were witnessing its renaissance. To-day it rather seems that we are looking upon its dissolution. Stability remains only in India. French Indo-China, Japan, Russia Central Asia and Siberia. *The whole of the rest of the countries which comprise the east, from Adrianople to Peking, appear to be deliquescent rapidly.* Turkey is repudiating the leaders of her own but three (evidently meaning Kiamil, Nazim and Mukthar Pashas). Arabia is torn asunder by faction fighting. *The constitutional experiment in Persia has failed miserably, and the whole country has lapsed into anarchy.* The Ameer of Afghanistan has just discovered that, instead of being a power to be reckoned with, his inefficient troops will hardly suffice to keep him on his throne. Tibet is feebly struggling to gain her independence under the weakest of leaders. *China is in the melting-pot. She has lost all semblance of unity. The provinces owe little allegiance to Peking, and the more distant ones are dropping away.* Even mailed Japan has her own perplexities. Excessive taxation is producing much discontent. No future Emperor of Japan will ever command veneration accorded to Mulsuhito, the central figure of the Japanese Revolution.” John Morley is the greatest man living in England to-day. But, marks how boldly he tells lies about the east, about the events, in Turkey, Persia and China! His whole speech is a compilation of falsehoods. His reference to Afghanistan is remarkably suggestive of the conspiracy that failed. As to his repetition of the ever-reiterated lie that the eastern people are incapable of doing anything great without the help of Englishmen, it is really based upon a psychological principle. Experts are known to have hypnotized individuals by auto-suggestion. But the charlatans of Britain are pastmasters in the art of hypnotizing nations and rendering them incapable of doing anything for centuries by simply repeating the formula: “You cannot do this, you cannot do that,” John Morley’s lie was, however, nailed to the counter through manifestation of this over-powering selfish interest in the following words of his:—“As in China so in Persia and Turkey. *They have all capsized and are drifting. If they can not right themselves within reasonable time, others will do it for*

them. Such is the lesson of history." When such great man like John Morley do not hesitate to tell lies and deliberately deceive nations, what reliance can, then, be placed on the morality of ordinary Englishmen? They are all viper's offsprings, emitting deadly poison from their tongues.

It is a well-known fact of history that man, whether savage, civilized or enlightened, has respected his own word of honour in every age. But it is the prerogative of the enlightened Christian nations of Europe, England being conspicuous amongst them, to violate their most solemn promises if circumstances permit. Hear John Morley on this subject too:— "The three great danger spots in the east are Turkey, Persia and China. Innumerable oaths have been taken by various great powers, *including ourselves, to preserve the integrity and independence of these unhappy countries. Of all the oaths taken by humanity, those sworn collectively by nations through their, Governments have proved to the least binding.* Their violation is not always wilful and deliberate, for circumstances often burst the bonds of the most solemn treaties. When the force of the circumstances make England or her friends, renounce their solemn promises made with independent nations like Turkey, Persia and China, what prospect lies there before the people of India—slaves and sons of slaves—to expect the fulfilment of any promise made with them by England."

Now let us examine, in the light of the bomb incident, his statement:—"Stability remains only in India." The bomb bears a most eloquent testimony to the fact that the days of the British rule in India are numbered. The evolution of the bomb, its success in hitting the Viceroy in spite of all precautions and the escape of its thrower in the sight of thousands of people prove the above contention. For centuries a Hindu is known to abhor to take life even that of a worm. How does it come to pass that the same Hindu now makes an attempt upon the life of the Viceroy? The reasons is as follows : The Hindu first came into contact with the servants of the East India Company and put up with their violation of all the commandments for a century. Having come to the end of his patience he rose in rebellion. Owing to some unforeseen circumstances, the plan was miscarried. Meanwhile the Queen of England issued a proclamation in which she solemnly declared in the presence of God and man that if the people of India lay down their arms, she would take over the Government of the country into her own hands and would treat them like her own British subjects. The Hindu, being by temperament a royalist, was easily taken in by the solemn promises of Queen Victoria. After a quarter of a century he discovered that though the representative of the Queen was not so brutal as the representative of the company was, yet he too, "made a promise to the ear and broke it to the heart." The Hindu argued in his mind that the Queen, who promised to treat him like her English subjects, was not aware of the rascality of her representatives in India. From the constitutional history of England he learned a scheme of making noise in chorus annually in the hole of reaching the ears of the benign sovereign! From 1885 to 1905 he regularly kept up his annual shouting, of course, within the constitutional limits. Being a believer in the maxim: "first deserve and then desire" the Hindu worked hard and surpassed Englishman in examination tests. But to his great astonishment he was told in substance that the promises of Queen Victoria were buried with her in her grave, and that an Indian could claim no equality with an English man under any circumstances whatsoever. After fifty years' direct rule of the British sovereign, the Hindu came to realize the fact that the British Company as well as the British sovereign were both tarred with the same brush. As he was made to believe that the British Government did every thing according to law only; so he made up his mind to preach Swaraj, keeping himself within the law all the time. By deporting Lajpatrai and Ajit Singh without appealing to the law, the rulers of India demonstrated that the will of the Englishman was the only law in India. Driven to the corner, the Hindu made the Swadeshi and boycott instruments to fight the Englishman with. But the British Government declared that the shouting of "Bande Mataram" (hail mother land) was seditious and punished some of the young men belonging to noble families with cat for shouting, "Bande Mataram" and preaching Swadeshi. The youngmen resenting the indignity and cruelty of the Government, tried to kill the brutal officials with bombs. The Hindu however, still clinging to the idea of punishing the English by

boycotting their goods, employed such men who had no direct connection with politics to preach swadeshi. The holders of India realizing the possibility of economic catastrophe, in case of the swadeshi and boycott being successful, arrested nine leaders of the Hindu community, who were preaching swadeshi but in no way were connected with political agitation, and after a year's confinement released them without proffering any charge against them. This act of the Indian Government established the principle that the life, property and honour of the people of Hindustan were at the mercy of a few Englishmen, their sweat will being the only arbiter. At this juncture the Government threw off the mask of hypocrisy and appeared in its true grim colour of a taskmaster. Leaders, like Gangadhar Tilak, organizer of swadeshi steamship companies, like C. Pillay, and other nationalists were arrested on all sorts of pretexts; and freedom of speech, of opinion, of press were abolished; subsidized papers grew up like mushrooms in all provinces of the country, and the armies of spies commenced to roam about, like scavenger dogs in Constantinople in Hamidean days, in all towns and cities of India. The most of these plans were devised by John Morley, whose ingenuity eclipsed that of M. Plevie of Russia himself. The Hindu, thus being knocked about from pillar to post was forced to see the Englishman in his grim reality, fully fifty years after his first attempt to throw off the British yoke in 1857. Out of his disappointment in Englishman sprang up his hope through his confidence in self. The battle was won and the victory was achieved. He discovered the enormous force that was about him and the utter helplessness of Englishmen in India, if even the millionth part of the force was properly handled. He set to work and succeeded in no time. "What is government?" he asked. "It is an organization," he answered himself. "Then, let me create an organization of my own people, which one day may over-power the alien organization that is oppressing everybody," he continued. "But the British government has money and army of spies to destroy my organization," he thought for a moment. "There is no lack of money and men in the country," he argued. "I must force the rich to contribute large sums to the national fund and must establish a more efficient intelligence department than that of the alien government to watch its activities," he soliloquized.

The Hindu invited all his patriotic friends to a private meeting and disclosed his scheme to them. They all agreed with him in his views, and there and then was organized "the National Independence Committee." They swore that they would not rest until they had driven the British out of India with bag and baggage. They first began to operate against the informers and spies of the Government, running them to earth like mad dogs. In a short time a few score of detectives were killed; even female detectives were politely poisoned in tea, coffee or water only. This deadly earnestness of the proceeding created a lull in the activity of the Government Intelligence Department and the table was turned. The patriots, then, went out revolver in hand to the millionaires of the town and demanded some times as much as ten lakhs of rupees for the National Independence Fund to be paid on a certain day. The patriot even told the rich man to inform the police, if he wished; but without paying the demanded sum, he could not save his life. The latter yielding to the force of argument, often paid the sum willingly; for, he knew, after all, the spotless character of the one who was playing the blackmailer. In some cases the graduates of universities were obliged to wear disguises and wander all over the district armed with deadly weapons to levy toll upon exact contribution from the wealthy of the place for the national work. It must be remembered that the money thus raised was handled in the most honourable way, in issuing revolutionary literature in various languages secretly, in giving scientific education to the youth of the nation, and in preparing young men for fighting the enemy in the coming war of independence. Students are also sent abroad to study those sciences that would be needed in carrying on the administration of the country when the British will be driven out of India. The Indian patriot is going to hoist England by her own petard, having taken a leaf out of the Macedonian Committee's book, which has been supported for a long time by England against Turkey:— 'Such is one writer's characterization of the history of the Christian population of Macedonia and Thrace. The tradition of liberty was kept alive by the *he duck* or patriot—outlaw, by the folk-poet, by the schoolmaster, *daskal* in the

vernacular, from the Greek didaskalos, and last but not least, by the monk and priest. There is much talk now of the famous monasteries on Mount Athos and the possibility of the establishment of a monastic republic in that corner of the Peninsula. From among the monks of Athos came many of the pioneers of the present war of liberation. Often, says a writer in the London Nation, the brigand of the folk-songs turns out to be priest or monk or daskal, in disguise. "We must be ready for the brutes," says the abbot in Ivan Vassof's novel, "Under the Yoke." The abbot's cell was an armoury. Chance had made him a monk instead of a guerrilla leader. "Through the desolate centuries, the Bulgarian monasteries were the sporadic islets of a rayah-world submerged under the Turkish deluge."

In conclusion we must say a few words about the moral of the bomb thrown at Lord Hardinge. First of all it is an answer to the challenge of the government, which having defied all moral considerations, showed by words and deeds that it would govern India by force against the will of the people. The bomb indicates that the people can meet force with force. It also points out the fact that the people are going to take India from the grasp of alien foe, and that they will not ask the tyrant for concessions any more. It has notified to the civilized world that the reports about India circulated by England were not correct. But it was a great warning to the muslim community especially. The Muslims of India had been for the last few years hyponotized by the English and were selling their birth-rights for the mess of pottage. They even did not feel ashamed of themselves when they were rejoicing over their national disgrace when the capital of Shahjehan was going to become the capital of a robber kingdom. The bomb-thrower set an example of manliness, sacrifice and devotion to the service of our common Fatherland. He reminded the Muslims that there was no occasion for them to rejoice when their brethren and sisters in the Faith in the Balkans were being butchered at the instigation of England. It was the duty of the Muslims to take revenge upon the English for the wrong they have inflicted upon the people of India as well as upon the Musilms in Persia, Tripoli and the Balkan Peninsula.

Let the patriotic Muslims in India should heed to this warning and should fall into line with the movement for the liberation of our beloved motherland, by instituting their own secret organization aiming at the same goal. Let the events in Tripoli, Persia and the Balkans serve as an eye-opener to them. Let them reflect upon the fact how the Balkan nationalities, that were at daggers drawn at one another for centuries passed, sank their differences when they found an opportunity to strike at the common-foe. The Indian Muslims have to avenge themselves upon England for two wrongs, (1) to the people of India and (2) to the Muslims abroad. So let us take a solemn oath that we will not rest until we have driven the British out of our glorious country. Let our motto be: "Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are the birth-rights of every child of man"; "No nation has a right to govern another nation;" "No good government by aliens can ever be a substitute for self-government".

This is followed by three pages of pictures with letter press entitled "The Curse of Brtish Rule in India ". The first page headed "First stage: constant bleeding going on for 150 years" represents India as an enfeebled old man standing in an attitude of supplication and bleeding all over his body. The blood is being caught in receptacles at his side, while a hand is placed over his mouth preventing utterance. On the sides are representations of a wheat-field, a railway train, a steam crane and a steamship and is followed by the note "Every source of income is taxed to its maximum capacity. High Government posts are a close preserve of the British. The export and import trade of India is in the hands of aliens. Native industries are crippled by legislation. Thirty million pounds sterling are annually drained for 'Home Charges' from India to England for which India gets nothing in return." The next picture entitled "Second stage: starvation, famine and plague" is a reproduction of a well-known photograph, representing a group of famine-stricken victims. Below the picture is the following letter press:-

The ceaseless drainage of wealth has resulted in abject poverty which spells famine in fat-years and plague in normal conditions. The motto of the British Government is to rob the people, whose paltry average annual

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income is Rs. 27 per head. Even the surplus of Indian revenue is sent to England to be lent to the British bankers at easy terms and without guarantee. Mr. Gwynne, a member of the British Parliament, in the course of discussion the surplus of India in the hands of the Secretary of State for India said : "I doubt whether there is another part of our Empire which will tolerate the keeping of \$ 45,000,000 of their money over here (England) and handing it entirely as one or two men in the city think proper.."

The third headed "Third stage-funeral pyre" depicts a heap of bones and distorted limbs and is preceded by the note—

Between poverty and disease the mass of India's population is gradually dying out. In all the wars of the 19th century, including the Napoleonic wars, there were hardly five millions people killed in action on battle-fields, while England's scientific methods have succeeded, in destroying 26,000,000 Indians in the last quarter of a century. It is evident that the British are aiming at destroying the Indian people root and branch by scientific means in order to secure India in the course of a century or two for themselves as a white-man's land like Canada, Australia and South Africa !

The Pamphlet concludes with :—

The turks have done nothing of the kind to their Christian subjects in the Balkan Peninsula yet England circulated calumnies against them and Islam, and conspired with Russia and France to drive them out of Europe. So let the Hindus and Muslims make a common cause like the Balkan States and drive England, the pest of the universe, out of our beloved country with bag and baggage.