APPENDIX I

THE CHIRALA MUNICIPALITY

THE PUBLICITY BUREAU STATEMENT

The supersession of the Chirala Municipality has excited considerable comment in the newspapers. The public may like to know the circumstances in which the place was constituted as a Municipality and the reasons why it was decided to supersede the municipal council.

Chirala is the largest town in the Guntur District next to Guntur itself. At the census of 1911 it had a population of 22,000. It has a flourishing weaving and dyeing industry and it is also one of the biggest trade centres in the district. The place, however, is very congested and the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner who visited the town in July 1914, severely commented on the insanitary condition of the town and strongly recommended the conversion of the Union into a Municipality as the only possible means.
of improving its sanitation, the resources of the Union being quite inadequate for the purpose. In January 1915, the District Board discussed the question of converting it into a Municipality and came to the conclusion that the proposal was premature. The Government did not therefore accept the recommendation of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner.

In 1917 plague broke out in a virulent form in Chirala and spread to all the neighbouring places in the taluk and even Ongole was infected. In 1918 the Union Chairman himself reopened the question and submitted a formal proposal for the conversion of the Union into a municipality. The Taluk Board discussed the matter at a meeting held in June 1918 and approved of the proposal. Meanwhile some of the rich merchants of Chirala strongly protested against the change and so the question was re-discussed at a special meeting of the Taluk Board in August 1918. The Taluk Board by a large majority adhered to its original resolution.

The subject was placed before the District Board in September 1918 and the Board unanimously supported the proposal, although three years before it had come to the conclusion that it was premature. The Government carefully
considered the objections raised by some of the inhabitants of the place. The population of Chirala was more than that of 24 other towns which were under municipal administration, and it was in every way a more advanced place than several municipalities. The resources of the Union were quite inadequate for the improvement of the sanitation of the place, which was becoming a breeding place of epidemics. Plague had already broken out and the neighbouring places also had suffered, because the Chirala Union could not keep Chirala in a sanitary condition. After a consideration of all these circumstances the Government came to the conclusion that the opinion of the Taluk Board and the District Board should prevail. The town was therefore formally constituted as a Municipality in November 1919.

The inhabitants of the place presumably accepted the decision of the Government for there was no further agitation against the Municipality until September 1920, when some non-co-operators took advantage of the natural reluctance of the people to pay additional taxes and revived the agitation against the municipality. Ten out of the twelve councillors resigned and municipal administration was-
brought to a standstill. The Hon. the Minister for Local Self Government himself visited the place, discussed the situation with the leading residents of the place, and made personal enquiries into their alleged grievances. He also offered to exempt agricultural cattle and land from municipal taxation. This should have satisfied the poorer residents of the place but apparently under the influence of the non-co-operators and some of the rich merchants and money-lenders, the offer was rejected. After a careful examination of the situation he came to the conclusion that the agitation for the abolition of the municipality was fictitious and that the town should continue to be a municipality in the interests of public health. The Government, therefore, decided to supersede the municipal council and appoint a paid officer to discharge the duties of the council and its chairman.

If the Government had decided otherwise, what would be the alternative? The Government might abolish the municipality and restore the Union, but this would not solve the difficulties that gave rise to the proposal for the constitution of a Municipality. Money has to be found for the improvement of the sanitation
of the town not merely in the interests of the inhabitants of Chirala, but also of those of the neighbouring places; for, if any epidemic breaks out at Chirala it is sure to spread to the neighbouring villages. The ordinary resources of the Union are quite insufficient for the purpose and either the Government would be compelled to extend the provisions of the District Municipalities Act relating to taxation to the Union or the Taluk Board would have to supply the money. If the former course were adopted, the ratepayers would have to pay exactly the same taxes that they now do but they would not have an independent status or the other advantages which a municipal administration implies. This would hardly be acceptable to them, for the main grievances of the people is against the additional taxes. As regards the second course, it is for the Taluk Board to decide whether it should pay for all the conveniences that the people of Chirala enjoy. The poverty of Taluk Boards is well-known and the only way by which they can find money is by the levy of an additional cess on land. The views of the Taluk Board are indicated in the following extracts from the letter of the President of the Ongole Taluk
Board, dated 23rd August 1918, in which the Board’s resolution strongly recommending the conversion of the Union into a Municipality was conveyed to the District Board.

“Taxes collected elsewhere are now being spent on hospitals, schools, roads, markets, etc., in Chirala town where the inhabitants can afford to look to their wants and there is no reason why they should not be made to pay for their own comforts. For the above reasons the Taluk Board strongly recommends the conversion of the union into a Municipality.”

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the point involved is not whether a municipality should be forced on Chirala but whether the Taluk Board or the residents of Chirala should pay for the hospital and the other conveniences which they enjoy and for the improvement of the sanitation of Chirala which is an urgent necessity. Should Chirala and its rich merchants, who are demanding the abolition of the Municipality, pay for those advantages to the town or should the poor ryot outside Chirala for them? That is the issue involved in this agitation for the abolition of the Municipality.
APPENDIX II.

THE REAL ISSUE ABOUT CHIRALA

A REPLY TO THE PUBLICITY BUREAU’S STATEMENT

1. The allegations of the Publicity Bureau are incorrect in several respects and are calculated to mislead the public regarding the attitude of the people of Chirala towards the constitution and continuance of the Municipality.

2. Chirala is not a single town. The old Union consisted of four villages—Chirala, Peral, Jandrapet, and Old Chirala. Peral is about a mile, Jandrapet about 2½ miles, and Old Chirala about two miles from Chirala Proper.

3. The statement about population is also incorrect. The population of all these places put together according to the census of 1911 was 18,618 and not 22,000, in 1919-20 it was only 18,600.
4. Of the four villages only the first two were constituted into a Municipality their population at the commencement of the Municipality being 13,500; It is widely believed that the other two places as well as a few houses in Chirala Proper were excluded from the municipal limits in deference to the wishes of the American Missionaries who possess extensive interests therein.

5. Chirala Municipality is not the second town in the district. It stands fourth in the list, Tenali with a population of about 23,000 and Ongole with a population of about 16,000, coming second and third respectively.

6. Chirala is not a flourishing trade-centre. Inconsiderable at any time, its trades in cotton fabrics declined during and after the war.

7. As regards the sanitation it is not a congested place. It possesses “a typically porous sandy soil” which absorbs the drainage water. Very good water is available for drinking and other purposes during all seasons of the year and never was any scarcity felt. It has a cool and salubrious climate. Plague was imported into Chirala in 1918, 1919 as into so many other towns big and small in the Andhradesa. It did not recur in subsequent years. The first town to be affected in Andhradesa was
THE REAL ISSUE ABOUT CHIRALA 51

Bezwada which has been a well-equipped Municipality for over 40 years. For the matter of that, it has been prevalent in large cities like Poona, Bombay, Hyderabad and Bangalore for years continuously in spite of the existence of efficient municipal councils. So the reason assigned by the Bureau for the imperative need of forcing a Municipality on Chirala is untenable.

8. As regards official and non-official opinion about the fitness of Chirala to be constituted into a Municipality, the Bureau's failure to refer to the opinion of the Hon. N. E. Marjoribanks, I.C.S., is significant. Before the War, he reported against such constitution and the District Board endorsed his view in 1915. Evidently, no change in the natural situation of Chirala or its attendant advantages had occurred to justify the change in the Board's view in 1918. Quite possibly, it registered the Decrees of superior authority. In any case, the views of the semi-officialised Taluk and District Boards do not truly represent the views of the people, and in this particular case, their decision cannot carry much weight inasmuch as they were anxious to shift their pecuniary responsibility in the matter of roads, hospital and education.
on to the shoulders of the poor inhabitants of Chirala. Last year the Sub-Collector of Ongole recommended its abolition.

9. That Chirala is a poor place is evident from the following figures;—

I. The average annual tax in the Union was Re. 1-5-9 per house and about As. 4 per head while that in the adjacent Union of Vetapalem with a population of 10,582 was Re. 1-5-9 per house and Re. 0-5-4 per head, and that in Pennur it was Rs. 1-14-4 and Re. 0-7-10. The average for the Unions in the district was Rs. 2 per house and As. 8 per head.

II. Of the 4,529 houses, in Chirala Union, only 200 were classed in the first four classes liable to pay Rs. 4 per annum and above and the total tax realised from them was only Rs. 1,177. 2,548 houses were entered in classes 8 and 9 liable to pay As. 4 and As. 8 per year, fetching altogether Rs. 862-4-0.

III. About 90 per cent. of the population live by dyeing and weaving which bring them a bare living wage.

IV. The agricultural lands are poor. Of manufacturing activities, there is only one rice factory and nothing else.

10. The Municipality was established in
January 1920 and not in November 1919, The Government announced its intention of making Chirala a Municipality on 16th September 1919. The people protested by telegram on 16th October 1919 and followed it up by a memorial which exhaustively dealt with the situation and afforded complete proof of the undesirability of converting it into a Municipality. The Union Chairman who is reported to have sent up a resolution in favour of the conversion was a man hated of the people. The people intimated to the Government their opinion of this person in strongly worded telegrams. He and the members of the Union over which he presided were nominated by the officials and very naturally echoed their views.

11. When in spite of popular opposition, the Government chose to establish the Municipality, the people formed themselves into a ratepayers' association on 18th February 1920 to mitigate the rigour of the municipal visitation. Their first official act was to protect against the heavy taxation. The Chairman and the Councillors, all of whom were nominated by the Government, levied very high rates. While the income from the Union consisting of four villages with a population of 18,600 was about Rs. 4,700 for the year
1919-20, the budgeted income for the year 1919-20, of the newly constituted Municipality consisting of only two villages with a population of 13,500 was Rs. 33,136 and actual collection for the first half-year came up to the huge figure of Rs. 20,500. While the actual expenditure in the Union for the same period was Rs. 4,200, the estimated expenditure of the Municipality was Rs. 29,136 and the actual expenditure for the first half-year was Rs. 8,008 which shows that the Municipality added enormously to the burdens without causing any material improvement in the people's condition. Out of this expenditure of Rs. 8008, the costly office establishment and miscellaneous charges which were the inevitable accompaniments of the Municipality consumed Rs. 2,668 while public works and lighting were starved with a sum of Rs. 550 and the rest was paid for items of expenditure hitherto borne by the Taluk and District Boards. The total amount proposed to be spent on education was only Rs. 1,030 which could cover the cost of but one out of the 13 schools in the place. There was already in existence a private middle school. Thus the Municipality did not add even to the educational facilities of Chirala.
12. The very fact admitted by the Bureau that there are 24 Municipalities with a population smaller than that of Chirala shows that both the authorities and the people considered Chirala Union unfit for municipal administration for a long time, and for that very reason did not interfere with the Union which had been in existence for over 35 years. The census report of 1911 shows that at least 12 towns with a population larger than that of Old Chirala Union were not made Municipalities. This shows that population is not the sole or main criterion in the establishment of a Municipality.

13. As regards medical aid of which much capital is sought to be made by the Bureau, the local hospital was not intended mainly for the inhabitants of Chirala. It served the needs of several surrounding villages. The Ongole Taluk Board had to its credit only three or four hospitals in the two taluks under their jurisdiction. In view of the fact that the Taluk Boards have not established itinerant hospitals, the hospitals established by them should be located in some place or other and, if in this particular instance, the ‘Taluk Board pitched upon Chirala’ it did not do so at the request of the people of Chirala and there is nothing inequita-
ble in charging the cost to the Taluk Board. The inequity on the other hand, would lie in charging it to Chirala solely. The Chirala people would gladly get rid of the hospital if it is to be had only on condition of maintaining a Municipality at the enormous cost of Rs. 40,000 per year.

14. The main road that serves Perala and Chirala Proper is a portion of the Trunk Road that passes between Bapatla and Ongole and is not specially laid for these two villages. The remarks of the Taluk Board President relied upon by the Bureau in this respect are wholly beside the point.

15. The Publicity Bureau tries hard to make out that the inhabitants weekly submitted to the Municipality till some non-co-operators bent on mischief disturbed the placid contentment of the masses, and set afloat an unreasonable agitation. There is nothing strange in this sort of attitude as the Publicity Bureau is set up for the express purpose of bolstering up the official view. The fact that nearly the whole demand for the first half-year of 1920 was paid up by the people may tend to support the Bureau’s view. But the payment was necessitated in order to acquire a right of
appeal against the oppressive taxation, and, as a matter of fact, several appeals were filed. The ratepayer’s association sent up protest after protest and waited in deputation on the ex-officio Chairman who paid no heed to them all. In addition to this the people were prosecuted for merely trivial acts of nuisance and heavily fined by the Second-Class Magisterial Bench. The dyeing yards which had been in use from time immemorial were objected to by the Chairman and the people were asked to prepare their dye-stuffs far away from their homes. This caused serious inconvenience and hardship.

16. The high taxation, the frequent and frivolous prosecutions, the notices to remove the dyeing yards taken together exasperated the people and strengthened their determination to get rid of the municipality. Finding that their protests and memorials were of no avail, they resolved to suspend payment of taxes on 27th December, 1920.

17. The Minister came to Chirala early in February 1921 at about 9 A.M. rested in the bungalow 5 yards from the station during the day-time and left the place after nightfall. He did not inspect the place. He merely tried to
preach the justice-party doctrines and create a split amongst the people on caste-lines, but failed ignominiously.

18. The municipal councillors that resigned made it clear that they realised the difficulties of the people and sympathised with them in their efforts to dissolve the municipality.

19. The Bureau’s statement talks glibly about applying the municipal rules to major unions in certain contingencies. But the foregoing statement must have made it abundantly clear that the people need not and cannot pay any extraordinary charges which ought in the nature of things to be borne by the Local Boards.

20. The Publicity Bureau has deliberately misstated the whole issue when it framed it in the following terms:—

"Should Chirala and its rich inhabitants who are demanding the abolition of the municipality pay for those advantages to the town or should the poor ryot outside Chirala pay for them."

The real issue is "Whether even in the sphere of Local Self-Government the views of the prestige-ridden Bureaucracy should prevail over the wishes of the people expressed emphatically and unambiguously?" The evacuation, so
heroically undertaken and so peacefully conducted is a conclusive reply to the allegation that the whole trouble is due to a handful of mischief-mongering non-co-operators. The attempt of the Bureau to create a split between the residents of Chirala and the ryots of the Taluk Board and to wean away the sympathies of the people is bound to fail and has already failed. The people in several villages are contributing their might to the relief of the inhabitants of Chirala.
APPENDIX III

CHIRALA-PERALA, THE NEW PHASE

(ISSUED BY THE PUBLICITY OFFICER,
THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE.)

The struggle at Chirala-Peralal for the cancellation of the municipality has entered on a new phase. After the evacuation and the construction of hundreds of sheds for accommodating the large population, Government seem to have determined upon crushing the spirit of the people by subjecting them to oppression in new and ingenious ways. The Revenue Department levied penal cesses in respect of the sheds on the ground that they were pitched in Government assessed waste. The rate for each shed is Rs. 10-2-6, the value of the sheds themselves being about Rs. 26 each. This levy of penalty has been made on 41 sheds on pain of eviction. We understand that 74 more notices will be
issued shortly and that 70 more are under consideration.

2. It is well to remember in this connection that the evacuation was completed and the sheds put up about the first week of May. The people have passed these three months in the sheds. The summer was unusually severe, the maximum temperature being 116 degrees in the sheds. During June and July 10 1/2" of rain has fallen and most of the sheds are leaking. In spite of all these adverse circumstances these brave citizens of Chirala-Perala fighting for justice, truth and self-determination, have continued their struggle and stood the test most admirably.

3. The Publicity Bureau of the Madras Government mentions that for the year 1920-21 there were 32 income-tax assesses in Chirala-Perala and argues that it is evidence of prosperity. But we understand that the number of assesses is only 35 out of a population of 14 to 15 thousand. The Bureau also tries to make out that the municipality was established in order to confer on the people the privileges of self-Government. But at Chirala-Perala even as at Repalli the existence of the municipality has meant not the enjoyment by the people of the
privileges of self-Government, but the very negation of all self-Government. The people prayed, protested and in the end left their ancient dwellings rather than submit to a municipality which was imposed on them against their will.

4. In the repression at Chirala-Peral, the roll of honour is lengthening. Already 12 men and 1 woman have served out their term of imprisonment for refusing to pay the municipal taxes. Three men are now undergoing rigorous imprisonment in the Central Jail at Rajahmundry; six more are awaiting orders of incarceration. It is extraordinary that these six were sentenced to imprisonment—nearly a month ago and the sentence held in abeyance. We have not heard of any other instance in which convicted persons are quietly told that they might go home and await orders, not even bail bonds being taken from them. Many more in Chirala-Peral are prepared to fill the prisons. The struggle is being carried on with remarkable vigour and persistence though the dislocation of business caused by the evacuation and the loss of living in the case of poorer inhabitants have entailed serious hardship.

5. The property of the convicted persons has
been attached and brought to sale a number of times at Bapatla and at Guntur for realising the amount of fine levied on them. But no bidders have come forward in either place. This is an eloquent testimony to the sympathy generally felt for the sufferings of the Chirala-Perala patriots.

6. Some legislative councillors seem to be vying with each other to secure credit for themselves by moving in the Council for the cancellation of the municipality. But let it be distinctly understood that their exertions are not the outcome of any solicitude on the part of responsible individuals connected with this struggle at Chirala-Perala.
APPENDIX IV

THE HERO OF CHIRALA-PERALA
THE TRIAL SCENE

MR. GOPALAKRISHNIAH’S
STATEMENT

(FROM ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
PUBLICITY BUREAU)

BERHAMPORE, October 1.—We have already intimated that Andhraratna Duggirala Gopala-krishniah was arrested on the 1st instant at Berhampore station under a warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Ganjam for “disseminating sedition”. The warrant mentioned no section. On the 2nd morning he was taken to Chicacole Road station to take his trial before the District Magistrate. It is noteworthy that though a second-class ticket was purchased for him the Deputy Superintendent of Police, insisted of his travelling in
inter-class. This is a trifle but it shows up the mentality of the officials. The trial commenced at 12 noon. The preliminary order under section 112 was handed over to Mr. Gopalakrishniah just before the commencement of the trial whereas in the ordinary course it should have been served along with the warrant. The preliminary order was as follows:—

THE TEXT OF NOTICE

Duggirala Gopalakrishniah of Guntur District.

Whereas information has been laid by the District Superintendent of Police, Ganjam, that, on 24th and 26th September, at the Andhra Conference and on 27th September at a mass meeting in Berhampore within the limits of my jurisdiction, you delivered speeches calculated to stir up hatred and contempt of the Government by law established in British India and to incite the people to revolt by making an obscene remark about the King-Emperor, by comparing the Government of Ravana, Bali Chakravarti and Hiranyakasyapa and elaborating these comparisons with false accusations that the present Government has ruined the people of the country and asserting that it must and will
be destroyed in three months, and further by threat of what will happen to those who do now support rebellion; whereas also you sought to stir up enmity between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin by taunting the Brahmins with their alleged miserable conditions and abusing non-Brahmins as traitors to their country for cooperating with Government; I hereby call upon you to show cause why you should not be ordered to furnish security in a sum of Rs. 1,000 to be of good behaviour for a period of one year, with one surety in a like amount.

(Sd.) T. G. RUTHERFORD,

District Magistrate,

2nd October 1921.

Thus it turned out that the prosecution was not in respect of his speech delivered on the 29th “in due disobedience” to the District Magistrate’s order under Section 144 served on Mr. Gopala-krishniah on the 28th. It is likely that a separate prosecution is awaiting.

THE STATEMENT:

Mr. Gopala-krishniah gave his statement orally in English “in order to expedite the
business of the Court." But he took care to sign it in Telugu. The District Magistrate did not permit him to make his statements sitting though he pleaded ill-health. His statement was in the form of a running commentary on the allegations in the preliminary order with which dialogues interposed here and there. The statement ran as follows:—

"It is a fact that I spoke at the Andhra Conferences on the 24th and 26th of September and at the mass meeting at Berhampore on the 27th. My speeches were "calculated" to give a correct idea of the mental and moral constitution of the existing Government. I do not know whether they are "stirring up hatred and contempt." But I certainly "incited" them to prepare themselves for civil disobedience eventually. If however you wish to use the word "revolt," it is revolt in the realm of morality and of ideas, but certainly not revolt in the military sense of the term and our aim is to purify the Britisher in its conduct towards men and things.

Question:—Magistrate:—You made an obscene remark about the King-Emperor.

Answer: Gopal: What is that?

Here the Prosecuting Inspector read out
a passage from Mr. Gopalakrishniah’s speech of the 24th which showed that Mr. Gopalakrishniah and others had on one occasion corrected a drunken lout of Chirala who was crying out: —‘ Ping George ki Jai’ and asked him to say “ King George ki Jai.”

Mr. Gopal: —I brought up the remark about King George to show the type of allies that are gone in for by the local officials, in despair.

Continuing the statement Mr. Gopalakrishniah said:— I compared the Government to Ravana, Bali and Hiranyakasyapa. I have been doing so for the last 6 or 7 months particularly because they present the exact analogies to the different aspects of the existing Government from the Puranas which alone are competent to be presented to the masses so as to help their understanding instead of stale common places or boring philosophic presentations. I have elaborated these comparisons in order to show up the aesthetic implications of the setting which I am glad to say is very exact.

“That the present Government has ruined the country” is true and not false. My assertion that “it must and will be destroyed” holds true. I never mentioned any months in the absolute oralse, though it is our hope to attain Swarajya
in three months according to Mahatmajji's gauging of the situation.

The Magistrate: You seem to be as exceedingly a popular preacher. You raise laughter.

Mr. Gopal; Laughter prevents people from becoming morbid. It lubricates the soul.

Continuing, he said:—About “threaten to those who do not support rebellion,” the fact that is alleged was only a spiritual demonstration, a moral admonition that one cannot escape judgment before the maker of things on judgment day.

I did say that some “non-Brahmins” are traitors. What I meant was that there are some amongst us who do not call themselves Kshatryas, Vysyas or Sudras but go in for an exceedingly funny appellation “non-brahmin” which by its very nature implies hatred of the Brahmins. And when the Government countenanced the birth and growth of these communities which is so avowedly anti-Brahmin (hatred of Brahmins) I felt that the Government will be sporty enough to rub in our statements pretty complacently. The Government has overtly and covertly assisted the impudence of this non-Brahmin community and thus themselves “stirred up enmity” if any as
alleged in the order. As regards "showing cause," "I am a non-co-operator and I have nothing to say but quietly, meekly and humbly submit to whatever punishment the Government choose to inflict on me and pray for the betterment of my countrymen as well as of the Government."

It is unfortunate that the charge of having made obscene remarks about King George has come up against me. I am afraid it is due to a misinterpretation or misunderstanding of my language in its context. It is but right that I should express my regret about it. I have already explained the circumstances in which I used the quotation. It was never my own and I am equally indignant that such a remark should have fallen from an ally of Government in my village.

Mr. Gopal continued:—

"About the mythological statement I shall make a general remark to dispel delusion. First about Ravana, while comparing the existing Government to Ravana, I prefaced it with a correct thesis of Rakshasa’s country to the current notion, I said Rakshasas are not devils or demons but may be human with an emphasis on a particular manifestation of egoism. That is
why I instanced Ravana’s snatching away of others’ women and contrasted it with the existing Government snatching away of others’ wealth. I also said that otherwise Ravana was a very great man worshipping a thousand “Lingams” every morning. In a similar manner while bringing in the analogy of Hiranyakasyapa I said the British Government stood to us in the relation of a father.

“Magistrate:” And that is why you wish to get rid of them in 3 months.

Gopal. But is because they are just reaching the sublimity of egoism. I was not quite sure and expressly stated that I did not know whether they were the one or the other (Bali or Hiranyakasyapa). They were not ripe. We were yet in the realm of hypothesis.

“In the case of Bali he gracefully and graciously offered what was asked of him. And I said that it was a genuine relation which we all hoped for as an ally in an imperial brotherhood. Regarding the three months’ limit Mahatma Gandhi has on many an occasion expressed his conviction that we will get Swarajya in three months; and being a faithful disciple I have nothing to doubt about it.

Regarding the currency notes I have examin-
ed a hypothetical situation which, by the way, must be popular and not abstruse; and this I have been doing on many a platform. Further it is quite clear from the evidence that not a single currency note has been cashed. The whole thing was purely academical.

"It is rather interesting that while two thousand persons attended the meeting (of the 27th), people from the cultured strata of society have not come forward to depose to the correct understanding appreciation and revaluation of my speech. I always present my statement with force, with clarity and with mythological allusions seasoned with plenty of humour, I do it deliberately in order to prevent the masses from getting morbid over the ills of Government and to preserve an equipoise in their feelings. Differences in outlook and differences in taste and language are perhaps the reason why these misinterpretations or misunderstandings have occurred. Whatever looks indecent is merely a difference in idiom. Differences in idiom may result in creating a false sense of indecency, but that is all.

"About the Prince of Wales I mentioned, not 12,000 but 1,200 as having died in the Punjab. I said we were in mourning—not in Pollution'
GOPALAKRISHNIAH’S TRIAL

—and could not extend to him a hearty welcome.

“Generally speaking my view is in accordance with the Congress view and particularly I follow Mahatma Gandhi’s precepts. I have nothing more to add.”

MAGISTRATE’S QUESTIONS

Magistrate:—Do you deny the charge of having stirred enmity against Government?

Gopal:—I do deny it. Being a sport myself I do not create enmity against Government nor do I intend it.

Magistrate:—And about creating disaffection?

Here followed a discussion as to the exact meaning to be attached to the word “disaffection.”

At last, Mr. Gopal said:—‘Now I shall give you a concrete instance.” Mahatma Gandhi has said that the present Government is ‘satanic.’ I am a follower of Mahatmaji and I also believe in it. Now is that disaffection?

Magistrate:—It may be so but you say you do not stir up enmity.

Gopal:—I do not.

Magistrate:—That will do.
The proceedings closed for the day at this stage (5 P.M.). The case was adjourned for judgment to 9 A.M. next day (3rd October 1921). Mr. Gopal was released on his personal recognisance so that his friends had an opportunity of spending some more time with him. Next morning at 9-30 the Magistrate summoned Mr. Gopal before him and the following conversation took place between them.

Magistrate:—Will you sign the bond and furnish security?

Gopal:—No. As a Congressman I cannot do it.

Magistrate:—I am sorry I would much rather prefer your executing the bond. But since you refuse I must finish the order, but why don't you execute the bond?

Gopal:—I cannot do it now. I shall give security to a free Government.

Magistrate:—What do you mean by a free Government? It is probably anarchy.

Gopal:—Why, this very Government will evolve itself into a free Government.

Magistrate:—It will if you help those of us who are trying our best to evolve it. Why do you carry on your political agitation with so much rancour?
Gopal:—There is no rancour. It is only righteous indignation. It may appear to have a veneer of rancour.

Magistrate:—Why should it?

Gopal:—We are in opposite political camps. So, it may look like rancour to the prejudiced eyes of our opponents.

Magistrate:—You were in England for five years. You know the political agitation there is not carried on with so much rancour.

Gopal:—No. But the Government there is more sportly.

Magistrate:—Did you think so?

Gopal:—Yes. Don’t you see how Lloyd George has agreed to another conference with De Valera accepting his “sine qua non.”

Magistrate:—But Lord Reading saw Gandhi.

Gopal:—But not in a similar manner and with the same credentials as De Valera. What is the term of my imprisonment?

Magistrate:—One year’s simple imprisonment or such earlier term if you furnish security. I hear that Raja Venkatakrihna Rao is already thinking of furnishing security. (This, by the way, is not correct.)

The District Magistrate wished to know if any special arrangements were to be made for—
diet. Mr. Gopal said that he was not well and that he would be glad if he was provided with milk and wheat diet, and continue his usual medicine. The District Magistrate made a note of it and agreed to give wide discretion to the Jail Superintendent. Mr Gopal thanked the District Magistrate for the courtesy shown by the District Magistrate towards himself and his friends throughout the proceedings. He also observed that such courtesy was not usually forthcoming.

Magistrate:—Is there anything else you want?

Gopal:—I wish to say just a few words to my friend Ramakotiswara Rao.

Magistrate:—Yes, he may accompany you in the car to the Railway station.

When he came out I (Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao) asked him how he took to charges. He said:—One at least is absurd, namely, that of having used obscene remarks. If I am asked as to why it was mentioned in the meeting at all, I would reply that truth however ugly it is and however unaesthetic its form must be told. Drawing room susceptibilities are out of place in a gathering of grim politics, Mahatma Gandhiji appears in his “Kaupenam” (loin
cloth), before an audience of 50,000, these people would probably explain that the demonstration is highly obscene. This is an usual subterfuge of the Government to damn the voteries of the movement. I am never under the influence of "moralic acid." I suspect with Nietzsche that "English puritanism smell-spleen and alcoholic excess." Regarding other charges, they are the usual story everywhere and my statement is explanatory enough. The one new thing is about those mythological allusions. My thesis about Rakshasas and their attainment of moksha through "sathru sadhana," if properly placed before the public will clearly obviate the charge and incidentally present the different aspects of the existing Government in a typically Indian manner to a typically Indian audience uncorrupted in their mentality and unalloyed in their instinct. He added: "I do not hate the 'non-Brahmans.' I have all love for them but I grieve that some of them are opposed to the Swarajya movement."

He gave some parting messages to be conveyed to friends and expressed his gratefulness and his sincere respects to Mahatmaji and to Desabhakta Venkatappayya.
I wish to add a word about the District Magistrate Mr. T. G. Rutherford. His behaviour throughout the trial was exceedingly gentlemanly. He was good humoured and was smiling visibly on occasions more especially when P. W. I was explaining how, according to Mr. Gopalakrishniah. Lord Willingdon resembled Ravana with his ten heads; The eight Ministers were the eight heads; Lord Willingdon’s own head was the 9th and on the top of it all, Sir P. Tyagaraya Chetty’s was the tenth.” At the last remark the Magistrate burst out laughing. He also mentioned that the Government of Madras were likely to make special arrangements for political prisoners and that Mr. Gopalakrishniah might take his own bed, cot and other things.

The Magistrate’s order contained the following passage:

“This District has hitherto been spared such excess of political madness, and I see no reason why if accused has been allowed to pursue his career of incitement to disaffection unchecked elsewhere, he should be allowed to do so here. Further even from his manner in Court, it is clear that he has the art of putting an audience in good humour with itself and the speaker,
and is therefore more dangerous as an agitator. That he is utterly reckless is shown by his disobeying an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code issued after the delivery of the speech now under consideration.